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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY

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PREFACE

WHEN preparing materials for my edition of the Vyavahāra-mayūkha it occurred to me that a brief history of Dharmaśāstra on the lines of the history of Alaṁkāra Literature that I prefixed to my edition of the Sāhityadarpaṇa would not fail to be of great use to Indian students of Dharmaśāstra. As I pursued my studies in Dharma-śāstra I found that the materials were so vast and of such a varied character that to compress them into a brief introduction would hardly do justice to the subject and would not convey an adequate idea of their richness and their importance to the study of social institutions, comparative jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge. Ultimately I made up my mind to bring out independently a history of Dharmaśāstra. At first I intended to treat in a single volume of the chronology of the Dharmaśāstra and the historical developments of the various topics comprised therein from the earliest times. The chronological portion alone took all the leisure I could spare during five years. During this period for some years I suffered from a very painful internal complaint which had at one time almost induced me to lay aside the work in despair. Latterly however I felt much better and I thought it desirable to issue the chronological portion of the work in a volume by itself. Following as I do the exacting profession of an advocate, and not being in the best of health, I feel great misgivings whether I shall carry out my original intention by publishing another volume on the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra such as marriage and other saṁskāras, judicial procedure and actions at law, daily observances, vratas, śrāddha and impurity, from Vedic times down to modern days. I hope, however, that, time and health permitting, I may be able to issue the second volume also in a few years more. As the Śāstris entertain strange notions about the changes of usages that occurred in India, about the vicissitudes of Indian social institutions and about chronology in genearl and as their influence upon the masses of India is very great, I intend in the near future to translate this work into Sanskrit and Marathi, my own vernacular, in the hope that their outlook may undergo a welcome change on perusing this work.

What remains is the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. I must first mention the veteran scholar Dr. Jolly whose *Recht und Sitte* in the German *Grundriss* was the model I set before me and to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I derived valuable help from the labours of eminent scholars such as Dr. Bühler, Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, Prof. Hopkins, Mr. M. M. Chakravarti, Mr. K. P. Jayasval, who worked before me in the same field. I am very thankful to the authorities of the India Office and to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kuppusvami Sastri, Dr. Bhattacharya (of Baroda) and Prof. H. D. Velankar (of Wilson College, Bombay) for giving to me all facilities for consulting the valuable collections of Sanskrit Mss. in their charge. For help in various directions I am obliged to Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, Dr. S. K. De, Mr. P. K. Gode, Mr. G. N. Vaidya and a host of other friends. I am conscious that, in spite of all this help, the work contains numerous deficiencies, lapses and omissions. For these I crave the indulgence of scholars.

Bombay,
28th August 1930

P. V. KANE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Ānan. or Ānan. P. = Ānandāśrama series, Poona.

Āp. or Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.

Ap. Gṛ. S. = Āpastambagṛhyasūtra.

A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Baud. or Bau. Dh. S. or Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (Mysore edition).

Bau. Gṛ. S. = Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra (Mysore edition by Dr. Shama Śāstri).

B B R A S. = Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports.

Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Messrs. Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).

B. I. or B. I. S. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

Bṛ. Upaniṣad or Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

B. S. or BSS. = Bombay Sanskrit series.

Cat. = Catalogue.

Caturvarga. = Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (B. I. series).

C. O. = Calcutta Oriental Series.

D. C. = Deccan College collection of Sanskrit mss. now lodged at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.

Gau. Gaut. = Gautama-dharmasūtra (Ānandāśrama edition).

Gṛ. S. = Gṛhya-sūtra.

H. A. S. L. = Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

Hir. = Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasutra.

H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental series.

Hp. cat. or Hp. Nepal cat. = Mahamahopādhyaya Haraprasad Śāstri's catalogue of palmleaf and paper mss. belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal.

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. L. R. = India Law Reports series, Bom. standing for Bombay, Cal. for Calcutta, All. for Allahabad and Mad. for Madras series.

Ind. Ant. or I. A = Indian Antiquary.

I. O. cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. at the India Office in London (ed. by Dr. Eggeling).

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

JBORS = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

Jivananda Sm. = Dharmaśāstra-saṁgraha, published by Jivananda at Calcutta in 1876 (two parts).

L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals, the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.

Mad. H. C. R. = Madras High Court Reports.

M. Gr. S. or Mānava Gr. S. = Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra.

Mit. = Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya.

Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.

N. = Nāradasmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

P. Gr. S. = Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra.

P. S. series = Punjab Sanskrit series.

Ṛg. = Ṛgveda.

R. u. S. = Recht und Sitte (by Dr. Jolly).

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.

S. B. H. = Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

Tai. = Taittirīya.

Tai. S. = Taittirīya-saṁhitā.

Tri. Cat. = Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Sanskrit mss.

Tri. ed. = Trivandrum edition.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya-Saṁhitā.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra (B. S. series).

Viś. = Viśvarūpa.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. or Vi. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

V. S. = Vedāntasūtra.

W. B. = West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law (3rd ed.).

Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

आ. गृ. सू. or आप. गृ. or आप. गृ. सू. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र.

आप. ध. सू. or आ. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण.

काम. = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

कौ. = कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र (Dr. Shamasastri's edition).

गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

जीमूत. = जीमूतवाहन.

ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण.

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक.

तै. ब्रा = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण.

तै. सं = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता.

नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु.

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय (B. S. series).

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी.

पू. मी. सू. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र.

प्रायश्चित्तम. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र.

बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात (B. I. series).

मनु. = मनुस्मृति.

मिता. = मिताक्षरा.

मेधा. = मेधातिथि's भाष्य on मनुस्मृति.

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

वि. चि. = विवादचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर (B. I. edition).

विश्व. = विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. (Tri. ed).

वीर. = वीरमित्रोदय (on व्यवहार ed. by Jivananda).

व्य. म. = व्यवहारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ (my edition).

व्य. मा. = व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.

शतपथ or शतपथब्रा. = शतपथब्राह्मण.

सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

सरस्वती° or स. वि = सरस्वतीविलास.

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (ed. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(**N. B. Errors in printing that can be easily detected have been passed over**).

Sec. 4 pp. 12-20 *The Dharmasūtra of Gautama*. Mr. Batakrishna Ghose (in I. H. Q. vol. III for 1927, p. 607 ff) has an exhaustive note on the mutual relations of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. He holds that Gautama is not the oldest extant author, that Āp. and Gautama stand in the same relation as Manu and Yājñavalkya, that Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is not older than Āpastambadharmasūtra, that the reference to the views of some in Gautama 15. 30 may easily be to Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 21. Some of the reasons on which he relies for these views have already been examined in the body of the work. That the extant sūtra of Gautama has been in some places revised may be admitted ; but that Gautama as an author on dharma preceded Āpastamba's work cannot be denied. There is nothing of chronological value so far as Gautama is concerned in Āpastamba's rejection of the view of Śvetaketu that even a married man should continue Veda-study. That Āpastamba says nothing about mixed castes is on a par with his silence as to *niyoga* and the secondary sons. Āpastamba knew the lowest castes such as Caṇḍāla and Paulkasa and Vaiṇa (Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 6). As to beef-eating allowed by Āpastamba, vide p. 45 of text and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 11 where beef-eating is not allowed to a dīkṣita). Doctors of law were not agreed on many points of dharma and hence no certain chronological conclusion about individual authors can be drawn merely from their views on certain points. It is not correct to say as Mr. Ghose does that Āpastamba knows no fines for crimes. Āpastamba does say that in case of dispute between litigants elders were to decide, that in case of doubt they were to decide by inference or divine proof, that witnesses were to tell the truth and that if the witnesses were found to be false they were to be fined (II. 11. 29. 5-8). This shows that fines were not unheard of in Āpastamba's days and if he omits a detailed statement the reason must be sought for elsewhere

Sect. 15 pp. 105-107 *Vaikhānasadharmapraśna*. Dr. Eggers recently published (Göttingen, 1929) his work 'Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa', which is reviewed in JRAS for 1929 pp. 916-918.

Sec. 29 pp. 129-131 *Sumantu*. For a dharmasūtra of Sumantu, vide Madras Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. (1919-1922) pp. 5160-62.

Sec. 31 p. 154 read 'In other places' for 'In another places'.

Sec. 34 pp. 170-175 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. Dr. Hans Losch writes a monograph on 'Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti un Beitrag zur Quellen-kunde des Indischen Rechts' (Leipzig 1927). His conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows : (I) the text of Yājñavalkya that we have and that is commented upon is not the original, but is enlarged with interpolations such as Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti (which are borrowed from Agnipurāṇa chap. 266 and 164 respectively by the compiler of Yāj. Smṛti), the section on rājadharma (which is a versified copy of ideas contained in arthaśāstra literature), verses 60-205 of the third chapter (of Yāj.) ; (II) the 2nd book of Yāj. (on vyavahāra) is a later addition corresponding to an older redaction of the Agnipuraṇa ; (III) that the first and 3rd books of Yāj. are a recast of an ancient text which has been better preserved in the Garuḍapurāṇa. I have shown in my history of Sanskrit Poetics that the Agnipurāṇa was compiled about 900 A. D. and in this book it has been shown that the Garuḍapurāṇa must have been compiled about the same time, that it summarises Parāśarasmṛti and that it presents a text of Yāj. which is intermediate between that of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. Dr. Locsh's work adduces no proofs that would shake these conclusions. I am pleased to find that Mr. Chintaharana Chakravarti holds (JASB for 1928 vol. 24 p. 467) that the *nīti* portion of Garuḍapurāṇa belongs to the 9th or 10th century. The indefatigable scholar Dr. Meyer appears to have criticized Dr. Losch in a monograph (vide review of it by Mr. Batakrishna Ghose in I. H. Q. for 1929 pp. 367-375). Mr. Batakrishna Ghose holds that vyavahāra did not originally form part of the Yājñavalkya

smṛti on the ground that otherwise it is very difficult to explain its absence in the Garuḍapurāṇa. But this is quite unconvincing. We have no sure criterion for judging on what bases the eclectic purāṇas (Agnipurāṇa and Garuḍapurāṇa) proceeded. But in the case of the Garuḍapurāṇa the omission of the vyavahāra section is easily explicable in several ways. The Garuḍapurāṇa was concerned more with purely religious matters and so omitted the rather secular chapter on vyavahāra. One might ask, why did the Agnipurāṇa omit the first and third kāṇḍas of Yājñavalkya if they existed in its day. One may with equal logic argue that those two kāṇḍas did not exist in the Yajñavalkya smṛti when the Agnipurāṇa was compiled.

P. 181 The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar outdid even Western scholars in assigning Yājñavalkya to a date not earlier than the 6th century A. D. In his work 'Vaishṇavism and Śaivism' (p. 148) the learned doyen of modern Sanskrit studies in Western India holds that the worship of Ganeśa is a late one, as it is not mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. The veteran scholar did not notice the points brought out in my book (such as the mention of nakṣatras from Kṛttikā). He is willing to assign Amarasiṁha to the 5th or 6th century A. D. (ibid. p. 45). The great lexicographer mentions Vināyaka and his synonyms (such as ekadanta &c), but the words Mita, Sammita that are given as the appellations of Vināyaka in Yāj. are conspicuous by their absence in Amara's lexicon. Hence the conclusion is that Amara wrote centuries after Yājñavalkya and that Vināyaka worship had taken a complexion before Amara flourished that was very different from what it was in Yājñavalkya's day.

Mita and Sammita occur as names of Maruts in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

P. 186 That गजच्छाया and व्यतीपात had nothing to do with 'rāśis' follows from the following. 'योगो मघात्रयोदश्यां कुञ्जरच्छायसंज्ञितः । भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिन्यर्के करे स्थिते ॥ (quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 319 as from ब्रह्मपुराण); श्रवणाश्विधनिष्ठार्द्रानागदैवतमस्तके । यद्यमा रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥ quoted in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन as from बृहन्मनु.

H. D. B.

Sec. 38 pp. 213-221 *Kātyāyana.* Mr. Narayana Chandra Bandopadhyaya has recently published (Calcutta 1927) about 800 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra culled from five *nibandhas.* In the Hindu Law Quarterly recently started in Bombay I am editing a reconstruction of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra (reconstructed text from twenty *nibandhass*, references to the places whence verses are taken, translation, notes &c.). About 300 verses have been printed in the first two issues for January and April 1930.

Sec. 38 p. 215 read 'Manu' for Bhṛgu' in l. 11.

Sec. 39 pp. 221-223 *Aṅgiras.* In the 2nd Act of the Mālatımadhava (p. 104 of Bhandarkar's edition) we have a prose quotation from Aṅgiras 'गीतश्चायमर्थोङ्गिरसा यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिरिति'. In the Apastambagṛhya (I.3. 19-21) this is cited without name as the view of some 'बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत। बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपत। यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिर्नेतरदाद्रियेतेत्येके'. It is not likely that Bhavabhuti who was a great scholar would commit a mistake and it is extremely probable that he had a sutra of Aṅgiras before him.

Sec. 44 pp. 226-227 *Pitāmaha.* Dr. Karl Scriba collected together from several *nibandhas* about 200 verses of Pitāmaha and published them with translation (Die Fragmente des Pitamaha, Leipzig, 1902) on the eight constituents of karaṇa (i. e. the court of justice), fifty *chalas*, twenty-two wrongs (in which king acted *suo motu*), ordeals (162 verses) and the four kinds of ascetics.

Sec. 64 pp. 275-279 *Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.* In the Madras Tri. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 4562 No 3078 there is a ms of Bhujabalanibandha by Bhojarāja in 18 chapters on astrological matters in relation to vratas, marriage &c.

In the Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotations from a Kṛtyasamuccaya of Bhūpāla or Bhūpālasamuccaya are cited (at pp. 278, 289, 449, 461, 496 &c). It appears that this is entirely a different work from the Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Bhujabalabhīma.

Sec. 68. p. 285. l. 20 read 'Misarumiśra' for 'Harinātha'.

Sec. 71. pp. 294-296 *Kāmadhenu*. That Bhoja was not the author of the Kāmadhenu follows from the following words of the कृत्यरत्नाकर (p. 156) 'एतानि वाक्यानि अलवणतृतीयाव्रतबोधक-वाक्यमध्ये भूपालकामधेनुकल्पतरुषु लिखितानि.' At p. 30 of the same work the कामधेनु is spoken of as equal in authority to the Rājā (राजतुल्ययोगक्षेम). These references show that the Kāmadhenu was not regarded by Caṇḍeśvara as the work of Bhūpāla (or Bhojadeva); other passages of the Kṛtya-ratnākara where Gopāla, Kalpataru, and Bhūpāla are spoken of in the same breath indicate that Gopāla was as great an authority as the Kalpataru; and knowing as we do that Caṇḍeśvara looked upon Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha as his best authorities, it follows that Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. Vide कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 277, 443 (गोपालभूपालकल्पतरुपारिजातेषु तु).

Sec. 72 pp. 298-299 *Halāyudha*. There is a Ms. of a work called Paṇḍitasarvasva in the Madars Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. for 1919-22 p. 5165. In the manuscript itself there is no reference to the author or his parentage. It is a large work and deals with वर्णाश्रमाचार, दैवातिथिनिरूपण, उपवास, शौच, अशौच, श्राद्ध, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, विवाहादिसंस्कार, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, प्रतिष्ठा, स्त्रीधर्म, दिव्य, अभक्ष्यविचार, शुद्धि. From the style it seems more likely that it is not the work of Halāyudha.

In the Ekādaśitattva (Jivananda vol. II p. 51) and Śuddhi-tattva (Jivananda vol II p. 327) Halāyudha is said to be the author of Saṁvatsarapradipa.

Sec. 73 pp. 301-306 *Bhavadevabhaṭṭa*.

There was another work of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa called Sambandha-viveka. This work is mentioned in the Saṁskāra-tattva (Jivananda vol I p. 890) and in the Vivāhatattva (vol. II p. 143).

Sec. 74 pp. 306-308 *Prakāśa*.

The Vivādaratnākara and other Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara generally refer to Prakāśa only, but sometimes Caṇḍeśvara speaks of Smṛtimahārnavaprakāśa e. g. on p. 326 of Kṛtyaratnākara we have ' जाबालमत्स्यपुराणवाक्यपरामर्शान्निरग्नि-सकलपुत्रैः साग्निभिश्चेतरपुत्रैरेकोद्दिष्टं कार्यमिति स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाशकार इति

कल्पतरौ लिखितमन्यैश्चानुमोदितं तल्लघु. This also shows that Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa was a work referred to by the Kalpataru and so earlier than 1100 A. D.

Sec. 87 pp. 354-359 *Hemādri.*

In the Marathi Quarterly of the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala, vol. X part 2 p. 84, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande quotes from a work called Bhānuvijaya of the Mahānubhāva sect passages wherein Hemādri is charged with having been won over by Turks (Mahomedans) and with having brought about the imprisonment of Bhānubhaṭṭa alias Bhāskara Kaviśvara Vyāsa (a Mahānubhāva saint) 'जरि करावा रणकन्दन । हेमाद्रि तुर्का लागले पण । दिल्लीश्वरें देवोनि धन । मंत्री पा वश्यु केला ॥ भानुगणीं असाहणेंपणें । अहिता प्रेरिलें दुर्जनें । तुर्का कांई असे आंगवणें । हेमाद्रियेची बंधाविलें ॥ '.

But in the absence of other corroborative evidence hardly any reliance can be placed on this charge, as it might have been levelled at Hemādri in revenge for his imprisoning a leader of a dissenting sect like that of the Mahānubhāvas.

P. 359 In the Śivadigvijaya (printed at Baroda in śake 1817) at p. 442 Hemādapanta (Hemādri) is credited with having brought from Laṅkā (Ceylon) in śake 1193 (1271-2 A. D.) the 'Piśācca lipi' (Moḍi script).

P. 368 l. 16 Read 'contemplate' for 'complete'.

P. 398 foot note 969 Read 'अलभत सुतयं' for 'अलभत तनयं.'

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

Defies exact rendering in English - In the Ṛgveda, used as adjective or noun - means 'upholder or supporter' in some Ṛgvedic passages - in most Ṛgveda passages means 'religious ordinances or rites' and in rare cases 'fixed principles or rules of conduct' -- in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa dharma means 'whole body of religious duties-' in Chāndogya-Upaniṣad *dharma* means 'peculiar duties of āśramas-' *dharma* came to mean 'duties and privileges of a person as a member of the Āryan community, as member of one of the varṇas or as in a particular stage of life' - the same meaning in Taittirīya Upaniṣad (I. 11), Bhagavadgītā, Manusmṛti and other smṛtis - according to Medhātithi, dharma five-fold viz., varṇadharma, āśramadharma, varṇāśramadharma, naimittikadharma, guṇadharma - this meaning of dharma taken in this work - definitions of dharma according to Jaimini, Vaiśeṣikasūtra, Hārīta, Mahābhārata and Buddhist works - subjects treated in this work, viz. sources of dharma, contents of works on dharma, their chronology.

According to Gautama, Āpastamba, Vasiṣtha, Manu, Yājñavalkya -- principal sources were Veda, smṛtis and custom - Vedas do not contain positive precepts on dharma, but give information incidentally - examples from Vedic literature suggesting dharmaśāstra rules.

It is difficult to say when composed - Nirukta (III. 4-5) exhibits controversies about inheritance and quotes a verse (śloka) from some work on dharma - Bühler's view about such verses -- Gautama and Baudhāyana speak of dharmaśāstra - Baudhāyana and Āpastamba mention numerous sages on *dharma* - Vārtika of Kātyāyana and Jaimini speak of dharmaśāstra - Patañjali on dharmasūtrakāras - dharmaśāstra works existed prior to Yāska or at least before 600 B. C. and in 2nd centnry B. C. dharmasūtras had become authoritative - method of dealing with the whole dharmaśāstra literature followed in this

400 B. C. - Haradatta and Maskarin commented on Gautama - Asahāya also did so - śloka - Gautama and Vṛddha - Gautama.

Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Black Yajurveda - arrangement of Baudhāyana kalpa according to Dr. Burnell and Dr. Caland - Baudhāyanagṛhya presupposes the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra - gṛhya (III.9.6) speaks of pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana and sūtrakāra Āpastamba - tarpaṇa in Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27) mentions Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin - contents of Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra - extant sūtra has not come down intact - fourth praśna probably an interpolation - third praśna also not free from doubt - Baudhāyana III. 10 taken from Gautama - Baudhāyana III. 6 agrees closely with Viṣṇudharmasūtra 48 - Dr. Jolly thinks both borrowed from a common source - probably Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana - repetitions exist even in the first two praśnas - form and structure of Baudhāyana - quotes numerous verses, even in the first two praśnas - language of Baudhāyana often departs from Pāṇinian standard - literature known to Baudhāyana - several authors on dharma together with their views mentioned by Baudhāyana - Asura Kapila said to be originator of āśramas- Śabara, Kumarila, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi refer to Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - home of Baudhāyana - Baudhāyana is styled pravacanakara and Āpastamba sutrakāra - Bühler holds that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher - age of Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - later than Gautama - Bühler's reasons for placing Baudhāyana a century or two earlier than Apastamba not convincing - divergences between Baudhāyana and Apastamba - style of Baudhāyana compared with that of Apastamba - Baudhāyana to be placed between 500-200 B. C.- numerous sutras of Baudhāyana identical with those of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha - Baudhāyana mentions several appellations of Ganeśa, just as Manavagṛhya does and mentions seven planets, Rāhu and Ketu - Govindasvāmin commented on Baudhāyana.

The Apastambakalpasūtra of the Black Yajurveda divided into 30 praśnas, dharmasutra constituting 28th and 29th praśnas thereof - Āpastamba is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikeya school of Taittirīyaśākhā - Apastambagṛhya and dharma sūtras are composi-

tions of same author - some sūtras of the two are identical - Āp. gṛhya does not treat of some topics as they are dealt with in dharma sūtra - contents of Ap. dharmasūtra - form and structure of Ap. dharmasūtra - Ap. is more archaic and un-Pāṇinian than any other dharmasūtra - many unfamiliar words in Ap. - several verses quoted in Āp. - literature known to Ap. - Ap. mentions six aṅgas of Veda and ten writers on dharma by name - Śvetaketu and Ap. - Hārīta quoted frequently by Āp. - Ap. controverts several views - striking coincidences between Gautama and Ap. - Āp. quotes a verse from Purāṇa and speaks of the view of Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa - Apastamba and Manu - Apastamba presupposes many rules of the Mīmāṁsā and agrees closely with Jaimini's sūtras - age of Ap. Dh. S. - quoted by Śabara, Kumārila, Śaṁkarācārya, Viśvarupa and Medhatithi - home and personal history of Āpastamba not known - Āp. is later than Gautama and probably Baudhāyana - his age between 600-300 B. C.- Āp. condemns *niyoga*, rejects secondary sons, does not admit *paiśāca* and Prājāpatya forms of marriage - divergence between the views of Āp. and Gautama and other sutrakāras - Haradatta's is the only commentary extant on Āp. - Āpastamba smṛti in verse.

Hiraṇyakeśidharmasūtra forms 26th and 27th *praśnas* of the Hiraṇyakeśikalpa-Hiraṇyakeśin's can be hardly called an independent work, as it borrows hundreds of sutras word for word from Ap. - a few additions made to Āp. in Hiraṇyakeśi Dh. S. - Hiranyakeśin's readings are smoother and more classical than Apastamba's - arrangement of sūtras also is somewhat different in the two - com. of Mahadeva called Ujjvalā on Hiraṇyakeśin is almost the same as Haradatta's on Āp. - Bühler thinks Mahādeva borrows from Haradatta - Mahādeva's com. in a few places contains more matter than Haradatta's and Mahādeva differs from Haradatta.

Different editions of Vasiṣṭha contain different numbers of chapters - Kumārila says it was specially studied by Ṛgvedins - explanation of this statement - nothing special in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra to connect it with Ṛgveda - contents of the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra - style of Vas. Dh. S. resembles Gautama's - many sūtras of Vas. identical with Gautama and Baudhāyana - form of Vasiṣṭha

dharmasūtra resembles Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - Medhātithi and Mitākṣarā quote from almost all chapters of extant Vasiṣṭha and so does Viśvarūpa - literature known to Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha prohibits learning language of Mlecchas - authors on dharmaśāstra named by Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's references to the views of Manu are made with reference to a work of Manu almost identical with the present Manusmṛti and do not compel us to formulate the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler wrong in taking Vas. Dh. S. 4. 8 as a quotation from Mānavadharmasūtra - Only Vas. Dh. S. 12.16 and 19. 37 where Manu is quoted have no corresponding verses in the present Manusmṛti - Over forty verses are entirely common to Vas. and present Manusmṛti - conclusion that Vas. contains borrowings from the present Manusmṛti or its prototype in verse - Vas. Dh. S. 22 is same as Gautama 19 - Dr. Jolly's view that Vas. Dh. S. 28.10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 56 and 87 or its original the Kāṭhakadharmasūtra is wrong - home of Vas. to the north of Narmadā, according to Bühler - this is mere speculation - earliest reference to Vasiṣṭha as a writer on dharma is in Manu (8-140) - age of Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's views are ancient, praticularly about secondary sons, about Dattaka son, about *niyoga* and remarriage - he mentions only six forms of marriage - but in other matters differs from Gaut. or Baudh. viz. on adoption, on documents - Vas. Dh. S. between 300-100 B. C. - whether Vas. 18. 4 (Rāmaka v. l. Romaka) contains a reference to the Romans - Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, an early compilation - there is a Bṛhad Vasiṣṭha and a Jyotir Vasiṣṭha - Yajñasvāmin commented upon Vas. Dh. S.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains 100 chapters and yet sūtra not extensive-several chap. (40, 42, 76) contain only one sūtra and one verse - first chap. and last two are entirely in verse, the rest in mixed prose and verse - Viṣṇu Dh. S. closely connected with Kaṭhaśākhā - Dr. Jolly says chap. 21, 67, 73 and 86 of Viṣṇu closely correspond with Kāṭhaka gṛhya - but Viṣṇu Dh. S. is not the work of the author of Kāṭhaka gṛhya - contents of Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu resembles Vas. Dh. S. - its peculiar feature that it professes to be revealed by God Viṣṇu - its style, easy and diffuse - work contains old

and new material - hundreds of sūtras are prose renderings of hundreds of verses occurring in our Manu - hypothesis of a common origin or borrowing by both from a floating mass of verses untenable - extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu - Viṣṇu contains verses identical with the Bhagavadgītā and Yājñavalkya smṛti - Dr. Jolly's view that Yājñavalkya borrows his anatomical section from Viṣṇu not correct - Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains long list of tīrthas, the word Jaiva for Jupiter - those wanting in Yājñavalkya - extant Viṣṇu Dh. S. later than Manusmṛti and Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Viśvarūpa does not quote a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name, though he refers to Viṣṇu (ch. 97) for orders of saṁnyāsins - Mitākṣarā quotes hardly any verse from Viṣṇu - Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā quote Viṣṇu profusely-verses were added at a late date to original sūtra - literature known to Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu mentions the seven days of the week, recommends the practice of *satī*, speaks of pustakas, of many good and evil omens among which the sight of yellow-robed Buddhist ascetics is included - it prohibits speech with Mlecchas and journeys to Mleccha countries, it dilates on worship of Vāsudeva - though Viṣṇu agrees in some respects with Kāṭhakagṛhya, on some points it differs from it -- date of older kernel of Viṣṇu may be 300 to 100 B.C. - additions made after 3rd century A.D. and before 7th century - some sutras agree closely with Nārada - Bṛhad Viṣṇu and Vṛddha Viṣṇu and Laghu Viṣṇu - Nandapaṇḍita's com. on the Viṣṇu Dh. S. - probably Bhāruci also commented on it.

Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote Hārīta as an authority - Mr. Islampurkar secured a ms. of Hārīta-dharmasūtra at Nasik in 30 chapters - contents of that ms. - its relation to Maitrāyaṇīyasaṁhitā - it mentions the Kaśmirian word "Kaphella" -- quotations in commentaries and digests show that Hārīta dealt exhaustively with the same topics that are found in other dharmasūtras - Kumārila mentions Hārīta as dharmaśāstrakāra but does not assign him to any particular caraṇa as he does Āpastamba and others-notable doctrines of Hārīta - mentions worship of Ganeśa - Hārīta's verses on vyavahāra quoted in nibandhas are later than the sūtra - Laghu Hārīta and Vṛddha Hārīta - latter in verse is later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana.

From Tantravārtika it appears that dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was studied by Vājasaneyins - Mahābhārata (Śānti 23) contains story of brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita - Various compilations ascribed to Śaṅkha alone or Likhita alone or to both - Restoration of Dharmasūtra in Annals of Bhandarkar Institute (vol. VII, VIII) - Verse Śaṅkhasmṛti stricter than prose Śaṅkha - Likhita - com. on dharmasūtra mentioned in Kalpataru and Vivādaratnākara - doctrines of dharmasūtra similar to those of other dharmasūtras - speaks of twelve secondary sons - allows *niyoga* - speaks of several ordeals - defines Āryāvarta as between Sindhu - Sauvīra and Kāmpilya - Literature known to Śaṅkha Likhita - probable age between 300-100 B. C.

MaxMüller and Weber responsible for the theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra now lost - hardly any data for the sweeping generalisation of Max-Müller that all genuine dharmaśāstras are nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharma* - one main plank of this theory that the continuous employment of the śloka metre was unknown in the sūtra period is now exploded - Bühler supports Max Müller's theory by some additional arguments - Vasiṣṭha IV. 5-8 on which Bühler relies not properly understood by him - Vasiṣṭha (19-37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the Anuṣṭubh metre and not found in extant Manu and Bühler thinks it is taken from Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler's reliance on a fragment of Uśanas which is corrupt is not worth consideration - Bühler relies on Kāmandakīyanītisāra (II. 3. and XI. 67) where Mānavas are said to hold that there are three vidyās for a king and that Manu said that king's council should consist of 12 ministers - These views not the same in extant Manu- Bühler's conclusion not correct - Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing Kauṭiliya - Bühler's generalisation about Mānava or Mānavāḥ without foundation - Kumārila, Śaṅkara, and Viśvarūpa all employ 'Mānava' for Manusmṛti - Bühler relies on analogy of the complete set of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana sūtras for holding that a Mānavadharmasūtra existed - Proper explanation of Vas. Dh. S. IV. 5-8 - Bühler not right in saying that Vas. Dh. S. 11. 23, 12. 16, 23. 43 either contradict Manu or find no counterpart

therein - analogy of Āpastamba sūtras of no use - excepting the three caraṇas of the Black Yajurveda, no caraṇa of any Veda has a dharmasūtra attributed to the founder of that caraṇa - an explanation suggested - existing materials not sufficient to establish theory that a Mānavadharmasūtra once existed.

First translated by Dr. Shāma Sāstri and text published in 1909 - other editions - numerous works and articles inspired by the publication of Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra - Kauṭilīya is oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra - scope of arthaśāstra and relation to dharmaśāstra – arthaśāstra an upaveda of Atharvaveda - purpose of this śāstra - rule in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra - Cāṇakya, Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta are names of the same person - glowing tribute paid to Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta by Kāmandakīyanītisāra, Tantrākhyāyikā, Daṇḍin - Bāṇa and Pañcatantra on Kauṭilya as author of Arthaśāstra - Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya contained his story - Mudrārākṣasa connects his name with Kuṭila - controversy as to whether Kauṭilīya can be the work of a busy minister of Candragupta Maurya - Jolly, Winternitz and Keith hold that extant work is not by the minister of Candragupta - Megasthenes' silence about Cāṇakya explained - whether the Kauṭilīya is the product of a school or of an individual author - Kauṭilya's views cited about 70 times in the work in the third person - explanation of this - Dr. Jolly wrong in his explanation of *apadeśa* (in XV. I) – Keith thinks that an author would not parade an uncomplimentary epithet like Kauṭilya (derived from kuṭila) - Is the name Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya - works on gotra and pravara give various forms such as Kauṭali, Kauṭilya and Kauṭili - form, style and contents of the Kauṭilīya - a few verses interspersed in the work, generally at the end – in all 340 verses excluding *mantras* - some verses are certainly quotations - work abounds in numerous technical and rare words - deviations from Pāṇini - summary of contents - section on judicial administration interesting - greatest correspondence between Kauṭilīya and Yājñavalkya - some striking examples – it is Yājñavalkya that borrows - reasons - Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage

of juristic principles than Kauṭilya - close agreement between Manu smṛti and Kauṭilya also - but they differ on *niyoga,* as to nomenclature of vyavahārapadas, about heirship of mother and paternal grandmother, on remarriage of widows, divorce, gambling - Kauṭilīya long anterior to the extant Manusmṛti - Kauṭilya's five references to Mānavas explained - references to Svāyambhuva and Prācetasa Manu contained in the Mahābhārata suggest that there were two works in verse on dharma and politics attributed to these or perhaps one work containing both, subsequently recast as the extant Manusmṛti - only two views ascribed to Mānavas in Kauṭilīya not found in extant Manusmṛti - in the dharmasthīya section the only other authors or schools cited are Bārhaspatyas and Auśanasas - none of the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others are anywhere quoted by name - views cited on the question as to whom a child belongs (to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten) can be traced to Baudhāyana, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - views of Ācāryas cited in the Kauṭilīya - Kauṭilīya later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than extant Manusmṛti - date of Kauṭilīya - it is certainly not later than 2nd century A. D. and not earlier than 325 B. C. - schools named by Kauṭilya and also individual authors - views of Ācāryas are quoted over fifty times and Kauṭilya differs in each case - meaning of 'ācāryas' - literature known to Kauṭilya - Sanskrit official language and the work mentions guṇas of composition - Kauṭilīya agrees with Kāmasūtra in several respects - Dr. Jolly and Prof. Keith opine that both works composed about same time - points of difference between the two works - countries and peoples mentioned by Kauṭilya -- silks from Cīna and blankets from Nepal - corporations of Licchavis, Vṛjikas and others mentioned - meaning of 'rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ' (in XI-I) - best breeds of horses - Mlecchas sold or pledged children - references to Buddhists and Ājīvakas - weights to be made from stones of Magadha and Mekala - doubtful whether Kauṭilya knew extant text of Mahābhārata - most of the stories cited as illustrations by Kauṭilya occur in the Mahābhārata, but some divergence exists in the case of Janamejaya, Māṇḍavya - Kauṭilya's knowledge of drugs and of rasa (mercury) - references to shrines of Śiva, Skanda &c.- traditional date of 300 B. C. more likely to be correct than 3rd cen-

tury A. D. approved of by Dr. Jolly and Winternitz - two commentaries on Kautilīya, Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan and Pratipadapañcikā of Bhaṭṭasvāmin - sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya - several nīti collections in verse ascribed to Cāṇakya are later than Kauṭilīya.

Sec. 15 *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* : ... pp. 105-107

Vaikhānasa is one of the six sūtra caraṇas of the black Yajurveda mentioned by Mahādeva in his Vaijayantī on Satyāṣāḍha śrautasūtra - Vaikhānasa occurs in Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha (9. 10) and Manu (6. 21) - Vaikhānasadharmapraśna divided into three praśnas - contents of the work - its age later than Gautama and Baudhāyana - names more mixed castes than even some of the verse smṛtis - devotion to Nārāyaṇa looms very large in the work - Dr. Caland's view that Manusmṛti borrows from Vaikhānasagṛhya not correct.

Sec. 16 *Atri* : ... pp. 107-110

Atri named in Manu (III. 16) - Ātreyadharmaśāstra in nine adhyāyas - summary of contents - form of Atridharmaśāstra - several works styled Atri - smṛti - summary of Atrisaṁhitā printed by Jīvananda - Atri quoted as an authority on adoption - Laghu Atri and Vṛddhātreyasmṛti - Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 65. 1) quotes a verse of Atri.

Sec. 17 *Uśanas* : ... pp. 110-116

Uśanas wrote on politics, as Kauṭilīya shows - Mahābhārata (Śānti 56. 29-30) refers to work of Uśanas on politics - Nītiprakāśikā on Śukra as arranger of rājaśāstra - An Auśanasa dharmaśāstra in verse - contents - peculiar views of Uśanas about offspring of intercaste marriages - several verses common to Uśanas and Manu - names the views of numerous writers on dharma - Haradatta and Smṛticandrikā knew a work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of dharma - Uśanas smṛti in verse - verses of Uśanas on vyavahāra - Śukranītisāra edited by Oppert.

Sec. 18 *Kaṇva and Kāṇva* : ... pp. 116-117

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19) shows that Kaṇva and Kāṇva were two distinct authors - verses of Kaṇva quoted in Smṛticandrikā.

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11.20) cites a verse in which Kāśyapa's view is contained - there was a dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa - a Kāśyapa smṛti in prose contained in Deccan College Mss. - contents thereof- Smṛticandrikā includes Kāśyapa among 18 upasmṛtis.

A sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma existed - Gārgya and Vṛddha Gārgya - a Gārgīsaṁhitā on astronomy and astrology - Jyotir Gārgya and Bṛhad Gārgya.

Seems to have written a sūtra work on dharma.

A verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya names Jātūkarṇya as a dharma śāstrakāra - quotations in verse in Mitākṣarā and later works.

A dharmasūtra of Devala existed once - Mitākṣarā and other works also contain quotations in verse on ācāra, vyavahāra, srāddha - this latter a later compilation - Devalasmṛti in 90 verses on purifications is also a late work - jurist Devala flourished about the same time as Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana.

An ancient sūtrakāra, as Viśvarūpa quotes his sūtras - Dr. Jolly thinks he belongs to Atharvaveda - Paiṭhīnasi on *sati*, inheritance, on absence of untouchability under certain circumstances.

A sūtrakāra cited by Hemādri, Aparārka, Kalpataru and Jīmūtavāhana - a brief compilation and not very early in age.

An ancient teacher of arthaśāstra mentioned in Kauṭilīya - Mahābhārata (Śānti 59. 80-85) credits him with compression of vast work of Brahmā on *trivarga* and mentions several of his views- Kāmasūtra speaks of Bṛhaspati as writer on *artha* - peculiar views of

Bṛhaspati according to Kauṭilīya - Bṛhaspati also wrote a prose work on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta - probably the authors of the two are different - 700 verses on vyavahāra ascribed to Bṛhaspati are quoted in the Mitākṣarā - this is an independent work composed between 300-500 A. D. - smaller compilations in verse ascribed to Bṛhaspati - Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. Thomas is a late work.

A śrautasūtra and gṛhya of Bhāradvāja exist - Viśvarūpa's work establishes existence of a sūtra work on dharma of Bharadvāja - there was smṛti in verse also attributed to Bhāradvāja - Kauṭilīya shows that Bhāradvāja was an ancient author on politics - some views of Bhāradvāja - Mahābhārata on Bhāradvāja - verses on vyavahāra attributed to Bhāradvāja - this probably different from work on politics.

A sūtra work of Śātātapa on dharma dealing with prāyaścitta, śrāddha and ācāra must have existed - verses of Śātātapa quoted in Mitākṣarā and other later works - this is probably different from smṛti work - several verse compilations ascribed to Śātātapa - Vṛddha Śātātapa and Bṛhat Śātātapa.

A sūtra work on ācāra and prāyaścitta ascribed to Sumantu existed - Yājñavalkya and Parāśara do not enumerate Sumantu among expounders of dharma - Sumantu mentioned in Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata - verses from Sumantu on dharma are cited by Aparārka - this is a different work - numerous verses on vyavahāra quoted from Sumantu in Sarasvatīvilāsa.

Two senses of the word smṛti, viz. all orthodox ancient non-Vedic works (such as Pāṇini's grammar, Śrauta sūtras, Mahābhārata Manu, &c.) and (a narrower sense) dharmaśāstra - smṛti, a source of dharma according to Gautama and others - number of smṛtis went on increasing - Yājñavalkya enumerates twenty writers of smṛtis, Parāśara 19 - Tantravārtika speaks of 18 dharmasaṁhitās - Catur-

viṁśatimata gives views of 24 writers - a smṛti called Ṣaṭ - triṁśanmata - Paiṭhīnasi enumerates 36 and so does Aparārka - Vṛddha Gautama enumerates 57 - Vīramitrodaya enumerates 18 smṛtis, 18 upasmṛtis and 21 more- total number of smṛtis about 100 - these are products of widely separated ages - some entirely in prose, some entirely in verse, some are mixed - chronology of smṛtis presents perplexing problems - two or three smṛtis go under the same name, e. g. Hārīta, Atri, Śātātapa - sectarian zealots fabricate certain smṛtis - the prefixes laghu, bṛhat and vṛddha applied to smṛtis - well-known verses are ascribed to different authors, as authors quote from memory.

Numerous editions - Manu as the father of mankind in the Ṛgveda and other Vedas - Manu and the deluge in Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa - Manu in the Nirukta - Manu quoted as law-giver in Gautama, Āpastamba and Mahābhārata - introduction to Nāradasmṛti and Manu - how the Manusmṛti is narrated - four versions of Svāyambhuva śāstra according to Bhaviṣyapurāṇa - almost impossible to say who composed extant Manusmṛti - Bühler's theory that our Manu is a recast of Mānavadharmasūtra shown above to be unsustainable - the Mānavagṛhya differs from Manusmṛti in several particulars - Vināyakaśānti of Mānavagṛhya and tests for selecting a bride not contained in our Manu - Mahābhārata distinguishes between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetasa Manu, former promulgating dharmaśāstra - these two works combined in the present Manu - extant Manu has 12 chapters and 2694 verses - its style - contents of Manusmṛti - extent of literature known to Manusmṛti - the author of the Manusmṛti is not the first legislator - age of Manusmṛti - external evidence - Medhātithi's is first extant commentary - Viśvarūpa quotes 200 verses - Śaṅkara, Kumārila and Śabara refer to Manu - Bṛhaspati had the present text of Manu before him - Aśvaghoṣa in his Vajrasūci quotes several verses from 'Mānavadharma' some of which are found in our Manu - Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā 18. 30-32) contains Manu VIII. 318 and 316 - Manu attained present form long before 2nd century A. D. - there are earlier and later strata in Manu - contradictary statements as to Brāhmaṇa marrying a śūdra woman, about appropriate forms of marriage, about niyoga, about

flesh-eating - Bühler's conclusion is that cosomological and philosophical portions in 1st and 12th books, rules about mixed castes and duties of castes in 10th book are later additions - all additions made before 3rd century A. D. - Manusmṛti has not suffered several recasts - quotations cited as Vṛddha Manu and Bṛhan-Manu are later than Manusmṛti - extant Manu older than Yajñavalkya - Manu mentions Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cīnas - extant Manusmṛti composed between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. - relation of Mahābhārata and Manu - conflict of views between Mandlik, Hopkins and Bühler - Hopkins holds that there was a mass of floating verses ascribed to mythical Manu on which both Manusmṛti and Mahābhārata drew - Bühler says that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu - Manu mentions stories and names that occur in the Mahābhārata but these names go into Vedic antiquities - Manu never names the Mahābhārata, while the latter often refers to 'rājadharmas or śāstra of Manu' or to 'what Manu said' - Both Hopkins and Bühler hold that the Anuśāsanaparva and Śāntiparva knew a Manusmṛti, but earlier books, whenever they speak of Manu, refer to floating mass of popular verses - this conclusion not correct - final conclusion, viz., long before 4th century B. C. there was a dharmaśāstra in verse attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu. . . . was another work on rājadharma attributed to Prācetasa Manu, that probably there was one work, then between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. Manusmṛti was recast - extant Mahābhārata later than extant Manusmṛti - influence of Manu spread to Cambodia and other countries beyond India- Manu had several commentators, Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Kullūka, Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra - Asahāya commented on Manu - Udayakara is another commentator and so is Dharaṇīdhara - Nārāyaṇa flourished between 1100-1300 A. D. - Rāghavānanda later than 1400 A. D. - Vṛddha Manu and Bṛhan-Manu - explanation as to how these originated.

Rāmāyaṇa is relied upon as a source of dharma though less frequently than the Mahābhārata - Ayodhyākāṇḍa and Araṇyakāṇḍa contain disquisitions on politics - age of the epics a difficult problem more appropriate for a separate treatise - table indicating where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

Purāṇas as a class of literature mentioned in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gautama Dh. S., Mahābhāṣya - extant purāṇas are recasts made of older material - some of the extant Purāṇas like Vāyu earlier than 6th century A. D. - Names of principal 18 Purāṇas - 18 Upapurāṇas - Matsyapurāṇa contains much dharmaśāstra material - Agnipurāṇa contains disquisition on rājadharma and chapters 253-258 contain almost the whole of the vyavahāra section of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍapurāṇa borrows about 400 verses from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - chronology of Purāṇas passed over - Divergence as to the names of the principal 18 purāṇas and as to their extent - Purāṇas very valuable for study of social and religious questions as to mediæval and modern India - Padmapurāṇa divides 18 Purāṇas into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa and divides eighteen smṛtis also in the same way - table showing which dharmaśāstra topics are dealt with in which purāṇa.

Yājñavalkya, a name most illustrious among Vedic sages - stories about strained relations between Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya - Yājñavalkya and Janaka in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa - Yājñavalkya, a great philosopher in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka - Yājñavalkya smṛti claims that the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra were composed by the author of the smṛti - slight variation in the number of verses contained in Yājñavalkyasmṛti according to Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣarā and Aparārka - arrangement of verses different in Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā, particularly in the prāyaścittakāṇḍa - readings of the two commentators also differ - Agnipurāṇa affords excellent check for consideration of text of Yājñavalkya - Readings of Agnipurāṇa compared with those of Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā - conclusion is that the Agnipurāṇa represents a text midway between Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā - So Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current about 900 A. D. - total number of verses on vyavahāra in the Agnipurāṇa is 315, out of which the first 31 are not taken from Yājñavalkya - almost all of these 31 taken from Nārada - Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93) expressly says that the dharma promulgated by Yājñavalkya was imparted therein - Garuḍa (chap. 93-106

contains dharmaśāstra material taken from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍa (93-102) deals with ācāra and 102-106 with prāyaścitta–Garuḍapurāṇa omits rājadharma section of Yājñavalkya – only a few verses of Yāj. are repeated word for word, while a summary only is given of several verses – comparison of the text of the Garuḍapurāṇa with Viśvarūpa's text and that of the Mitākṣarā – Garuḍapurāṇa represents text intermediate between Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā – are there different strata in Yājñavalkya? text mainly the same from 700 A. D. and little evidence to show that the text of Yājñavalkya as we have it contains several strata – comparison of Yājñavalkyasmṛti with Manusmṛti – close agreement in phraseology between the two – Yājñavalkya usually tries to compress Manu's dicta - Yāj. adds Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti and ordeals, while Manu omits first two and cursorily refers to two ordeals – Yāj. silent on origin of world which we have in Manu – style of Yājñavalkya – contents of smṛti – literature known to Yājñavalkyasmṛti – enumerates 19 authors on dharma – close agreement between Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Yājñavalkya and between Kauṭilya and Yāj. – Manu and Yāj. differ on several points and Yāj. represents a more advanced state of thought than Manu – Manu allows brāhmaṇa to marry śūdra girl, Yāj. does not – Manu condemns niyoga, Yāj. does not – same case with gambling – Yāj. takes Vināyakaśānti from Mānavagṛhya – Yājñavalkyasmṛti in intimate relation to white Yajurveda and literature appurtenant to it – Yājñavalkya closely agrees with Pāraskaragṛhya – Dr. Jolly's theory that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of White Yājurveda is without foundation – date of Yājñavalkyasmṛti – Viśvarūpa separated from the smṛti by several centuries – probable date of Yājñavalkya between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. – Laṅkāvatārasūtra (gāthās 814-816) refers to Yājñavalkyasmṛti – Dr. Jolly thinks that Yāj. shows acquaintance with Greek astrology – Dr. Jacobi's theory that naming of week days after planets first introduced by Greeks and borrowed by Indians - these theories untenable – Yāj. does not mention week days, but only the nine planets (in I. 296) – Yāj. does not mention the zodiacal signs – he arranges the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī (I. 268) as the Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa does – 'susthe indau' in Yāj. explained by Viśvarūpa without reference to zodiacal signs–from Vedic times nakṣatras divided into auspicious and inauspicious–Yājñavalkya's reference to nāṇakas – Yāj. regards sight of yellow-

robed people as an evil omen – Dr. Jolly's date of 400 A. D. for Yājñavalkya is far too late – there is a Vṛddha-Yāj., a Yoga-Yāj., and a Bṛhad-Yāj. - Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed much earlier than 800 A. D. as Vācaspatimiśra quotes a halt verse from Yoga-Yāj. and Aparārka quotes profusely from him – mss. of Yoga-Yājñavalkya in Deccan College collection in 12 chapters and 495 vereses and of Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya in 12 chapters and 920 verses – Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya of the mss. are entirely different works - several commentaries on Yājñavalkya, viz. of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi.

Yāj. mentions Parāśara, but the extant Parāśarasmṛti is probably a recast of an older smṛti – Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) gives a summary of 39 verses of Parāśarasmṛti – From Kauṭilya it appears there was a work of Parāśara on politics - extant Parāśara in 12 chapters and 592 verses deals with ācāra and prāyaścitta alone – Parāśara, an ancient name – Parāśara mentions 19 smṛti writers – contents of the smṛti – Parāśara has peculiar views – authors cited by Parāśara – views of Manu frequently cited - several identical verses in Manu and Parāśara – age of Parāśarasmṛti between 100–500 A. D. - a Bṛhat–Parāśara saṁhitā in 12 chapters and 3000 verses – contents thereof – it is a late work – Vṛddha Parāśara quoted by Aparārka.

Two versions of Nārada on vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one – com. of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa is contained in Dr. Jolly's edition – Nārada not mentioned by Yāj. or Parāśara in list of expounders of dharma – three introductory chapters on judicial procedure and on sabhā, then 18 *vyavahārapadas*, then an appendix on theft from Nepal ms. – some difference in the names of titles between Nārada and Manu – printed Nārada contains 1028 verses – about 700 verses of Nārada quoted in digests – Viśvarūpa's and Medhātithi's quotations from Nārada agree with printed Nārada – Agnipurāṇa chap. 253 contains thirty verses of Nāradasmṛti defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādāna to prakīrṇaka in the same order – Nārada's verses on ācāra, śrāddha and prāyaścitta quoted in Smṛti candrikā, Hemādri – probably this is a different Nārada – form, style and metre of Nārada – Literature known to Nārada – 50 verses are

identical in Manu and Nārada - many more verses of Nārada closely correspond to Manu's - Nārada based upon Manu, almost the same as the extant one - Some verses of Mahābhārata are the same as Nārada's - some verses of Kauṭilya and Nārada agree - points in which Manu and Nārada differ - many subdivisions of topics in Nārada - some topics peculiar to Nārada, viz. 14 kinds of impotent persons, three punarbhūs and four svairiṇīs- Nārada somewhat later than Yāj. -Nārada propounds several juristic and political principles, fixes the period of minority at 16 - Nārada earlier than 8th century at the latest - Bāṇa's reference to Naradīya explained - Nārada wrote a work on politics also - one half verse common to Vikramorvaśīya and Nārada — 'dīnāra' occurs in Nārada - Dr. Jolly says Nārada is later than 300 A. D.— Jolly's assumption wrong - dīnāras may have been introduced into India about beginning of Christian era - Nārada flourished between 100-300 A. D. - home of Nārada cannot be ascertained - Dr. Jolly's theory that he came from Nepal is pure guess-work - Jyotir-Nārada, Bṛhan-Nārada, Laghu-Nārada — Mahābhārata quotes Nārada's view on flesh-eating, on utpātas.

The complete smṛti of Bṛhaspati on vyavahāra not yet discovered - Bṛhaspati closely follows Manu, pointedly refers to Manu's text and explains and defines the laconic terms of Manu - Bṛhaspati treats of nine ordeals - order in which topics of vyavahāra were dealt with in Bṛhaspati - Bṛhaspati first to clearly distinguish between civil and criminal justice–elaborate rules of procedure - close agreement between Nārada and Bṛhaspati on many points - Bṛhaspati agrees closely with Manu, but differs from him as to partibility of clothes and as to maximum interest on corn, fruit, wood and beasts of burden - age of Bṛhaspati - later than Manu and Yāj. - Bṛhaspati uses the words nāṇaka and dīnāra - probably of same age as Nārada - Kātyāyana who is regarded as an ancient sage by Viśvarūpa about 825 A. D. frequently refers to the views of Bṛhaspati - Dr. Jolly wrong in assigning Bṛhaspati to 6 or 7th century - Bṛhaspati flourished between 200-400 A. D. - home of Bṛhaspati cannot be determined - verses of Bṛhaspati on ācāra, śrāddha, āśauca and saṁskāra in Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and other works - a Vṛddha Bṛhaspati and a Jyotir-Bṛhaspati.

Work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra not yet recovered – account given here based on quotations – Nārada and Bṛhaspati are models of Kātyāyana – on several points he presupposes Nārada - Nārada very brief on strīdhana, while Kātyāyana's treatment is classical - Kātyāyana first to give definitions of some kinds of strīdhana – Kātyāyana often refers to Bṛhaspati's views – About 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra quoted in digests - he refers to Bhṛgu 20 times - only a few of these are found in Manu - Many of the views attributed in Kātyāyana to Manu are not found in extant Manusmṛti – some of the views ascribed to Mānavas by Kātyāyana differed from the views of the extant Manusmṛti – some verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana and Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati in the digests – Kātyāyana is in advance of Nārada and Bṛhaspati in the matter of definitions and as to rules on strīdhana – Kātyāyana probably first to distinguish between *jayapatra* and *paścātkāra* – date of Kātyāyana – later than Yājvalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati – flourished between 400–600 A. D. – Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) quotes a Kātyāyana sūtra in prose – Bṛhat Kātyāyana and Vṛddha Kātyāyana – Hemādri speaks of Upa-Kātyāyana – the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana or Gobhilasmṛti in 500 verses - contents thereof – authors named by Karmapradīpa - some verses of it identical with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Mahābhārata – Karmapradīpa profusely quoted in Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā and to a lesser degree by Mitākṣarā - some quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana on topics other than vyavahāra are not found in the Karmapradīpa - Kātyāyana composed some large work of which Karmapradīpa is part or abridgment – no sufficient data to identify jurist Kātyāyana and the author of the Karmapradīpa.

Quoted frequently on all topics except vyavahāra by writers from Viśvarūpa-Smṛticandrikā quotes some prose passages from Aṅgiras – several compilations on prāyaścitta attributed to Aṅgiras – Bṛhad-Aṅgiras and Madhyamāṅgiras.

Frequently quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on ācāra, āśauca and śrāddha - one verse on partition - a prose quotation in Smṛticandrikā.

Quoted on āhnika, āśauca, śrāddha and vyavahāra by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā - recommends writing as essential for sale, mortgage, gift and partition of immovables.

Yama quoted in Vas. Dh. S. (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) - various printed compilations in verse ascribed to Yama — Bṛhad Yama in 5 chapters and 182 verses— Viśvarūpa and others quote about a hundred verses of Yama on all topics including vyavahāra—some of these found in printed text - a few prose passages of Yama quoted by Aparārka - Anuśāsanaparva 104. 72-74 quotes gāthās of Yama - some views of Yama on vyavahāra set out - Bṛhad Yama, Laghu Yama and Svalpa Yama.

Mitākṣarā quotes verses on āśauca and prāyaścitta, while Aparārka quotes prose and verse passages on saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva &c.

Named by Vṛddha Yājñavalkya - verses quoted on all topics except vyavahāra.

Printed compilation ascribed to Vyāsa in 250 verses - contents - about two hundred verses of Vyāsa on vyavahāra cited in Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works - his doctrines closely agree with those of Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana - some of his views on vyavahāra set out - flourished between 200-500 A. D. - Aparārka cites many verses from Vyāsa on saṁskāras, śrāddha &c. - probably Vyāsa the jurist is identical with the latter - Gadya-Vyāsa, Vṛddha-Vyāsa and Bṛhad-Vyāsa, Mahāvyāsa and Laghu Vyāsa.

This was a compilation like Caturviṁśati-mata - quotations from it cited in Kalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and Aparārka - Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention it - date between 700-900 A. D. - no verse quoted from this on vyavahāra.

Keśavabhaṭṭa - Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 263-264) mentions Asahāya by name and quotes latter's explanation of Gautama 22. 13. - Hāralatā of Aniruddha speaks of bhāṣya of Asahāya on Gautama - from a passage of Sarasvatīvilāsa it appears that Asahāya commented on Manu also - Medhātithi on Manu 8. 156 quotes Asahāya - Mitākṣarā mentions the views of Asahāya - date of Asahāya between 600-750 A. D.- a few views of Asahāya set out, viz. definition of dāya, succession to Śulka of a woman, succession to a childless brāhmaṇa.

An ancient Bhāṣyakāra mentioned by Medhātithi (on Manu 8. 3) - his views cited by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana - he wrote bhāṣya on Kātyāyana śrautasūtra and Pāraskara gṛhyasūtra - probably he commented on Gautamadharmasūtra - flourished about 800 A. D.

His commentary called Bālakrīḍā on Yāj. published at Trivandrum - Mitākṣarā refers to it in introductory verses and on Yāj. (I. 80 and III. 24) - printed com. of Viśvarūpa on vyavāhāra portion of Yāj. is very meagre - literature referred to or quoted by Viśvarūpa - most of the quotations from Svāyambhuva found in extant Manu, but not so those ascribed to Bhṛgu - quotes prose passages of Bṛhaspati on vyavahāra - quotes a verse of Viśālākṣa on politics and refers to arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas - Kauṭilya not named, yet Viśvarūpa seems to have had his work before him - Viśvarūpa's work saturated with doctrines of Pūrvamīmāṁsā - quotes Śabara and Ślokavārtika - quotes his own kārikās on Yāj. I. 7. and other places - his philosophical views identical with Śaṅkarācārya's - Dr. Jolly's view that citations of Viśvarūpa in the Smṛticandrikā on certain points not traced in the printed Bālakrīḍā examined and shown to be incorrect - some citations of Viśvarūpa's views in Gṛhastharatnākara and Hemādri not found in printed text of Viśvarūpa - points in which Viśvarupa and Mitākṣarā differ set out - Viśvarūpa must have flourished between 750 and 1000 A. D. - If Viśvarūpa identical with Sureśvara, pupil of Śaṅkara, then he flourished between 800-850 - reasons for identity set out - Maṇḍana and

Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja on srāddha - Mitākṣarā and Dhāreśvara disagree on several points, e. g. on the question whether ownership was known from śāstra alone, on the meaning of 'duhitaraḥ' in Yāj. - on other points the two agree - Bhūpālapaddhati or simply Bhūpāla or rāja refers to a work of Bhojadeva - Bhujabalabhīma of Bhojarāja quoted in Tithitattva and Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana as distinct from the Rājamārtaṇḍa - Bhoja reigned from 1000 to 1055 A. D. - Dharmapradīpa of Bhoja is the work of another Bhoja, who was son of Bhāramalla and king of Āśāpura - it was written between 1400–1600 A. D.

Sec. 65 *Devasvāmin* : ... pp. 279–281

Said by Smṛticandrikā to have composed a digest of smṛtis - Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Āśvalāyanagṛhya, relies on bhāṣya of Devasvāmin - he composed a digest on ācāra, vyavahāra and āśauca - Smṛticandrikā quotes his views on the meaning of Yautaka, on the meaning of duhitaraḥ in Yāj., on Manu 9. 141 - A Devasvāmin commented on Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras and on the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa - difficult to say whether he is identical with the writer on dharmaśāstra - Devasvāmin flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.

Sec. 66 *Jitendriya* : ... 281-283

He is frequently quoted by Jīmūtavāhana in his three works - Jitendriya held that the wives of a person whether separated or joint succeeded to their deceased husband - no early writer other than Jīmūtavāhana cites him - flourished between 1000-1050 A. D.

Sec. 67 *Bālaka* : ... pp. 283-284

Mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana, Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana - several views of Bālaka set out - flourished before 1100 A. D.

Sec. 68 *Bālarūpa* : ... pp. 284-286

The opinions of Bālarūpa are cited in the Smṛtisāra and Vivādacandra - also in the Vivādacintāmaṇi - he wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla - Bālaka and Bālarūpa are probably identical - Bālarūpa is certainly earlier than 1250 A. D. - Vivādacandra once speaks of 'author of Bālarūpa', suggesting thereby that Bālarūpa was a work,

Author of Vyavahāratilaka - also of Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarmapaddhati - contents of latter - another work is Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa - light on personal history of Bhavadeva in inscription at Bhuvaneśvara - he was a great builder of temples and tanks - flourished between 1050-1150 A. D. - Bhavadeva and Pradīpa - other authors on dharmaśāstra named Bhavadeva.

An ancient work on vyavahāra, dāna, śrāddha &c. - whether an independent digest is doubtful - was probably a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti composed between 1000-1100 A. D. - Mahārṇavaprakāśa, Smṛtimahārṇava or Mahārṇava quoted by Hemādri are all names for the same work - probably Prakāśa and Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa are identical.

Several works on dharma end in Pārijāta - an ancient work called Pārijāta quoted by Kalpataru - it dealt with at least vyavahāra, dāna - composed between 1000-1125 A. D.

Wrote com. on Manusmṛti and a work called Smṛtimañjarī - personal history of Govindarāja - he is not to be identified with king Govindacandra of Benares - Kullūka frequently criticizes Govindarāja - contents of Smṛtimañjarī - date of Govindarāja between 1050-1140 A. D.

An extensive work which exercised great influence over early Mithilā and Bengal writers - personal history of Lakṣmīdhara - work divided into fourteen kāṇḍas - their arrangement - contents of vyavahāra, rājadharma and dāna kāṇḍas - date of Kalpataru between 1100-1150 A. D. - Caṇḍeśvara borrowed extensively from Kalpataru.

He is first of the three great Bengal writers on dharmaśāstra - only three works known, Kālaviveka, Vyavahāramātṛkā and Dāya-

literary activity in 3rd quarter of 12th century, as Dānasāgara was composed in śake 1091 - Aniruddha was *guru* of Ballālasena.

Sec. 84 *Harihara* : ... pp. 341-343

A writer on vyavahāra - he flourished before 1300 A. D. - Harihara composed commentary on Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra - this Harihara flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. - whether he was pupil of Vijñāneśvara - a Harihara comments on Āsaucadaśaka - jurist Harihara probably identical with bhāṣyakāra of Pāraskara - several Hariharas known.

Sec. 85 *Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 343-347

An extensive digest - printed text deals with saṁskāra, ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha and āśauca - he wrote on prāyaścitta also - name variously written - profusely quotes Smṛtikāras, 600 verses of Kātyāyana alone on vyavahāra being quoted - authors and works named - author a southerner - contents - points in which Mitākṣarā and Smṛticandrikā differ - date between 1150 and 1225 A. D. - several works named Smṛticandrikā.

Sec. 86 *Haradatta* : ... pp. 347-353

His fame high as a commentator - his Anākulā on Āpastambagṛhya, Anāvilā on Āśvalāyanagṛhya, Mitākṣarā on Gautamadharmasūtra, Ujjvalā on Āpastambadharmasūtra and a com. on the Āpastambamantrapāṭha - explains grammatical peculiarities at great length - he was a southerner - a great devotee of Śiva - tradition says Rudradatta and Haradatta are identical - Haradatta on widow's right of succession - interesting information from Haradatta - date, a difficult problem - between 1100-1300 A. D. - Haradatta, commentaror of dharmaśāstra works, is identical with Haradatta, author of Padamañjarī - Haradattācārya mentioned in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa and Śivarahasya is probably the Haradattācārya cited in Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha - Hariharatāratamya and Caturvedatātparyasaṁgraha are works ascribed to Haradatta.

Sec. 87 *Hemādri* : ... pp. 354-359

He and Mādhava the two outstanding dākṣinātya writers on dharmaśāstra - his Caturvargacintāmaṇi is a huge work of an ency-

clopædic character - projected to contain five sections - printed parts comprise vrata, dāna, śrāddha and kāla - Hemādri a profound student of Pūrvamīmāṁsā - predecessors named by him - personal history of Hemādri - his connection with Yādavas of Devagiri - genealogy of the Yādavas - Caturvargacintāmaṇi composed about 1270 A. D. - com. on Śaunaka's Praṇavakalpa and a śrāddhakalpa according to Kātyāyana are attributed to him - Vopadeva, a friend and a protegee of Hemādri - references to Hemādri's work in grants.

A famous commentator of Manusmṛti - he drew largely upon Medhātithi's bhāṣya and Govindarāja - Sir William Jones on Kullūka - authors and works quoted by him - personal history - he wrote Smṛtiviveka, of which Aśaucasāgara, Śrāddhasāgara and Vivādasāgara were parts - contents of Śrāddhasāgara - this is full of Pūrvamīmāṁsā discussions - date of Kullūka uncertain - flourished between 1150-1300 A. D.

One of the earliest *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra from Mithilā - contents of Ācārādarśa and authors quoted therein - his Candogāhnika - his Pitṛbhakti - authors quoted in it - his Śrāddhakalpa - his Samayapradīpa - contents of the work - flourished between 1200-1300 A. D., probably about 1275-1300 A. D. - another Śrīdattamiśra, a Maithila writer, who flourished towards end of 14th century.

Most prominent among Maithila *nibandhakāras* - compiled extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara in seven sections on *dāna*, kṛtya vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and gṛhastha - contents of Kṛtyaratnākara, Gṛhastharatnākara, Dānaratnākara, Vivādaratnākara and other ratnākaras - he also compiled Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, the Rājanītiratnākara, Dānavākyāvali and Śivavākyāvali - contents of Rājanītiratnākara - he drew principally upon five viz. Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha - authors and works quoted - personal history of Caṇḍeśvara - genealogy - he was minister of Harisiṁhadeva of Mithilā and later of Bhaveśa and weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. - literary activity between 1314-1370 A. D.

Ratnākara, Gopīnātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara, and entrusted composition of work to them - date of Madanaratna between 1350-1500, probably about 1425-50.

His authority in Bengal is next only to Jīmūtavāhana's - Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, his earliest work - holds archaic views on inheritance - his Smṛtiviveka, of which fourteen parts ending in '*viveka*' are known - Durgotsavaviveka is amongst his latest works - Śrāddhaviveka is his most famous work - authors and works named by him - personal history little known - exact age uncertain - flourished between 1375-1460 A. D.

A Maithila writer - wrote Śrāddhaviveka, Śuddhiviveka, Vratapaddhati and Varṣakṛtya, the first being the most famous of his works - flourished between 1425-1460 A. D

Wrote Vivādacandra - contents - work composed under orders of queen Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasiṁha of Mithilā - flourished about 1450 A. D.

The foremost nibandhakāra of Mithilā - his Vivādacintāmaṇi of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā - a voluminous writer - several works of his styled Cintāmaṇi on ācāra, āhnika, kṛtya, tīrtha, dvaita, nīti, vivāda, vyavahāra, śuddhi, śūdrācāra, śrāddha - works named by him - a group of his works ends in 'nirṇaya' viz. Tithinirṇaya, Dvaitanirṇaya, Mahādānanirṇaya, Vivādanirṇaya, Śuddhinirṇaya, - he also contemplated writing seven works styled Mahārṇava on kṛtya, ācāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pitṛyajña - other works of his- Śrāddhakalpa or Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī his last work - personal history of Vācaspati - connected with king Bhairava and his son Rāmabhadra - genealogy of Kāmeśvara kings - Vācaspati flourished between 1425-1480 A. D. - philosopher Vācaspati different.

An encyclopædic work - divided into 12 sections called 'sāra'- the author's name variously given as Dalapati or Dalādhīśa - personal

history - writers and works named - contents of the work - flourished between 1400-1510 A. D., probably about 1490 to 1510.

He was king of the Gajapati dynasty in Orissa and composed Ṣarasvatīvilāsa - pedigree and history of family - purpose and contents of Sarasvatīvilāsa -works quoted - composed between 1497-1539 A. D. - Foulke's theory about date not acceptable - the Pratāpamārtaṇḍa or Prauḍhapratāpamārtaṇḍa of Pratāparudradeva.

Author of Dānakaumudī, Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakaumudī and Varṣakriyākaumudī and a com. called Arthakaumudī on the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa and a com. Tattvārthakaumudī on the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi- literary activity between 1500-1540 A. D.

Last great writer of Bengal on dharmaśāstra - wrote an *encyclopaedia* called Smṛtitattva in 28 sections - names over 300 authors and works - 28 tattvas enumerated - other works besides these 28- wrote also com. on Dāyabhāga - personal history - authors and works quoted - flourished between 1500- 1575.

The most famous member of the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares - personal history - born in 1513 A. D. - among his works are Antyeṣṭipaddhati, Tristhalīsetu, Prayogaratna, and com. on verses of Kālamādhava - literary activity between 1540-1570 A. D. - Nārāyaṇa author of Dharmapravṛtti different.

An encyclopaedia on dharma, several parts of which were called Saukhya - authors and works quoted - personal history of Ṭoḍaramalla - he died in 1589.

A voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra - author of com. on Parāśarasmṛti and on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara - his Śrāddha-

kalpalatā - his Śuddhicandrikā, a com. on the Ṣaḍaśīti - his work styled Smṛtisindhu and a summary of it styled Tattvamuktāvalī - his Vaijayantī, a com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra - his agreements and disagreements with Mitākṣarā - Dattaka-mīmāṁsā, his most famous work - it is regarded by British Indian courts and Privy Council as standard work on adoption - his views set out - personal history - he had various patrons - his thirteen works - Vaijayantī composed in 1623 A. D.

Grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa - personal history - composed more than 22 works on several śāstras - about a dozen works on dharmaśāstra, the Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdrakamalākara and Vivādatāṇḍava being most famous - he meant all the works on dharmaśāstra to be parts of a digest called Dharmatattva - contents of Pūrtakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Śūdrakamalākara and Nirṇayasindhu - the last, one of his earliest works composed in 1612 A. D. and so his literary activity lies between 1610-1650 A. D.

Grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa - personal history - his work Bhagavantabhāskara divided into twelve mayūkhas composed in honour of Bhagavantadeva, Bundella chieftain-also wrote Vyavahāratattva-estimate of his qualities as a writer - his Vyavahāramayūkha is of paramount authority on Hindu Law in Gujerat, Bombay Island and North Konkan - his literary activity - flourished between 1610-1650 - divergence of views between the cousins Kamalākara and Nīlakaṇṭha..

Vīramitrodaya, a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra on all topics of dharmaśāstra - sections called prakāśas - contents of the printed prakāśas on Lakṣaṇa, āhnika, vyavahāra, tīrtha, pūjā, saṁskāra, rājanīti - highly controversial work - generally follows Vijñāneśvara, but at times severely criticizes him - a work of high authority in Benares school of modern Hindu Law - Mitramiśra also wrote a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti - personal history - account

and pedigree of his patron Vīrasiṁha - meaning of title 'Vīramitrodaya' - his literary activity lay in the first half of the 17th century.

Composed a vast digest called Smṛtikaustubha on saṁskāra, ācāra, rājadharma, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, tithi and saṁvatsara - Saṁskārakaustubha is most popular work - contents of Saṁskārakaustubha - portion of it on adoption called Dattakadīdhiti - summary of important views on adoption - contents of Abdadīdhiti and Rājadharmakaustubha - pedigree of his patron's family - Anantadeva wrote at command of Baz Bahadurcandra - Anantadeva was great-grand-son of Ekanātha, a great Marathi poet and saint - his younger brother Jīvadeva - literary activity between 1645-1695.

His learning of an enclyclopaedic character - wrote standard works on grammar, dharmaśāstra, yoga, &c. - total number of works about 30 - wrote about ten works on dharmaśāstra - personal history - his patron Rāma of the Bisen family - pedigrees of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Nāgoji's connection with Bhaṭṭoji - literary activity between 1700-1750 A. D.

Lakṣmīvyākhyāna or Bālambhaṭṭī is a com. on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara - Bālambhaṭṭī favours latitudinarian views about the rights of women - estimate of Bālambhaṭṭī according to judicial decisions - author of Bālambhaṭṭī somewhat of an enigma - introductory verses about the authoress Lakṣmīdevī - real author Bālakṛṣṇa, son of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, who was a pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa - Bālakṛṣṇa also wrote Upākṛtitattva, Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha - Vaidyanātha, the commentator of Alaṁkāra works, different from Vaidyanātha, Pāyaguṇḍa, the father of Bālambhaṭṭa - flourished between 1730-1820 A. D.

Composed extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra - leading work in Deccan now on religious matters - subjects of the work -

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA.

1. Meaning of Dharma.

Dharma is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue. That word has passed through several vicissitudes. In the hymns of the Ṛgveda the word appears to be used either as an adjective or a noun (in the form *dharman*, generally neuter) and occurs at least fifty-six times therein. It is very difficult to say what the exact meaning of the word *dharma* was in the most ancient period of the vedic language. The word is clearly derived from root *dhṛ* (to uphold, to support, to nourish). In a few passages, the word appears to be used in the sense of 'upholder or supporter or sustainer' as in Ṛg. I. 187.1[1] and X. 92.2[2]. In these two passages and in Ṛg. X. 21.3[3] the word *dharma* is clearly masculine. In all other cases, the word is either obviously in the neuter or presents a form which may be either masculine or neuter. In most cases the meaning of *dharman* is 'religious ordinances or rites' as in Ṛg. I. 22. 18, V. 26. 6, VIII. 43. 24, IX. 64. 1 &c. The refrain 'tani dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan' occurs in Ṛg. I. 164, 43 and 50, X. 90. 16. Similarly we have the words 'prathamā dharmā' (the primeval or first ordinances) in Ṛg. III. 17. 1. and X. 56. 3 and the words 'sanatā dharmāṇi (ancient ordinances) occur in Ṛg. III. 3. 1. In some passages this sense of 'religious rites' would not suit the context, e. g. in IV. 53. 3[4], V. 63. 7[5], VI. 70. 1[6], VII. 89. 5[7]. In these passages the meaning seems to be 'fixed principles or rules of conduct'. In the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā the above senses of the word *dharman* are found and in II. 3 and V. 27 we have the words 'dhruveṇa dharmaṇā'. In the same Saṁhitā

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1 पितुं नु स्तोषं महो धर्माणं तविषीम् । This occurs in शुक्लयजुर्वेद 34.7.

2 इममञ्जस्पामुभये अकृण्वत धर्माणमग्निं विदथस्य साधनम् ।

3 हवे धर्माणे आसते जुहूभिः सिञ्चतीरिव ।

4 आप्रा रजांसि दिव्यानि पार्थिवा श्लोकं देवः कृणुते स्वाय धर्मणे ।

5 धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रता रक्षेथे असुरस्य मायया ।

6 द्यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कभिते अजरे भूरिरेतसा ।

7 अचित्ती यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः ।

the form 'dharmaḥ' (from dharma) becomes frequent, e.g. X. 29, XX. 9. The Atharvaveda contains many of those verses of the Ṛgveda in which the word *dharman* occurs, e.g. VI. 51. 3 (acittyā chet tava dharmā yuyopima), VII, 5. 1 (Yajñena yajñamayajanta) VII. 27. 5 (trīṇi padā vicakrame). In XI. 9. 17 the word 'dharmaḥ' seems to be used in the sense of 'merit acquired by the performance of religious rites[8].' In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the word *dharma* seems to be used in an abstract sense[9], viz. 'the whole body of religious duties'. In the Chāndogya-upaniṣad[10] (2. 23) there is an important passage bearing on the meaning of the word *dharma* 'there are three branches of *dharma*, one is (constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i. e. the stage of house-holder); the second (is constituted by) austerities (i. e. the stage of being a hermit); the third is the *brahmacārin* dwelling in the house of his teacher and making himself stay with the family of his teacher till the last; all these attain to the worlds of meritorious men; one who abides firmly in *brahman* attains immortality.' It will be seen that in this passage the word '*dharma*' stands for the peculiar duties of the *āśramas*. The foregoing brief discussion establishes how the word *dharma* passed through several transitions of meaning and how ultimately its most prominent significance came to be 'the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life.' It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation to the pupil contained in the Taittirīya-upaniṣad (I. 11) 'speak the truth, practise (your own) *dharma* &c.' It is in the same sense that the Bhagavadgītā uses the word *dharma* in the oft-quoted verse 'svadharme nidhanaṁ śreyaḥ.' The word is employed in this sense in the *dharmaśāstra* literature. The Manusmṛti (1. 2) tells us that the

8 ऋतं सत्यं तपो राष्ट्रं श्रमो धर्मश्च कर्म च । भूतं भविष्यदुच्छिष्टे वीर्यं लक्ष्मीर्बलं बले ॥

9 धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनीति तमभ्युत्क्रुष्टमेवंविदभिषेक्ष्यन्नेतयर्चाभिमन्त्रयेत । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 17; *vide* also a similar passage at A. Br. VIII. 13. The form *dharman* occurs in the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit in Bahuvrīhi compounds, e.g. अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् and the sūtra धर्मादनिच् केवलात् (पा. V. 4. 124).

10 त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एवेति द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति । Vide वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 18-20 for a discussion of this passage.

sages requested Manu to impart instruction in the *dharmas* of all the *varṇas*. The Yājñyavalkya-smṛiti (I. 1) employs it in the same sense. In the Tantra-Vārtika[11] also we are told that all the dharma-sūtras are concerned with imparting instruction in the *dharmas* of *varṇas* and *āśramas*. Medhātithi commenting on Manu says that the expounders of *smṛtis* dilate upon *dharma* as five-fold, e. g. *varṇadharma, aśrama-dharma, varṇāśrama-dharma, naimittikadharma* (such as prāyaścitta) and *guṇadharma* (the duty of a crowned king, whether Kṣatriya or not, to protect)[12]. It is in this sense that the word *dharma* will be taken in this work. Numerous topics are comprehended under the title dharmaśāstra, but in this work prominence will be given to works on *ācāra* and *vyavahāra* (law and administration of justice).

It would be interesting to recall a few other definitions of *dharma*. Jaimini[13] defines dharma as 'a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive (Vedic) passages.' The word *dharma* would mean such rites as are conducive to happiness and are enjoined by Vedic passages. The Vaiśeṣikasūtra[14] defines *dharma* as 'that from which results happiness and final beatitude.' There are several other more or less one-sided definitions of *dharma* such as 'ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ' (Anuśāsanaparva 115. 1.), 'ānṛśaṁsyam paro dharmaḥ' (Vanaparva 373. 76), 'ācāraḥ paramo dharmaḥ' (Manu I. 108). Hārīta defined dharma as 'śrutipramāṇaka[15]' (based on revelation). In the Buddhist sacred books the word *dharma* has several senses. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha (S. B. E. Vol. X. p. XXXIII). Another meaning of *dharma* peculiar to the Buddhist system is 'an element of existence, i. e. of matter, mind and forces[16].'

The present work will deal with the sources of *dharma*, their contents, their chronology and other kindred matters. As the

11 'सर्वधर्मसूत्राणां वर्णाश्रमधर्मोपदेशित्वात्' p. 237.

12 हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 19. 1 and गोविन्दराज on मनु 2.25 give the same fivefold classification.

13 चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः । पू. मी. सू. I. 1. 2.

14 अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः । वैशेषिकसूत्र.

15 अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः । श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः । श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च । quoted by कल्लूक on मनु. 2. 1.

16 *Vide* Dr. Stcherbatsky's monograph on 'the central conception of Buddhism' (1923) p. 73.

material is vast and the number of works is extremely large, only a few selected works and some important authors will be taken up for detailed treatment. More space will be devoted to comparatively early works.

2. Sources of Dharma.

The Gautamadharmasūtra[17] says 'the Veda is the source of *dharma* and the tradition and practice of those that know it (the Veda).' So Āpastamba[18] says 'the authority (for the *dharmas*) is the consensus of those that know *dharma* and the Vedas.' Vide also the Vasiṣṭhadharma-sūtra[19] (I. 4–6). The Manusmṛti[20] lays down five different sources of *dharma* 'the whole Veda is (the foremost) source of dharma and (next) the tradition and the practice of those that know it (the Veda); and further the usages of virtuous men and self-satisfaction.' Yājñavalkya[21] declares the sources in a similar strain 'the Veda, traditional lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one's self and desire born of due deliberation—this is traditionally recognised as the source of dharma.' These passages make it clear that the principal sources of *dharma* were conceived to be the Vedas, the Smṛtis, and customs. The Vedas do not contain positive precepts (*vidhis*) on matters of *dharma* in a connected form ; but they contain incidental references to various topics that fall under the domain of dharmaśāstra as conceived in later times. Such information to be gathered from the Vedic Literature is not quite as meagre as is commonly supposed. In another place[22] I have brought together about fifty Vedic passages that shed a flood of light on marriage, the forms of marriage, the different kinds of sons, adoption of a son, partition, inheritance, *śrāddha*, *strīdhana*. To take only a few examples. That brotherless maidens found it difficult to secure husbands is made clear by several Vedic passages.

17 वेदो धर्ममूलम् । तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले । गौ. ध. सू. I. 1-2.

18 धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 2.

19 श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः । तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम् । शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा ।

20 वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् । आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनुस्मृति II. 6.

21 श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः । सम्यक्सङ्कल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥ याज्ञ. I. 7.

22 *Vide* JBBRAS. vol. XXVI (1922), pp. 57–82.

'Like (a woman) growing old in her parents' house, I pray to thee as Bhaga from the seat common to all[23]'. Vide also Ṛgveda I 124. 7; IV. 5. 5 and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 and Nirukta III. 4-5. These passages constitute the basis of the rules of the dharmasūtras and the Yājñavalkya-smṛti against marrying a brotherless maiden[24]. This bar against marrying a brotherless maiden seems to have been due to the fear that such a girl might be an appointed daughter (*putrikā*) and that a son born of such a girl would be affiliated to his mother's father. This custom of *putrikā* is an ancient one and is alluded to in the Ṛgveda, according to Yāska[25]. Ṛgveda X. 85 is a very interesting hymn as regards marriage; verses from it are used even to this day in the marriage ritual.[26] It shows that in the remote Vedic age the marriage rite resembled in essence the Brāhma form as described in the Dharmasūtras and Manu.[27] But the purchase of a bride (i. e. what is called Āsura marriage in later literature) was not unknown in the Vedic age. A passage of the Maitrāyaṇīyasaṁhitā (I. 10. 11) is referred to in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra[28] in this connection, viz. 'she who being purchased by the husband'. The Gāndharva form is hinted at in the words[29] 'when a bride is fine-looking and well adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among men'. The importance of the *aurasa* son was felt even in the remote Vedic ages. 'Another (person) born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of (as to be taken in adoption[30])'. The Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VI. 3. 10. 5) propounds the well-known theory of the three debts[31]. The story

23 अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानादा सदसस्त्वामिये भगम् । ऋग्वेद II. 17. 7.

24 अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् । याज्ञ. I. 53; *vide* also मनु III. 11.

25 Vide Ṛgveda III. 31. 1. and Nirukta III. 4.

26 e. g. the verse गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय (ऋग्वेद X. 85. 36). Vide आप. गृ. सू. II. 4. 14.

27 गौ. ध. सू. IV. 4; बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 2; आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 17; मनु III. 27.

28 वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 36–37; note आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11 where the word 'purchase' is tried to be explained away and also पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15. 'क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्'

29 भद्रा वधूर्भवति यत्सुपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्रं वनुते जने चित् । ऋग्वेद X. 27. 12.

30 न हि ग्रभायारणः सुशेवो अन्योदर्यो मनसा मन्तवा उ । ऋग्वेद VII. 5. 8.

31 जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः ।

of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 3) suggests that a son could be adopted even when there was an *aurasa* son. The Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VII. 1. 8. 1) tells the story of Atri who gave an only son in adoption to Aurva. The Kṣetraja son of the Dharma-sūtras is often referred to in the earliest Vedic literature. 'What (sacrificer) invites you (Aśvins) in his house to a bed as a widow does a brother-in-law or a young damsel her lover'[32]. The Taittirīyasaṁhita makes it clear that a father could distribute his wealth among his sons during his own life time 'Manu divided his property among his sons' &c.[33] Another passage of the same *Saṁhitā* seems to suggest that the eldest son took the whole of the father's wealth 'therefore people establish their eldest son with wealth'[34]. Even in the Vedic ages the son excluded the daughter from inheritance 'a son born of the body does not give the paternal wealth to (his) sister'[35]. A passage of the Taittirīya-saṁhitā is relied upon by ancient and modern writers on *dharmaśāstra* for the exclusion of women in general from inheritance 'therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion and speak more weakly than even a low person'[36]. The Ṛgveda eulogises the stage of studenthood and the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the duties of the Brahmacārin such as not partaking of wine and offering every evening a *samidh* to fire[37]. The

32 को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ । ऋग्वेद X. 40. 2.

33 मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् । तै. सं. III. 1 9 4. This passage is relied upon by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 11 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 2.

34 तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै. सं. II. 5. 2. 7. This passage is referred to by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 12 and बौ. ध. सू. II 2. 5.

35 'न जामये तान्वो रिक्थमारैक्' ऋग्वेद III. 31. 2. Vide निरुक्त III. 5 for explanations of this verse.

36 तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरपि पापात्पुंस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति । तै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2. Here the portion spoken of is really that of the *soma* beverage. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 47 for reliance on this passage and also हरदत्त (on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 1) and सरस्वतीविलास (para. 21 and 336). Vide also शतपथब्रा. IV. 4. 2. 13 for a similar passage.

37 ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद्विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् । ऋग्वेद X. 109. 5. The शतपथब्रा. (XI. 5. 4. 18) reads 'तदाहुः । न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वश्नीयात्'. Compare मनु II. 177. Vide शतपथब्रा. XI. 3. 3. 1 for *samidh*.

Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VI.2. 8. 5) relates[38] how Indra consigned *Yatis* to wolves (or dogs) and how Prajāpati prescribed a Prāyaścitta for him. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the king and the learned Brāhmaṇa as the upholder of the sacred ordinances.[39] The Taittirīyasaṁhitā says 'therefore the Śūdra is not fit for sacrifice[40].' The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tells us that when a king or other worthy guest comes, people offer a bull or a cow[41]. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa speaks of Vedic study as *yajña* and the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka[42] enumerates the five *yajñas*, which are a prominent feature of the Manusmṛti. The Ṛgveda eulogises the gifts of a cow, horses, gold and clothes[43]. Another passage of the Ṛgveda[44] (thou art like a *prapā* in a desert) is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini (I. 3. 2) and by Viśvarūpa on Yajñavalkya as ordaining the maintenance of *prapas* (places where water is distributed to travellers). The Ṛgveda condemns the selfish man who only caters for himself[45].

The foregoing brief discussion will make it clear that the later rules contained in the *dharmasutras* and other works on *dharma-śāstra* had their roots deep down in the most ancient Vedic tradition and that the authors of the *dharmasūtras* were quite justified in looking up to the Vedas as a source of *dharma*. But, as said above, the Vedas do not profess to be formal treatises on *dharma*; they contain only disconnected statements on the various aspects of *dharma*; we have to turn to the smṛtis for a formal and connected treatment of the topics of the *dharmaśāstra*.

38 इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् । मेधातिथि (on मनु XI. 45) quotes this. Vide ऐ. ब्रा. 7. 28 and ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. 8. 1. 4, 13. 4. 17 and अथर्ववेद II. 5. 3.

39 एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैतौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ । शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5.

40 तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 6.

41 तद्यथैवादो मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वार्हत्युक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्त एवमस्मा एतत्क्षदन्ते यदग्निं मन्थन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. I.15. Compare वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 4. 8.

42 पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्ते सतति सन्तिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञः । तै. आ. 2. 10. 7.

43 उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण । हिरण्यदा अमृतत्वं भजन्ते वासोदाः सोम प्र तिरन्त आयुः ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 107. 2.

44 धन्वन्निव प्रपा असि त्वमग्न इयक्षवे पूरवे प्रत्न राजन् । ऋग्वेद X. 4. 1.

45 केवलाघो भवति केवलादी । ऋग्वेद X.117. 6.

3. When Dharmaśāstra works were first composed

The important question is to find out when formal treatises on *dharma* began to be composed. It is not possible to give a definite answer to this question. The Nirukta (III. 4-5) shows that long before Yāska heated controversies had raged on various questions of inheritance, such as the exclusion of daughters by sons and the rights of the appointed daughter (putrikā). It is very likely that these discussions had found their way in formal works and were not merely confined to the meetings of the learned. The manner in which Yāska writes suggests that he is referring to works in which certain Vedic verses had been cited in support of particular doctrines about inheritance[46]. It is further a remarkable thing that in connection with the topic of inheritance Yāska quotes a verse, calls it a śloka and distinguishes it from a ṛk.[47] This makes it probable that works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed either composed in the śloka metre or containing ślokas. Scholars like Bühler would say that the verses were part of the floating mass of mnemonic verses, the existence of which he postulates without very convincing or cogent arguments in his Introduction to the Manusmṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25 Intro.xc). If works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed before Yāska, a high antiquity will have to be predicated for them. The high antiquity of works on *dharmaśāstra* follows from other weighty considerations. It will be seen later on that the extant *dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B. C. Gautama[48] speaks of *dharmaśāstras* and the word *dharmaśāstra* occurs in Baudhāyana also (IV. 5.9). Baudhāyana speaks of a *dharmapāṭhaka* (I. 1. 9.). Besides Gautama quotes in numerous places the views of others in the words ' ityeke ' (e. g. II. 15, II. 58, III. 1, IV. 21, VII. 23). He refers to Manu[49] in one place and to ' Ācāryas ' in several places (III. 36, IV. 18 and 23).

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46 अथैतां जाम्या रिक्थप्रतिषेध उदाहरन्ति ज्येष्ठं पुत्रिकाया इत्येके । Vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, LXI (footnote) for Bühler's view refuting Roth's opinion that the whole discussion in the Nirukta is an interpolation.

47 तदेतदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि...स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥

48 गौ. ध. सू. 9.21 ' तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गानि उपवेदाः पुराणम् '. The words पृथग्धर्मविदस्त्रयः in गौ. ध. सू. 28.47 appear to refer to students of धर्मशास्त्र.

49 त्रीणि प्रथमान्यनिर्देश्यानि मनुः । गौ. ध. सू. 21.7.

Baudhāyana mentions by name several writers on dharma, viz. Aupajaṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Maudgalya and Hārīta. Āpastamba also cites the views of numerous sages such as those of Eka, Kaṇva, Kautsa, Hārīta and others. There is a Vārtika which speaks of Dharmaśātra[50]. Jaimini speaks of the duties of a Śūdra as laid down in the dharmaśāstra[51]. Patañjali shows that in his days *dharmasūtras* existed and that their authority was very high, being next to the commandments of God[52]. He quotes verses and dogmas that have their counterparts in the dharmasūtras. The foregoing discussion establishes that works on the *dharmaśāstra* existed prior to Yāska or at least prior to the period 600–300 B. C. and in the 2nd century B. C. they had attained a position of supreme authority in regulating the conduct of men.

In this book the whole of the extant literature on *dharma* will be dealt with as follows:—First come the dharmasūtras, some of which like those of Apastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana form part of a larger Sūtra collection, while there are others like those of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha which do not form part of a larger collection; some *dharmasutras* like that of Viṣṇu are, in their extant form, comparatively later in date than other *sūtra* works; some *sūtra* works like those of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paiṭhīnasi are known only from quotations. Then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya will be taken up for discussion; then later versified smṛtis like that of Nārada; there are many smṛti works like those of Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana that are known only from quotations. The two epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas also have played a great part in the development of the Dharmaśāstra. The commentaries on the smṛtis, such as those of Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Haradatta will be next passed

50 धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । Vide महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 242.

51 शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । पू. मी. सू. VI.7.6.

52 नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयति नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति अपवादैरुत्सर्गा बाध्यन्तामिति । महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 115 and vol. II, p. 365. पतञ्जलि quotes आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः (vol. I. p. 14) for which vide आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 तद्यथाम्रे फलार्थे निर्मिते छाया गन्ध इत्यनूत्पद्येते. पतञ्जलि says 'तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम्' and लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् (vol. I p. 25).

in review and then the digests on *dharma* such as the works of Hemādri, Toḍaramalla, Nīlakaṇṭha and others.

It is very difficult to settle the chronology of the works on dharmaśāstra, particularly of the earlier ones. The present writer does not subscribe to the view of Max Müller (H. A. S. L. p. 68) and others that works in continuous Anuṣṭubh metre followed sūtra works[53]. Our knowledge of the works of that period is so meagre that such a generalisation is most unjustifiable. Some works in the continuous śloka metre like the Manusmṛti are certainly older than the Viṣṇudharmasūtra and probably as old as, if not older than, the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra. One of the earliest extant dharmasūtras, that of Baudhāyana, contains long passages in the śloka metre, many of which are quotations and even Āpastamba has a considerable number of verses in the śloka metre. This renders it highly probable that works in the śloka metre existed before them. Besides a large literature on *dharma* existed in the days of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana which has not come down to us. In the absence of that literature it is futile to dogmatise on such a point.

4. The Dharmasūtras.

It seems that originally many, though not all, of the *dharmasūtras* formed part of the Kalpasūtras and were studied in distinct *sūtracaraṇas*. Some of the extant dharmasūtras here and there show in unmistakable terms that they presuppose the Gṛhyasūtra of the *caraṇa* to which they belong. Compare Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 16 with Āp. Gṛ. S. I. 12 and II. 5; and Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 20 with Baud. Gṛ. S. II. 11. 42 (and other sūtras)[54]. The Dharmasūtras belonging to all sūtracaraṇas have not come down to us. There is no dharmasūtra completing the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras; no Mānavadharmasūtra has yet come to light, though the

53 Vide S. B. E. vol. II, p. IX, but see Goldstücker's Pāṇini (pp. 59, 60, 78) against Max Müller and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael lectures for 1918, pp. 105–107.

54 अग्निमिद्ध्वा परिसमूह्य समिध आदध्यात् सायं प्रातर्यथोपदेशम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 16; अग्निमिद्ध्वा प्रागग्रैर्दर्भैरग्निं परिस्तृणाति । आप. गृ. I. 12 and इध्ममादायाघारावाघारयति दर्शपूर्णमासवत्तूष्णीम् । आप. गृ. II. 5; शेषमुक्तमष्टकाहोमे (बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 20) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 11. 42; मूर्धललाटनासाग्रप्रमाणा याज्ञिकस्य वृक्षस्य दण्डाः (बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 16) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 5. 66 and other places where पलाश is one of the याज्ञिक trees.

Mānava Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras are extant; in the same way we have the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras, but no Śāṅkhāyanadharmasūtra. It is only in the case of the Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana Sūtracaraṇas that we have a complete *kalpa* tradition with its three components of Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharma sūtras. The Tantravārtika of Kumārila contains very interesting observations on this point. It tells us that Gautama (dharmasūtra) and Gobhila (gṛhyasūtra) were studied by the *Chandogas* (Sāmavedins), Vasiṣṭha (dharmasūtra) by the Ṛgvedins, the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita by the followers of Vājasaneya-saṁhitā and the sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Taittirīya Śākhā[55]. The Tantravārtika (p. 179) establishes it as a *siddhānta* (on Jaimini I. 3. 11) that all the *dharma* and *gṛhya* sūtras are authoritative for all Aryan people. From this it appears that although originally all sūtracaraṇas might not have possessed dharmasūtras composed by the founder of the *caraṇa* or ascribed to him, yet gradually certain dharmasūtras were specially taken over or appropriated by certain *caraṇas*. As the *dharmasūtras* were mostly concerned with rules about the conduct of men as members of the Āryan community and did not deal with ritual of any kind, all *dharmasūtras* gradually became authoritative in all schools.

The *dharmasūtras* were closely connected with the *gṛhyasūtras* in subjects and topics. Most of the Gṛhyasūtras treat of the sacred domestic fire, the divisions of Gṛhya sacrifices, the regular morning and evening oblations, sacrifices on new and full moon, sacrifices of cooked food, annual sacrifices, marriage, *puṁsavana*, jātakarma, upanayana and other *saṁskāras*, rules for students and *snātakas* and holidays, śrāddha offerings, madhuparka. In most cases the Gṛihyasūtras confine themselves principally to the various events of domestic life; they rarely give rules about the conduct of men, their rights, duties and responsibilities. The dharmasūtras also contain rules on some of the above topics such as marriage and the saṃskāras,

55 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 179 'पुराणमानवेतिहासव्यतिरिक्तगौतमवासिष्ठशङ्खलिखितहारीतापस्तम्बबौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवत्प्रतिचरणं पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते। तद्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीये छन्दोगैरेव परिगृहीते। वासिष्ठं बह्वृचैरेव शङ्खलिखितोक्तं च वाजसनेयिभिः। आपस्तम्बबौधायनीये तैत्तिरीयैरेव प्रतिपन्ने। एवं तत्र तत्र गृह्यव्यवस्थाभ्युपगमादि दर्शयित्वा विचारयितव्यम्। किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाणान्युत सर्वेषाम्। (on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 11).

rules for Brahmacarya and snātakas and holidays, on śrāddha and madhuparka. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in the Āpastamba-gṛhyasūtra the topics of the duties of the Brahmacārin and of the house-holder, of *atithis* and of *śrāddha* are meagrely treated as compared with the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra. The dharma-sūtras very rarely describe the ritual of domestic life; they merely touch upon it; their scope is wider and more ambitious; their principal purpose is to dilate upon the rules of conduct, law and custom. Some sūtras are common to both the Āpastamba-gṛhya and the dharma sūtra[56]. Sometimes the gṛhyasūtra appears to refer to the dharmasūtra[57]. There are certain points which distinguish the dharmasūtras (the more ancient of them at least) from smṛtis. (a) Many dharmasūtras are either parts of the Kalpa belonging to each sūtracaraṇa or are intimately connected with the gṛhyasūtras. (b) The dharmasūtras sometimes betray some partiality in their Vedic quotations for the texts of that Veda to which they belong or in the caraṇas of which they are studied. (c) The authors of the (older) dharmasūtras do not claim to be inspired seers or superhuman beings[58], while the other smritis such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya are ascribed to Gods like Brahmā. (d) The *dharmasūtras* are in prose or in mixed prose and verse; the other smṛtis are in verse. (e) The language of the *dharmasūtras* is generally more archaic than that of the other smṛtis. (f) The *dharmasūtras* do not proceed upon any orderly arrangement of topics, while the other smritis (even the oldest of them, viz. Manusmṛiti) arrange their contents and treat of the subjects under three principal heads viz. *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*. (g) Most of the *dharmasūtras* are older than most of the other smṛtis.

5. The Dharmasūtra of Gautama.

This has been printed several times (there is Dr. Stenzler's edition of 1876, the Calcutta edition of 1876, the Ānandāśrama

56 e. g. पालाशो दण्डो ब्राह्मणस्य...इत्यवर्णसंयोगेनैक उपदिशन्ति । आप.गृ. IV. 17. 15. 16 and आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 38.

57 e. g. the आप. गृ. says 'मासि श्राद्धस्यापरपक्षे यथोपदेशं कालाः' (VIII. 21. 1.). This has in view आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 4-22.

58 Compare गौ. ध. I. 3-4 and आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4. 'तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात्' and आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 9 तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः.

edition with the commentary of Haradatta, and the Mysore Government edition with the bhāṣya of Maskari; it was translated by Bühler in S. B. E., Vol. II. with an introduction). The Ānandāśrama edition of 1910 which is incorrect in a few places (e. g. 21. 7) has been used in this work. This dharmasūtra is, as we shall see, the oldest of those we have. The Gautama-dharmasūtra was specially studied by followers of the Sāmaveda (see note 55 above). The commentary on the Caraṇavyūha tells us that Gautama was one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇāyanīya school of the Sāmaveda. A teacher Gautama is mentioned frequently in the Lāṭyāyanaśrautasūtra (e. g. I. 3. 3 and I. 4. 17) and in the Drāhyāyaṇaśrauta (e. g. I. 4. 17, IX. 3. 15) of the Sāmaveda. The Gobhilagṛhya (III. 10. 6) which belongs to the Sāmaveda cites Gautama as an authority. Therefore it is not improbable that a complete Gautamasūtra embodying Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma doctrines once existed. There are other indications pointing to the close connection of the Gautama-dharmasūtra with the Sāmaveda. Chapter 26 of the dharmasūtra about *Kṛcchra* penance is the same, almost word for word, as the Sāmavidhāna[59] Brāhmaṇa (I. 2, Burnell's ed.). Among the purificatory texts (21 in number) mentioned in Gau. Dh. S. (19. 12) there are nine that are Sāmans. The mention of the five utterances ('Vyāhṛtis') resembles the number in the Vyāhṛtisāma[60] though the order is different. It is however to be noted that Gautama is a generic name. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad, both Naciketas (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6) and his father (I. 1. 10) are styled Gautama. In the Chāndogyopaniṣad there is a teacher Hāridrumata Gautama (IV. 4. 3).

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59 There are however considerable divergences; e. g. गौ. ध. सू. 26. 10–12 are 'आपो हि ष्ठेति तिसृभिः पवित्रवतीभिर्मार्जयीत हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका इत्यष्टाभिः। अथोदकतर्पणम्। नमोऽहमाय &c. while the सामविधान is 'आपोहिष्ठीयाभिरथोदकतर्पणं नमोऽहमाय'. गौ. ध. सू. 26.12 contains many additions. Wherever there is divergence, it is generally Gautama that amplifies the passages found in the सामविधान.

60 गौ. ध. सू. I. 52 ओंपूर्वा व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः. Again in गौ. ध. सू. 25. 8 we have प्रतिषिद्धवाङ्मनसापचारे व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः; while in गौ. 28. 8. the five व्याहृतिs seem to be भूः, भुवः, स्वः, तपः, सत्यं. As हरदत्त remarks the five व्याहृतिs in व्याहृतिसाम are भूः, भुवः, स्वः, सत्यं, पुरुषः. The व्याहृतिs are generally declared to be seven (तै. आ. 10. 28.1), the first three being styled महाव्याहृतिs (vide मनु II. 81.)

According to Haradatta the dharmasūtra has 28 chapters. The Calcutta edition adds one chapter on *Karmavipāka* after chapter 19. In many places Gautama unmistakably refers to his own previous *dicta*; e. g. Yathoktam vā (23. 16) refers to 23. 10; 23. 26 refers to 17. 8-26; 17. 18 refers to 15. 18. The following are briefly the contents of the Gautamadharmasūtra :—1. Sources of dharma, rules about interpretation of texts, time of *Upanayana* for the four *varṇas*, the appropriate girdle, deer skin, cloth and staff for each Varṇa, rules about *śauca* and ācamana, method of approaching the teacher; 2 rules about those not invested with sacred thread, rules for the *brahmacārin*, control of pupils, period of study; 3 The four āśramas, the duties of *brahmacārin*, *bhikṣu*, and *vaikhānasa*; 4 rules about the house-holder, marriage, age at time of marriage, eight forms of marriage, sub-castes; 5 rules about sexual intercourse on marriage, the five great daily sacrifices, the rewards of gifts, *madhuparka*, method of honouring guests of the several castes; 6 rules about showing respect to parents, relatives (male and female) and teachers, rules of the road; 7 rules about the avocations of a brāhmaṇa, avocations for him in distress, what articles a brāhmaṇa could not sell or deal in; 8 the forty saṁskāras and the eight spiritual qualities (such as *dayā*, forbearance &c.); 9 the observances for a *snātaka* and householder; 10 the peculiar duties of the four castes, the responsibilities of the king, taxation, sources of ownership, treasure-trove, guardianship of minor's wealth; 11 Rājadharma, the qualities of the king's *purohita*; 12 punishments for libel, abuse, assault, hurt, adultery and rape, theft in the case of the several varṇas and rules about money-lending and usury and adverse possession, special privileges of brāhmaṇas as to punishments; payment of debts, deposits; 13 rules about witnesses, falsehoods when excusable; 14 rules of impurity on birth and death; 15 Śrāddha of five kinds, persons not fit to be invited at Śrāddha; 16 Upākarma, period of Vedic study in the year, holidays and occasions for them; 17 rules about food allowed and forbidden to Brāhmaṇas and other castes; 18 the duties of women, *niyoga* and its conditions, discussion about the son born of *niyoga*; 19 the causes and occasions of prāyaścitta, five things that remove sin (*japa*, *tapas*, *homa*, fasting, gifts), purificatory Vedic prayers, holy food for one who practises *japa*, various kinds of *tapas* and gifts, appropriate times and places for *japa* &c; 20 abandoning a sinner who does not undergo prāyaścitta and the way of doing it; 21 sinners of various grades, mahāpātakas, upapātakas

&c.; 22 prāyaścittas for various sins such as *brahmahatyā*, adultery, killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, cow and other animals &c.; 23 prāyaścitta for drinking wine, and nasty things, for incest and unnatural offences, and for several transgressions by brahmacārin; 24 secret *prāyaścittas* for *mahāpātakas* and *upapātakas*; 26 the penances called Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra; 27 the penance called Cāndrāyaṇa; 28 partition, strīdhana, reunion, twelve kinds of sons, inheritance.

The Gautama-dharmasūtra is written entirely in prose and it contains no verses either quoted or composed by the author himself, as is the case with the other *dharmasūtras*. Here and there occur sūtras that look like portions of Anuṣṭubh verses e.g. 23. 27[61]. The language of Gautama agrees far more closely with the standard set up by Pāṇini than the *dharmasūtras* of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. It is not very easy to account for this difference. It is obvious that commentators and generations of students that were brought up in the tradition of the Pāṇinean grammar tampered with the text and improved it in accordance with their notions of correct Sanskrit. But why this process should not have been carried out to the same extent in the case of Āpastamba it is difficult to say. A conjecture may be hazarded that the Āp. Dh. S. being a well-knit component of the Āp. *Kalpa* and being studied as such was less liable to being tampered with than the Gautama Dh. S., which probably did not in its origin belong to any particular *kalpa*. The same commentator, Haradatta, explained both Gautama and Āpastamba. Haradatta, who as will be seen later on, was a great grammarian, shows in several places that the current reading was ungrammatical from the Pāṇinean stand-point and that he preferred readings that were in consonance with Pāṇini's rules[62]. There are still a few un-Pāṇinean words, e.g. in 1. 14 ('dvāviṁśateḥ' for dvāviṁśāt') and 9. 52 (kulaṁkula). The Tantravārtika (p. 99) appears

61 आक्रोशानृतहिंसासु त्रिरात्रं परमं तपः ।

62 e. g. on गौ. ध. सू. 16. 21 (ऋग्यजुषं च सामशब्दो यावत्) he says 'ऋक्च यजुश्च ऋग्यजुषम् । अचतुरेत्यादिना निपातः । षष्ठ्यन्तपाठस्तु (i. e. ऋग्यजुषां) नास्मभ्यं रोचते;' on गौ. ध. सू. 25. 8 (प्रतिषिद्धवाङ्मनसापचारे) he says वाङ्मनसोरिति पाठोऽस्मभ्यं न रोचते। अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिप्रसङ्गात् ।'

to discuss the various readings in Gautama (I. 45[63]). A few sūtras quoted from Gautama in the Mitākṣarā (e. g. the sūtra 'utpatyaiva arthsvāmitvam labhantc), the Śmṛticandrikā ('dvyaṁśam vā pūrvajaḥ syāt) and other works are not found in the extant text. This fact along with the fact of an interpolation of one chapter makes it clear that the present text of Gautama is of somewhat doubtful authority.

The literature known to the Gautama-dharmasūtra was extensive. Besides the Vedic saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas it mentions the following works; Upaniṣads (19. 13), the Vedāṅgas (8. 5 and 11. 19), Itihāsa (8. 6), Purāṇa (8. 6 and 11. 19), Upaveda (11. 19), dharmśāstra (11. 19). That he borrows a chapter from the Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa has been mentioned above. He borrows the first six sūtras of the 25th chapter from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (11.18). The śramaṇaka (in Gautama III. 26) is, according to Haradatta, the Vaikhānasa-śāstra (either composed by Vikhanas or treating of the duties of hermits). Gautama refers to Anvikṣikī (XI. 3). The only teacher of *dharma* he quotes by name in Manu (in 21. 7) who is cited for the proposition that there is no expiation for the three sins of *brahmahatyā*, drinking wine and violation of the bed of the *guru*. Haradatta says that in the extant Manusmṛti the same propositions are laid down about *brahmahatyā* and *surāpāna* (in Manu 11. 89 and 146 respectively), but that as to violation of *guru-talpa* a passage from the Manusmṛiti has to be searched out (i. e. such a passage is not found there). From this Bühler drew the conclusion that Gautama refers to the dharmasūtra attributed to Manu (and not to any versified Manu-smṛti). But Bühler is not right in drawing this inference. In the first place in spite of what Haradatta says there *are* verses in the extant Manusmṛiti (XI.104-105) which say that death is the expiation for violation of the *guru's* bed. In the second place there is nothing to show, even if Haradatta were correct, that Gautama refers only to a *dharmasūtra* of Manu and not to a versified work. Besides Manu, Gautama frequently quotes certain views ascribed to the 'Ācāryas' (e. g. III. 35, IV. 18). What teachers are meant by the word 'Ācāryāḥ' (which occurs in the Nirukta, in Kauṭilya and various other works), it is difficult to say.

63 It follows from the discussion in the तन्त्रवार्तिक that the ancient *pāṭha* in its day was 'लेपगन्धापकर्षणं शौचममेध्यालिप्तस्य' while the present text has '०शौचममेध्यस्य'. *Vide* वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र III. 48 which reads '०कर्षणं शौचममेध्यालिप्तस्य' etc.

Probably the word means 'the general traditional view of most writers in that particular śāstra on a particular point.' In numerous places Gautama refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (2. 15, 40 and 56, 3. 1, 4. 17, 7. 23 &c.) and 'ekeṣāṃ' (28. 17 and 38). This proves that Gautama was preceded by great literary activity in the sphere of dharmaśāstra. Gautama 11. 28 seems to be a reminiscence of the Nirukta (II. 3)[64].

The earliest reference to Gautama as an author on dharma occurs in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra. Baudhāyana discusses the authoritativeness of usages peculiar to the north or the south and quotes Gautama as saying that it is wrong to hold that certain customs must be held authoritative in certain countries (even though opposed to Vedic tradition and smṛti). This refers to G. Dh. S. 11. 20. In another place Baudhāyana gives it as his view that a Brāhmaṇa, if he cannot make a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or by gifts, should earn his livelihood as a Kṣatriya and quotes the views of Gautama as opposed to this[65]. The extant Gautama on the other hand teaches the same view as that of Baudhāyana[66]. Bühler made the plausible suggestion that the sūtra in the extant Gautama is an interpolation. Govindasvāmī, the commentator of Baudhāyana, suggests that another Gautama is referred to by Baudhāyana. It is possible to suggest that in the Ms. of Gautama used by Baudhāyana the sūtra about living as a *Kṣatriya* did not occur and the next sūtra about living as a Vaiśya alone occurred. Chapter 19 of the Gautamadharmasūtra which forms an introduction to *prāyaścittas* in Gautama seems to have been borrowed wholesale by Baudhāyana (III. 10) with slight changes. That Baudhāyana borrows follows from the fact that the chapter in Baudhāyana occurs in the middle of the discussion about prāyaścittas and not as an introduction, which is the case in Gautama. Baudhāyana treats of penances in several places (II. 1, III. 5. 10 and IV. 1. 4). There are besides many sūtras in both Gautama and Baudhāyana that exhibit a close correspondence, e. g.

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64 'दण्डो दमनादित्याहुस्तेनादान्तान्दमयेत्.' The निरुक्त has दण्डो ददते...दमनादित्यौपमन्यवः'.

65 अध्यापनयाजनप्रतिग्रहैरशक्तः क्षत्रधर्मेण जीवेत्प्रत्यनन्तरत्वात् । नेति गौतमोऽत्युग्रो हि क्षत्रधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्य । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 69-70.

66 याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहाः सर्वेषाम् । पूर्वः पूर्वो गुरुः । तदलाभे क्षत्रवृत्तिः । तदलाभे वैश्यवृत्तिः । गौ. ध. सू. 7. 4-7.

Gautama III. 25-34 and Baudhāyana II. 6. 17 about Vaikhānasa, Gaut. 3. 3 and 35 and Baud. II. 6. 29, Gaut. 15. 29 and Baud. II. 8. 2, Gaut. 23. 8-10 and Baud. II. 1. 12-14, Gaut. 24. 2 and Baud. II. 3. 8. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 25 speaks of Smṛti as laying down that up to *upanayana* there is no *adhikāra* for *homa*. This probably refers to Gautama II. 1-3. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra also quotes the views of Gautama in two places (4. 34 and 36, impurity on death). The first refers to Gautama 4. 41 but the second cannot be traced in the extant Gautama. Chapter 22 of Vasiṣṭha is borrowed from the Gautamadharmasūtra, chapter 19. There are besides many sūtras that are the same or almost the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha, e. g. Gautama 3. 31-33 and Vas. 9. 1-3, Gaut. 3. 26 and Vas. 9. 10, Gaut. I. 44 and Vas. 3. 37, Gaut. 1. 40 and Vas. 3. 38, Gaut. 1. 45-46 and Vas. 3. 48, Gaut. 1. 28 and Vas. 3. 49, Gaut. 14. 5-7 and Vas. 4. 24-26. Gautama is referred to in the Manusmṛti (III. 16) as the son of Utathya. Gautama is one of the authors of *dharmaśāstras* enumerated in Yājñavalkya (I. 5). Aparārka quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which speaks of Gautama's prohibition about drinking[67]. Similarly Kullūka (on Manu XI. 146) quotes a verse from the same Purāṇa which refers to Gautama 23.2. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika quotes over a dozen sūtras from Gautama which present the same text as we have[68]. Gautama 11. 29 and 12. 4 are quoted by Śaṁkara in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8 and I. 3. 38 respectively. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya quotes numerous sūtras from Gautama. In Medhātithi's *bhāṣya* on Manu the writer more frequently quoted than any other is Gautama (e. g. on Manu II. 6, VIII. 125 &c.).

The foregoing discussion about the literature known to the Gautama Dh. S. and the authors and works that mention Gautama or quote the dharmasūtra helps us in arriving at the approximate age of the dharmasūtra. He is separated by a long interval from the Samavidhāna Brāhmaṇa. He is later than Yāska and wrote at a time when Pāṇini's system was either not in existence or had not attained a pre-eminent position. The extant text was known to Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and was in the same state long before 700 A. D. The sūtra betrays no knowledge of the onslaught delivered on Brahma-

67 प्रतिषेधः सुरापाने मद्यस्य च नराधिप । द्विजोत्तमानामेवोक्तः सततं गौतमादिभिः ॥ भविष्यत्पुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 1076.

68 Vide JBBRAS vol. I (new series) for 1925, pp. 66-67.

nism by Buddha and his followers. He uses the term Bhikṣu (3. 10) instead of the term parivrājaka that occurs in Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and other sūtra works and lays down that a *bhikṣu* is to stay in one place in the rains, which reminds one of the Buddhist 'bhikkhu' and 'Vasso'. Gautama cites the opinion of some that Yavana is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female (4. 17). It is supposed by many scholars that the Yavanas became known to the Indians only at the time of Alexander's invasion and hence every work in which the word *yavana* occurs must be later than 320 B. C. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. II. Intro. LVI.) seems to suggest that the sūtra where the word Yavana occurs in Gautama may be an interpolation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. One may ask, if Bühler believes that the Indians borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date. Taking all these things into consideration the Gautama-dharmasūtra cannot be placed later than the period between 600–400 B. C.

Haradatta wrote a learned commentary on the Gautama-dharmasūtra called Mitākṣarā. For an account *vide* sec. 87 below. In numerous places he quotes the explanations of other commentators of Gautama (e. g. 9. 52; 10. 12, 56, 66; 11. 17; 12. 32; 21. 9 &c.). The *bhāṣya* of Maskari, son of Vāmana, is also a learned one, but may probably be later than Haradatta, since the interpretations which he quotes as given by others are found to be those of Haradatta (vide on Gaut. 12. 30, 13. 20–22).

Asahāya seems to have written a *bhāṣya* on Gautama; *vide* sec. 59 below.

The Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri, Mādhava, and other writers quote a śloka-Gautama. *Vide* Parāśara-Mādhavīya, vol. I, part I, p. 7. Aparārka, Hemādri and Mādhava quote Vṛddha-Gautama, while the Dattakamīmāṁsā (p. 72) quotes Vṛddha-Gaut. and Bṛhad-Gaut. side by side on the same point. These are later works. Jivānanda publishes a smṛti of Vṛddha-Gautama in 22 chapters and about 1700 verses (part II, pp. 497–636), where it is said that Yudhiṣṭhira asked Kṛṣṇa about the *dharmas* of the four castes. This smṛti seems to have been originally taken from the Āśvamedhikaparva of the Mahābhārata, as Mādhava and others cite

verses occurring in it as from that parva (vide Parāśaramādhavīya vol. I, part I, pp. 108-110).

6. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.

This has been edited several times (text by Dr. Hultzsch at Leipzig in 1884, text in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis and in the Mysore Government Oriental Series in 1907 with the commentary of Govindasvāmin ; translated in S. B. E., Vol. 14, with an Introduction). The Mysore edition has been used in this work. Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. A complete set of the Baudhāyanasūtras has not yet been recovered and has not been as carefully preserved as the sūtras of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin. Dr. Burnell arranges Baudhāyana's sūtras into six sūtras, the Śrautasūtra in 19 praśnas (probably) ; Karmāntasūtra in 20 adhyāyas ; Dvaidhasūtra in four praśnas ; Gṛhyasūtra in four praśnas ; Dharmasūtra in four praśnas ; Śulvasūtra in three adhyāyas. The commentators offer no indication as to the place originally assigned to the *gṛhya, dharma* and *śulva sūtras* in the whole collection. Dr. Caland in his monograph (A.D. 1903) 'Uber das Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana' gives on p. 12 the contents of the Baudhāyanasūtra as follows:—Praśnas I-XXI Śrauta, XXII-XXV Dvaidha, XXVI-XXVIII Karmānta ; XXIX-XXXI Prāyaścitta, XXXII Śulvasūtra, XXXIII-XXXV Gṛhyasūtra, XXXVI Gṛhyaprāyaścitta ; XXXVII Gṛhyaparibhāṣā, XXXVIII-XLI Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa ; XLII-XLIV Pitṛmedha, XLV Pravara, XLVI-XLIX Dharma. Dr. Caland edited nine *praśnas* of the Śrautasūtra for the B. I. Series (A. D. 1904). Dr. R. Shamsastri published for the Mysore University (in 1920) the Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra with *paribhāṣā*, gṛhyaśeṣa, Pitṛmedhasūtra. The Gṛhyasūtra cites the view of Baudhāyana himself (I. 7). The Baudhāyana-dharma refers to the Gṛhya and presupposes it in several places (vide note 54). In the Baudhāyanagṛhya (III. 9. 6) we have a reference to *padakāra* Ātreya, Vṛttikāra Kauṇḍinya, pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana, and Sūtrakāra Āpastamba.[68a] A similar passage

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68a अथ दक्षिणतः प्राचीनावीतिनो वैशम्पायनाय फलिङ्गवे तित्तिरये उखायोख्यायात्रेये आत्रेयाय पदकाराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय कण्वाय बोधायनाय प्रवचनकारायापस्तम्बाय सूत्रकाराय सत्याषाढाय हिरण्यकेशाय वाजसनेयाय याज्ञवल्क्याय भरद्वाजायाग्निवेश्यायाचार्येभ्य ऊर्ध्वरेतोभ्यो वानप्रस्थेभ्यो वंशस्थेभ्य एकपत्नीभ्यः कल्पयामीति. The epithets must be understood as arranged above, since elsewhere the epithet सूत्रकार is specially appropriated to आपस्तम्ब. The हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य (II. 20. 1,

occurs in the Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27 Ṛṣitarpaṇa) we have Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba sūtrakāra and Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin one after another. These references show that Kaṇva Bodhāyana was an ancient sage when the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was written and that he could not have been the author of the gṛhya or the dharma sūtras of Baudhāyana. Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of this Kaṇva Bodhāyana. This surmise is supported by Govindasvāmin who explains Baudhāyana occurring in Baudhāyanadharmasūtra I. 3. 13, as Kāṇvāyana. In the dharmasūtra Baudhāyana is himself cited as an authority several times (e. g. I. 4. 15 and 24, III. 5. 8, III. 6. 20). In all these places the Mysore edition reads Bodhāyana, while the Ānandāśrama reads Baudhāyana. In one or two places he is styled 'bhagavān' (III. 6. 20). Several explanations are offered by the commentator Govindasvāmin (on I. 3. 13). He says that it is the practice of the Ācāryas to refer to themselves in the third person (as Medhātithi says on Manu[69]) or that the author of the dharmasūtra is a pupil of Baudhāyana as the Manusmṛti is promulgated by Bhṛgu, the pupil of Manu, or there was some other Baudhāyana whose works have not come down to us.

The following are the contents of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra:—
Praśna 1 :—Sources of *dharma*, who are *śiṣṭas*, *pariṣad*, different practices of northern and southern India, countries where śiṣṭas reside and where mixed castes reside, prāyaścitta for visiting countries of the latter type ; 2. Studenthood for 48, 24 or 12 years, time of *upanayana* and the girdle, skin, staff appropriate to each caste, duties of *brahmacārin*, eulogy of *brahmacarya* ; 3. The duties of the *snātaka* who has completed his studies and observances but has not yet married ; 4. directions about carrying the earthen jar (in the case of the *snātaka*); 5. bodily and mental śauca, purification of various substances, impurity on birth and death, meaning of *sapiṇḍa* and *sakulya*, rules of inheritance, purification on touching a corpse or a woman in her menses or on dog-bite, what flesh and food was

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ed. by Kirste in 1889) makes this clear. It reads 'आत्रेयाय पद्काराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय सूत्रकारेभ्यः सत्यापाढाय प्रवचनकर्तृभ्य आचार्येभ्यः &c. भारद्वाजगृह्य (quoted by Dr. Caland in 'Uber das Rituelle &c. p. 3. n. 2) reads 'बोधायनाय भरद्वाजाय सूत्रकारायापस्तम्बाय सर्वेभ्यः सूत्रकारेभ्यः &c.'

69 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवते.'

allowed and forbidden ; 6. Purification from the point of view of sacrifice, purification of clothes, ground, grass, fuel, vessels, and articles used in sacrifice ; 7. Rules about the importance from the sacrificial point of view of sacrifice, of the sacrificial utensils, priests, the sacrificer and his wife, ghee, cooked offerings, the victim, *soma* and fires; 8. The four *varṇas* and the sub-castes ; 9. Mixed castes ; 10. the duties of kings, the five great sins and punishments for them, punishments for killing birds, witnesses ; 11. The eight forms of marriage, holidays ; *Praśna* II. 1. Prāyaścittas for *brahmahatyā* and other great sins, prāyaścittas for a *brahmachārin* violating his vow of celibacy, for marrying a *sagotra* girl, for marrying before elder brother, sins lesser than the great ones, description of such penances as Parāka, Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra ; 2. Partition of heritage, larger share for the eldest, the several substitutes for an *aurasa* son, exclusion from inheritance, dependence of women, prāyaścitta for adultery by men and women, rules about *niyoga*, means of subsistence in distress, continuous duties of the house-holder such as Agnihotra &c.; 3. The daily duties of the householder such as bathing, ācamana, Vaiśvadeva, giving food ; 4. *Sandhyā* ; 5. Rules about the manner of bathing, of Ācamana, worship of the sun, and about the method of propitiating ('*tarpaṇa*') gods, sages and pitṛis ; 6. The five great daily *yajñas* ; the four castes and their duties ; 7. regulations about dinner ; 8. Śrāddha ; 9. eulogy of sons and spiritual benefit from sons ; 10. rules about *sannyāsa* ; *Praśna* III. 1 modes of subsistence for the two kinds of householders, Śālīna and Yāyāvara ; 2 the means of subsistence called ' Ṣaṇṇivartanī ' ; 3. the duties of the forest hermit and his means of livelihood ; 4. prāyaścitta for not observing the vows of *brahmacārin* or householder ; 5. method of reciting *Aghamarṣaṇa*, the holiest of texts ; 6. the ritual of *prasṛtayāvaka* ; 7 the purificatory *homa* called Kūṣmāṇḍa ; 9. the penance called *cāndrāyaṇa* ; 9 the recital of the Vedas without taking food ; 10. theories about purifications for sin, purifying things ; *Praśna* IV. 1. prāyaścittas of various kinds viz. for eating forbidden food or drink &c.; 2. *prāṇāyāmas* and *Aghamarṣaṇa* as purifiers in case of several sins ; 3. secret prāyaścittas ; 4. Various Vedic texts as prāyaścittas; 5. Means of securing *siddhi* by means of *japa, homa, iṣṭi* and *yantra* : the penances called Kṛcchra, Ati-Kṛcchra, Sāntapana, Parāka, Cāndrāyaṇa ; 6 the muttering (japa) of holy texts, the iṣṭis ; 7 praise of *Yantras*, various Vedic texts used in *homa* ; 8 censure of those who enter on the means of *siddhi* out of great greed, permis-

sion to get these things done through another in certain circumstances.

The extant Dharmasutra does not appear to have come down intact. The fourth *praśna* is most probably an interpolation. Most of the eight chapters of that *praṣna* are full of verses, the portion in prose being very small. The last three chapters (6-8) are entirely in verse. The style is quite different from that of the first two *praśnas*. The first five chapters of the fourth praśna dealing with prāyaścittas are more or less superfluous, the same subject having been dealt with in II. 1 and III. 4-10. Some of the sūtras in the earlier *praśnas* are repeated *verbatim* in the fourth, e. g. II. I. 33-34 and IV. 2. 10-11 (avakīrṇi-prāyaścitta). The third *praśna* also is not free from doubt. The tenth chapter of the third *praśna* is as said above taken from Gautama. The sixth chapter of the third *praśna* agrees very closely in phraseology with the 48th chapter of the Viṣṇudharmasutra. But it is rather difficult to say which is the borrower. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. Vol. VII. p. XIX) is inclined to think that both borrowed from a common source. It seems more probable that Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana, as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra uses the form 'punīta' in place of 'punatha' (in Baud.) and as the Viṣṇu-Dharmasutra omits all reference to Rudra (Baud. III. 6. 12.) and omits the words "gaṇān paśyati, gaṇādhipatim paśyati ... bhagavān Bodhāyanaḥ" (Baud III.6. 20.). In the Mysore edition all the four *praśnas* of the *Dharmasutra* are divided into *adhyayas*, but the Mss used by Bühler appear to have divided the first two *praśnas* into kaṇḍikas and the last two into adhyāyas. There are many repetitions even in the first two praśnas, which therefore make one rather doubtful about the authenticity of the first two praśnas also in their entirety. For example II. 6. 11 and 31 are indentical; in II, 7, 22 and II. 10. 53 the same verse ("aṣṭau grāsā" &c.) is quoted. Such repetitions are frequent in the two last praśnas e. g. III.2.16 and III.3.23; III.4.5 and III.7.12. Some of the quotations ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Mitākṣarā and other works are not taken from the *dharmasutra*, but from the Gṛhyasūtra or its supplements (e. g. the words 'ekāṁ śākhām-adhīte śrotriyaḥ" quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24, which are cited by Hultzsch (on p. 125) are taken from the Gṛhya (vide note 78 below).

The Dharmasutra of Baudhāyana is somewhat loose in structure and is not concise. Govindasvāmin remarks (on I. 2. 19.) that

Baudhāyana does not aim at brevity.[70] Several subjects are treated of in two places and often without any logical connection with what precedes or follows. Rules of inheritance (dāya-bhāga) occur in the midst of rules about prāyaścitta (in II. 2.); rules about holidays (anadhyāya) occur immediately after the eight forms of marriage and the condemnation of the sale of a daughter (I. 11). Rules about *snātaka* occur in two places (I. 3 and II. 3. 10 ff.). Baudhāyana quotes at least 90 verses introduced by the words "athāpyudāharanti," more than 80 being from the first two praśnas alone. There are over two hundred other verses, about 80 of which occur in the first two praśnas and about ten are Vedic. Some of the verses even in the first two praśnas do not appear to be quotations e. g. I. 1. 16, II. 2. 1, II. 3. 50, II. 3. 52-54 and 56. A verse quoted is in the Vaṁśastha metre (IV. 3. 14); there are two verses in the Upajāti metre taken as a quotation (II. 3.18). There are some prose quotations introduced with the words "athāpyudāharanti" (e. g. II. 4. 5 and II. 6. 30 which refers to the *asura* Kapila, son of Prahlāda). The language of the Baud. Dh. S. is archaic and often departs from the Pāṇinean standard. Baudhāyana employs such un-Pāṇinean forms as "gṛhya" (for gṛhītvā in II. 5. 1), pūjya (II. 9. 5.), "adhigacchānaḥ" (in II. 9. 9.), ānayitvā (III. 3. 6), "punatha" (in III. 6. 5, probably a quotation), "tebhiḥ" (for taiḥ in III. 2. 16, a quotation). In several places Baudhāyana states opposite views and then gives his own opinion on the point, e. g. Baud. I. 5. 105-109 (about impurity on birth); II. 1. 49-51.

As regards the literature known to Baudhāyana the following points may be noted. All the four Vedas are mentioned by name in II. 5. 27 (*tarpaṇa*). He quotes very frequently the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Tai. Brāhmaṇa and the Tai. Araṇyaka (in the Āndhra recension). Well-known hymns of the Ṛgveda such as the Aghamarṣaṇa, the Puruṣasūkta and also simple '*ṛks*' are frequently referred to. In III. 10 (which is almost the same as Gautama 19) there is a sūtra enumerating the Upaniṣads, the Saṁhitās of all the Vedas and several *sāmans* as purificatory texts. There are long quotations taken from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (XI. 3. 3. 1 ff and XI. 5. 6. 3) in Baud. (1.2.52 about *brahmacārī* and II.6. 7-9 about *brahmayajña*). It is noteworthy that in the *tarpaṇa* there is an invocation of the

70 ननु द्विजातिषु स्वकर्मस्थेषु इति सूत्रयितव्ये किमिति सूत्रद्वयारम्भः । सत्यं, अयं ह्याचार्यो नातीव ग्रन्थलाघवाभिप्रायो भवति ।

Atharvaveda and immediately afterwards of the Atharvāṅgirasaḥ. The same is found in the Baudhāyanagṛhya also (III. 2. 9 and 22). In the Upaniṣads (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.4.10, IV. 1.2) it is the word Atharvāṅgirasaḥ that stands for the Atharvaveda. Baudhāyana quotes a gāthā of the Bhāllavins (I. 1. 29) about the geographical limits of Āryāvarta. Vasiṣṭha adduces the same verse (I. 15) and says that it is taken from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins. The Nirukta also mentions a school of Vedic interpretation called Naidānāḥ. It is difficult to say what Nidāna works contained. *Itihāsa* and Purāṇa occur in the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 27). The *aṅgas* of the Vedas occur in I. 1. 8 and the six *aṅgas* in II. 8. 2. Whether the word "rahasya" in II. 8. 3 means the Āraṇyakas (as Govindasvāmin explains) is doubtful. Baudhāyana mentions a Vaikhānasa-śāstra in II. 6. 16, which appears to refer to the work of Vikhanas on hermits and speaks of Śrāmaṇaka (the rites prescribed by Vikhanas for initiation as hermit), just as Gautama does. Among the authors on *dharma* mentioned by name are : Aupajaṅghani (II. 2. 33 for the view that only *aurasa* son was to be recognised and not the other kinds of sons[71]), Kātya (I. 2. 47), Kaśyapa (or Kāśyapa in other editions, I. 11. 20 on the point that a woman bought cannot be a *patnī*), Gautama (I. 1. 23 and II. 2. 70), Prajāpati (II. 4. 15 about failure in Sandhyopāsana, and II. 10. 71 about *saṃnyāsa*), Manu (IV. 1. 14 and IV. 2. 16), Maudgalya (II. 2. 61, about observances of a widow being restricted only to six months after her husband's death), Hārīta (II. 1. 50). Baud. I. 2. 7 quotes a verse, which Vasiṣṭha ascribes to Hārīta (Vas. II. 6). As to Gautama, *vide* p. 17 above. Manu is only mentioned in the fourth praśna, the authenticity of which, as said above, is very doubtful. Baudhāyana II. 2. 16 (about the efficacy of *Aghamarṣaṇa*) closely agrees with Manu XI. 260. The first reference to Manu's teaching cannot be traced in the Manusmṛti. Prajāpati (in III. 9. 21) seems to stand for god Brahmā and not for any real or mythical writer on *dharma*. One remarkable piece of information contained in Baudhāyana (II. 6. 30) is that he quotes from a work (of the Brāhmaṇa class in language) a prose passage wherein the division into four āśramas is ascribed to an *asura* Kapila, son of Pralhāda. In II. 2. 79 Baudhāyana quotes a *gāthā* from the

71 One of the verses (अप्रमत्ता रक्षत तन्तुमेतं) is referred to by शबरस्वामी on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 13 (अपराधात् कर्तुश्च पुत्रदर्शनम्).

dialogue between the daughter of Uśanas and the king Vṛṣaparvan[72], which is nearly the same as Mahābhārata I. 78. 10 and 34. Baud. quotes the view of *Ācāryas* (II. 6. 29) as Gautama does. In several places he refers to the views of his predecessors on *dharma* as "others" (*eke, apare*) e. g. I. 4. 23, I. 5. 16, I. 6. 105–106, II. 5. 2. In II. 3. 18 two verses in the Upajāti metre are quoted as sung by "*anna*" (food). From the numerous quotations in verse cited by Baudhāyana on topics of *dharma*, it follows that the Dharmasūtra was preceded by a considerable number of works on *dharma* in verse. Bühler (SBE vol. XIV, p. XLIII) says that Vijñāneśvara was the first writer who quoted the Baud. D. S. But there are writers who flourished centuries before Vijñāneśvara that regarded Baudhāyana as a writer on *dharma* and either quoted his words or pointedly referred to them. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini, I. 3. 3 says that the rule in the Smṛtis about the period of Vedic study being 48 years is opposed to the Vedic injunction "one who has begot sons and whose hair are dark should consecrate the sacrificial fires[73]." This must be regarded as referring to the words of Baudhāyana (I. 2. 1). Śabara uses the same word "Vedabrahmacarya" that Baud. employs. It is true that Gautama and Āpastamba both refer to the rule about 48 years, but they do not employ the word "*veda-brahmacarya.*" The Tantravārtika of Kumārila says that the words of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 1) which seem to accept the validity of local and family usages (even though opposed to Smṛti tradition) stand refuted by the words of Baudhāyana (I. 1. 19–24) who cites only such censured usages as are opposed to Smṛti. Kumārila appears to think that Baudhāyana attacks the extant work of Āpastamba, i. e. the present Baud. is later than the present Āpastamba. It is not necessary to follow

72 स्तुवतो दुहिता त्वं वै याचतः प्रतिगृह्णतः । अथाहं स्तूयमानस्य ददतोऽप्रतिगृह्णतः ॥

73 शबर's words are 'अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत-इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्' on I. 3. 3, and again on I. 3. 4 'अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छादयन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः'. बोधायन's words are अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यम्. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 2. 52 and आ. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12.

74 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 139 'आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बोधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम्'. The words in the बौ. ध. सू. (I. 1. 22) 'तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात्' are opposed to the words of आपस्तम्ब 'एतेन देशकुलधर्मा व्याख्याताः.'

Kumārila implicitly as regards chronological details, where he is speaking of writers that flourished over a thousand years before him. But his opinion deserves weight. The Tantravārtika quotes a Smṛti passage which bears a close resemblance to Baudhāyana (II. 3. 28)[75]. In the commentary of Viśvarūpa (who as we shall see below flourished about 800 A. D.) on Yājñavalkya, Baudhāyana is quoted at least nine times in the chapter on *ācāra* alone. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 21, 26, 29, 53, 64, 69, 72, 79, 195 (Trivandrum edition), where Baud. I. 5. 14, I. 2. 30, I. 5. 5, I. 1. 17, IV. 1. 15, IV. 1. 18, IV. 1. 22, IV. 1. 20 and I. 5. 47 are respectively quoted. There are very few variations from the present text and the only serious variation is as regards the last (I. 5. 47) which is in prose (while Viśvarūpa quotes a verse). It is remarkable that Viśvarūpa quotes several verses from the fourth *praśna*, which shows that even if the fourth praśna be an interpolation, it is comparatively an ancient one. The Mit. also (on Yāj. III. 306) quotes a long passage from the fourth praśna (IV. 1. 5–11). The words of the Śākuntala[76] that the first precept is that a girl is to be given away to a meritorious person are probably a reminiscence of Baud. IV. 1. 12. Medhātithi on Manu. V. 117 quotes Baudhāyana I. 5. 47 and on IV. 36 quotes Baud. I. 4. 2 (which is mutilated as printed). On Manu. V. 114 he says that all the rules about purification of substances are contained in Baudhāyana-smṛti. On Manu. V. 118, he quotes Baud. I. 5. 50.

About the home of Baudhāyana it is difficult to advance any positive conclusion. In modern times Baudhāyanīyas are mostly confined to the south. We know that Sāyaṇa, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a Baudhāyanīya. A grant of Nandivarma, a Pallava, of the 9th century mentions Brāhmaṇas of the *pravacana-sūtra* as recipients.[77] As Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra in the Gṛhyasūtras Bühler thinks (S. B. E. vol. 14 p. XLII) that the Brāhmaṇas

75 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 993 'तथा च स्मृतिः । ...धारयेद्वैणवं दण्डं शुभे रौक्मे च कुण्डले— इत्यादि सूपपत्स्यते ।' Baud. has वैणवं दण्डं धारयेद्रुक्मकुण्डले च. Compare मनु IV. 36. It is probable that the तन्त्रवार्तिक combines बौ. and मनु.

76 'गुणवते कन्यका प्रदेया इति तावत्प्रथमः कल्पः' शाकुन्तल 4th Act; while Baud. has 'दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणे'.

77 I. A. vol. 8, pp. 273–274.

belonged to the Baudhāyanacaraṇa. Buhler is probably right. In the grant most of the donees are students of the Āpastamba Sūtra. First the Gotra, then the Sūtra and then the name of the donee are introduced in the grant. Therefore as some of the donees are said to be students of "pravacanasūtra," it follows that "pravacana" stands for some sūtra school. It appears that *sūtra* and *pravacana* are two different things, whatever the latter term may mean. Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra and Āpastamba is styled sūtrakāra. We are told by the Baudhāyana-gṛhysūtra[78] that a Brāhmaṇa who studied *sūtra* and *pravacana* was styled "bhrūṇa." Bühler was inclined to hold that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher for several reasons. Baudhāyana mentions customs of the south and includes sea-faring as a custom peculiar to the north (I. 1. 20), while in another place he places sea-faring at the head of sins (*patanīyas*) lesser than the mortal ones (II. 1. 41). Therefore it is said that he was not a northern teacher. But as against this we have to remember that Baudhāyana (I. 1. 29) quotes with apparent approval a verse in which the countries of Avanti (Ujjain), Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar) and Dakṣiṇāpatha are declared to be the home of mixed castes. Dakṣiṇāpatha was generally supposed to be the whole peninsula south of the Narmadā. Baudhāyana, if he was a native of the south, would not have spoken of his country as the home of mixed castes only, unless he put a restricted meaning on the word Dakṣiṇāpatha (which sometimes meant in later days Mahārāṣṭra). Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1917 p. 620.

The extant Baudhāyanadharmasūtra is certainly later than Gautama, as it mentions Gautama twice by name and as one quotation at least is found in the extant Gautama. Besides Baudhāyana quotes by name several teachers on *dharma*, while Gautama quotes only one, Manu. Baudhāyana is far removed from the times of the Upaniṣads. Baud. (II. 7. 15) quotes a verse which is itself an adaptation of a passage from the Chāndogya-upaniṣad.[79] He

78 The whole passage is interesting 'उपनीतमात्रो व्रतानुचारी वेदानां किंचिदधीत्य ब्राह्मणः । एकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियः । अङ्गाध्याय्यनूचानः । कल्पाध्यायी ऋषिकल्पः । सूत्रप्रवचनाध्यायी भ्रूणः । चतुर्वेदादृषिः । अत ऊर्ध्वं देवः ।' बौ. गृ. सू. I. 7. 2-8.

79 Baud. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति– यथाहि तूलमैषीकमग्नौ प्रोतं प्रदीप्यते । तद्वत्सर्वाणि पापानि दह्यन्ते ह्यात्मयाजिनः ॥'; compare छान्दोग्योपनिषद् V. 24, 3. 'तद्यथैषीकातूलमग्नौ प्रोतं प्रदूयेतैवं हास्य सर्वे पाप्मानः प्रदूयन्ते' &c.

quotes Hārīta. It is uncertain whether the Hārītadharmasūtra, a manuscript of which was discovered by the late Vaman Śastri Islampurkar at Nasik, is the one intended. Bühler thought that the work of Baudhāyana was earlier than that of Āpastamba by a century or two. His first reason was that Kāṇva Baudhāyana receives homage in the *tarpaṇa* before Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin and that the same order is observed in the Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra. But this reason is far from convincing. It may be conceded that Baudhāyana was regarded as the oldest (or the most authoritative or respectable) of the three schools of the Black Yajurveda. But from this it does not at all follow that the extant *dharma-sūtra* of the Baudhāyanīyas is earlier than that of the Āpastambīyas. For aught we know the sūtra compiled for the school of Baudhāyana may be later than the sūtra manual of the Āpastambīyas. We saw above that orthodox opinion, represented by Kumārila, regards Baudhāyana's work as later than Apastamba's. All the three founders of the three schools are mentioned in the Baudhāyanagṛhya and dharma sūtra. One may equally argue with good reason that both these works knew a sūtra work of Āpastamba and that the extant dharmasūtra of Apastamba is that work. Another reason assigned for the priority of Baudhāyana's work over Āpastamba's is that, though both have numerous sūtras that agree almost word for word, a comparison of the views of the two writers shows that Apastamba lays down stricter and more puritanic (and therefore later) views on certain points than Baudhāyana. Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣtha mention several secondary sons, while Apastamba is silent about them. Gautama, Baudhāyana (II. 2. 17, 62), Vasiṣtha and even Viṣṇu approve of the practice of *niyoga*, while Āpastamba condemns it (II. 6. 13. 1-9). Gautama and Baudhāyana (I. 11. 1) speak of eight forms of marriage, while Āpastamba speaks of only six and omits Prājāpatya and Paiśāca (II. 5. 11. 17-20 and II. 5. 12. 1-2). Baudhāyana (II. 2. 4-6) allowed a larger share to the eldest son on a partition, while Āpastamba condemns such a procedure (II. 6. 14. 10-14). The Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra (II. 4. 6) allows upanayana to *rathakāra*, while Āpastamba (gṛhya 4. 10. 1-4) does not do so (dharmasūtra I. 1. 1. 19). These points are hardly conclusive on the question of date. From very ancient times there was great divergence of opinion among the doctors of the law on most, if not on all, of these points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were up-

held by early writers and condemned by later ones. Baudhāyana himself quotes the views of an ancient writer, Aupajaṅghani, who condemned all secondary sons. The verses that Baudhāyana quotes on this point (II. 2. 34-36) are quoted by Āpastamba also but without the author's name (Āp. II. 6. 13. 6), there being variants only in the first verse. *Niyoga* was allowed by Manu (9. 56-63) and then condemned (9. 64-68) and Bṛhaspati refers to this attitude of Manu (vide Kullūka on Manu 9. 68). Even so late a writer as Yājñavalkya (II. 131) approves of *niyoga*. About the *rathakāra* being allowed to consecrate the sacred fires there is a discussion in the sūtras of Jaimini (VI. 1. 44 ff). Vedic passages supported both methods *viz*. equal division among sons and the bestowal of a larger share on the eldest. Even Yājñavalkya (II. 118) allows a larger share to the eldest son. Therefore hardly anyone of the circumstances relied upon by Bühler as indicating a later age for Āpastamba is conclusive or convincing. The third ground for placing Baudhāyana before Āpastamba is that the style of the former is simpler and older as compared with the latter's. That Baudhāyana is simpler than Āpastamba may be admitted. But this may be due to the fact that Baudhāyana has been tampered with more than Āpastamba. On the other hand Āpastamba contains more un-Pāṇinean forms, more uncouth constructions, more words in an archaic sense than is the case with Baudhāyana. All that is almost certain about the age of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is that it is later than the work of Gautama, that its style, its doctrines and its general out-look on different subjects do not compel us to assign it a later date than that of the other dharmasūtras. We have adduced evidence to show that long before the days of Śabara (whose latest date cannot be later than 500 A.D.) the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was an authoritative smṛti ; it follows that the dharmasūtra must be placed somewhere between 500-200 B. C. Numerous sūtras are identical in Baudhāyana and Āpastamba e. g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 30 = Baud. I. 2. 40-41, Āp. I. 2. 6. 8-9 = Baud. I. 2. 39, Āp. I. 5. 15. 8 = Baud. I. 2. 31, Āp. I. 11. 31. 11 and 16 = Baud. II. 3. 39 and 32. There are several verses that occur in both *e.g.* Baud. II. 1. 42 = Āp. I. 9. 27. 11, Baud. II. 2. 34-36 = Āp. II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses condemning secondary sons), Baud. II. 10. 63 = Āp. 11. 9. 21. 10, Baud. II. 7. 22--23=Āp. II. 4. 9. 13. (two verses), Baud. II. 6. 36.=Āp. II. 9. 24. 8. Besides these there are numerous Vedic quotations that are common to both. All this,

however, does not establish anything about their relative position. The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra also has numerous quotations in common with Baud. Vide Vas. I. 15. = Baud. I. 1. 28, Vas. III. 5, 6, 11, 20, 56 = Baud. I. 1. 10, 12, 11, 8 and I. 5. 58 (respectively); Vas. 6. 20-21= Baud. II. 7. 22-23; Vas. VIII. 17 = Baud. II, 2, 1; Vas. XI. 27-28 = Baud. II. 8. 21-22; Vas. XVI. 34 = Baud. I. 10. 35, Vas. XVII. 73 = Baud. IV. 1. 17, Vas. XVII. 86 = Baud. I. 5. 102; Vas. XXII. 10 = Baud. I. 1. 33. It is to be noted that some of these quotations (Baud. II. 8. 21-22, I. 10. 35) occur in the extant Manusmṛti also (III. 125-126 and VIII. 98). There are a few prose sūtras in Vas. that are transformed into verse in Baud. and *vice versa* e. g. Vas. III. 41 (prose) = Baud. I. 5. 20 (quoted as a verse), Vas. III. 57 (quoted as a verse) = Baud. I. 6. 19-20. It is not likely that one borrows from the other. There are two other possible explanations, viz. that both Baud. and Vas. (and Manu also) quote from or adapt a common source or that the three works have been tampered with and interpolations introduced at every step. The latter alternative is too sweeping as the number of verses is very large and makes all the old sūtras except that of Gautama valueless for all chronological purposes. One cannot subscribe to the view that such extensive interpolations took place as the latter theory demands. The first alternative appears more reasonable. What that common source was, whether it was a regular work in verse or whether there was a floating mass of such popular verses as Bühler holds, are questions that present very great difficulties. It is not easy to believe that there were hundreds of floating verses on *dharma* no body knew by whom composed, on which writers of the centuries preceding the Christian era drew for supporting their opinions. That does not sound as a very likely procedure. It is more probable that such verses were contained in a work or works now lost.

In the *tarpaṇa*, Baud. (II. 5. 21) mentions several appellations of Gaṇeśa, viz. Vighna, Vināyaka, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambodara. But this affords no certain clue as to date. The worship of Vināyaka is found in the Mānavagṛhya also. In the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 23) we have the seven planets mentioned in the order of the days of the week and also Rāhu and Ketu; besides the twelve names of Viṣṇu occur in II. 5. 24. In II. 1. 44 Baud. speaks of the profession of an actor or of a teacher of dramaturgy (Nāṭyācārya) as an upapātaka. Several

sūtras attributed to Baudhāyana on the subject of adoption in the Dattakamīmāṁsā and other later works are taken from the Baudhāyanagṛhyaśeṣasūtra (II. 6), the sūtras agreeing very closely with Vasiṣṭha (15. 1-9).

According to Burnell the oldest commentator on the Baudhyānaśrauta-sūtra was Bhavasvāmin, whom he placed in the 8th century. The commentary of Govindasvāmin on the Dharmasūtra is a learned one and is generally to the point. He appears to be a very late writer.

7. Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba.

This has been edited several times (*viz*. by Bühler in the Bombay Sanskrit series with large extracts from Haradatta's commentary called Ujjvalā and also at Kumbhakonam with the complete commentary of Haradatta and translated by Bühler with an introduction in S. B. E. vol. II). The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the black Yajurveda is divided into 30 *praśnas*. According to Bühler, the first 24 praśnas contain the treatment of Śrauta sacrifices; the 25th contains *paribhāṣās*, pravarakhaṇḍa, and Hautraka prayers to be recited by Hotṛ priests; 26th and 27th *praśnas* constitute the Gṛhyasūtra, the 28th and 29th Dharmasūtra and the 30th *praśna* is the Śulvasūtra. Bühler seems to be slightly inaccurate here. According to Cauṇḍappa, who commented on the Āpastambīya sūtras in the 14th century, the Āpastambīyamantrapāṭha forms the 25th and 26th praśnas of the Kalpasūtra and the Gṛhyasūtra forms 27th praśna.[80] The Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba was edited by Dr. Garbe in the B. I. series; the Gṛhya and Mantrapāṭha were edited by Dr. Winternitz. The Gṛhya with the commentary of Sudarśanārya has been edited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental series by Pandit Mahadeva Sastri (in 1893). It is divided into eight paṭalas and 23 khaṇḍas. According to the Caraṇavyūha, Āpastamba (or "bha" as written in many southern mss.) is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikīya school of the Taittirīyaśākhā of the Black Yajurveda. Whether the author of the Āpastambīya Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras is the same is difficult to determine. One sūtra in

80 पंचविंशेथ षड्विंशे गृह्यमन्त्राः प्रपञ्चिताः। प्रश्नेथ सप्तविंशे स्याद्गृह्यतन्त्राभिधिक्रमः ॥ (Dr. Winternitz's edition of Āp. Mantrapātha p. IX). The editor further states (p. IX n. 2) that Paribhāṣās form part of the 24th praśna and not of the 25th, as Bühler says.

the Āpastambadharma (II. 2. 5. 17) is the same as Āp. Śrauta (III. 17. 8 and VIII. 4. 6). Oldenberg (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. XXXII) does not subscribe to Bühler's view (S. B. E. Vol. II, pp. XIII-XIV) that the authors of the Āp. *Śrauta* and *Dharma* were identical and gives it as his own view that another person of the same school might have imitated the style of the author of the Śrauta. Whatever may be said of the identity of the authorship of the Śrauta and Dharma sūtras, the Gṛhya and Dharma seem to be very closely related and both seem to be the compositions of the same author. The Āp. Gṛhya sūtra, as compared with the Āśvalayana-gṛhya or Gobhilagṛhya, is extremely brief and leaves out many rules that are given in other Gṛhya works. For example, about the choice of a girl Āp. gṛhya gives only a single rule (1. 3. 19[81]). While it is the Dharmasūtra that tells us that the bride must not be *sagotra* nor *sapiṇḍa* (Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15-16). The Āp. Gṛhya is silent about the forms of marriage, about holidays, about the duties of *brahmacārins* and such other subjects which are generally treated of in other Gṛhyasūtras. These subjects are dealt with in the Āp. Dh. S. and there are several places where the Dharmasūtra presupposes the existence of the Gṛhya and refers to it. Compare Āp. Dh. S. II. 1, 1. 10-11[82] with Āp. Gṛ. S. III. 7 (particularly sūtras 1, 17, 23). Vide note 54 above. Some sutras are identical in the Gṛhya and Dharma, e. g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 and Gṛhya IV. 11. 15-16 (about the staff of Brahmacārin); Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 8. 7 and Gṛhya V. 13. 19. In some cases the Gṛhya-sutra itself seems to refer to the teachings of the Dharmasutra, e. g. Gṛhya 8. 21. 1 and Dharma II. 7. 16. 6-7. All these facts make it highly probable, if not certain, that the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras were composed by the same author and that the details of certain topics were purposely omitted in the

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81 बन्धुशीललक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत ।

82 'श्वोभूते स्थालीपाकः । तस्योपचारः पार्वणेन व्याख्यातः' । आप. ध. सू.; 'अथैनामाग्नेयेन स्थालीपाकेन याजयति । एवमत ऊर्ध्वं दक्षिणावर्जमुपोषिताभ्यां पर्वसु कार्यः । पार्वणेनातोऽन्यानि कर्माणि व्याख्यातान्याचाराद्यानि गृह्यन्ते । आप. गृ सू. Vide also आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 6 'सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य ग्रासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयाद्यथोक्तम्' and आप. गृ. सू. 8. 21. 9 'सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण यजुषा शेषस्य ग्रासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयात्;' 'उभयतः परिषेचनं यथा पुरस्तात्' आप. ध. II. 2. 3. 17 and आप. गृ. I. 2. 3.; 'समावृत्तं चे...यथोपदेशं पूजयेत्' आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 4 refers to आ. गृ. सू. V. 13. 2-19.

Gṛhya to avoid repetition. The Smṛticandrikā (III. p. 458) distinctly asserts that the author of the Dharmasūtra and the Gṛhyasūtra was the same.

The contents of the Āp. dharma-sūtra are :--

1. the authoritative sources of *dharma* are the Vedas and the usages of those who know *dharma*; the four *varṇas*, their precedence; definition of *ācārya* and his greatness, time for *upanayana* according to the *varṇas* and according to one's desire; prāyaścitta if proper time for *upanayana* is gone; he whose father, grand-father and great-grand-father have no upanayana performed becomes *patita*, but he can be purified by prāyaścitta; the duties of *brahmacārin*, residence with teacher for 48 years, 36, 25 or 12 years; rules of conduct for *brahmacārin*, his staff, girdle and garment, rules about begging for food, bringing fuel and offering to fire; the vows of a *brahmacārin* are his *tapas*, rules about saluting teacher and others according to *varṇas*; giving dakṣiṇā to the teacher at the end of study; rules for *snātaka*; rules about holidays and about the time and place for Vedic study; rules about holidays apply to study of the Veda and not to the use of *mantras* in Vedic rites; the five great daily *yajñas* to the *bhūtas*, men, gods, pitṛs, and sages, honouring men of higher castes, old men, parents, brothers and sisters and others, method of inquiring about one's health &c. according to *varṇas*. occasions of wearing yajñopavīta; times and manner of *ācamana*; rules about forbidden and permitted food and drink; the avocation of a *vaṇij* not allowed to a Brāhmaṇa except in distress; rules forbidding the sale or exchange of certain things; grave sins (patanīya), such as theft, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa or other man, causing abortion, incest, drinking wine etc; other sins are not so grave, though they make the perpetrator impure; discussion of some metaphysical questions such as the knowledge of the soul, Brahma, the moral faults that lead to perdition such as anger, avarice, hypocrisy &c; the virtues that lead to the highest goal, such as absence of anger or avarice &c. truthfulness, tranquility; compensation for killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra and women; prāyaścitta for killing a Brāhmaṇa and an Atreyī Brāhmaṇa woman, for killing a *guru* or a Śrotriya; prāyaścitta for violating the bed of a *guru*, for drinking wine and for theft of gold; prāyaścittas for killing several birds, cows and bulls, and for abusing those who should not be abused, for sexual intercourse with a Śudra woman, for taking forbidden food

and drink &c.; rules about Kṛcchra for twelve nights; what constitutes theft; how one should act towards a fallen (*patita*) *guru* and mother; various opinions about prāyaścitta for violating *guru's* bed; prāyaścitta for a husband who has intercourse with another woman and for wife's adultery; prāyaścitta for killing a *bhrūṇa* (a learned brāhmaṇa); Brāhmaṇa was not to wield arms, except in self-defence against bodily injury; prāyaścitta for *abhiśasta*; prāyaścittas for lesser sins; various views about *snātaka* (Vidyāsnātaka, Vratasnātaka and Vidyāvratasnātaka); the observances (*vratas*) of snātaka as regards garments, answering calls of nature, about scandalous talk, about not seeing the rising or setting Sun, avoiding moral faults such as anger; II (*praśna*) the householder's observances commence on marriage (*pāṇigrahaṇa*); rules of conduct for a householder about taking food and fasting, about sexual intercourse; all the *varṇas* attain unmeasured bliss by performing their duties and are re-born in conditions appropriate to their actions and by means of evil deeds are re-born in evil surroundings e. g. a Brāhmaṇa who is a thief or a murderer of a Brāhmaṇa becomes a Cāṇḍāla, a similarly guilty *rājanya* becomes a *paulkasa*; the three higher castes should after bathing perform Vaiśvadeva; Śūdras may cook food for their masters of higher castes under the supervision of Āryas; offerings (*bali*) of cooked food; guests (*atithi*) should be first offered food, then children, old men, sick persons and pregnant women (and then the householder himself); no one should be refused food when he comes at the end of Vaiśvadeva; rules of receiving guests, such as unlearned Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras; an housholder should always wear an upper garment or his sacred thread may serve that purpose; in the absence of a Brāhmaṇa teacher, a Brāhmaṇa may learn from a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya teacher; duties of a married man when his teacher comes as a guest; duty of householder to teach and to observe the rules of conduct laid down for him; in case of doubt as to a guest's caste and character, how to proceed; who is an *atithi*; praise of honouring an *atithi*; procedure in case an *atithi* comes to a king or to one who has consecrated fires; to whom and when *madhuparka* is to be offered; the six *aṅgas* of Veda named; all including dogs and caṇḍālas should be given food after Vaiśvadeva; all gifts to be made with water; one must not give at the expense of servants and slaves; one may subject himself, wife and sons to privations (but not servants); amount of food to be taken by

brahmacārin, householder, hermit &c.; occasions for begging are the teacher, marriage, sacrifice, maintenance of parents and avoidance of the cessation of some worthy obervance (like *agnihotra*); the peculiar *karmans* of Brāhmaṇas and the other castes; rules of war; the king to appoint a *purohita* skilled in *dharma* and art of government, who is to carry out punishments and penances; punishments including death sentence according to the gravity of the offences, but a Brāhmaṇa was not to be killed or injured or to be made a slave; rule of the road; a man of the lower caste by practising his duties rises higher and higher when re-born and a man of the higher castes goes lower by *adharma*; one should not marry another wife, when the first has children and is helpful in the performance of *dharma*; rules about marriageable girl, i. e. she must not be *sagotra* and *sapiṇḍa* of the mother; six forms of maraiage, brāhma, ārṣa, daiva, gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa; preference among the six; rules of conduct after marriage; sons born of wives of the same caste can perform the duties appropriate to the father's caste and inherit parent's property; the son of a woman who was once married or who is not married according to prescribed forms or who is not of the same caste is censured; whether the son belongs to the begetter (or to him on whose wife he is begotten); there can be no gift or sale of a child; partition during father's lifetime and equal division; exclusion from inheritance of the impotent, lunatics and sinners; the inheritance in the absence of son goes to nearest *sapiṇḍa*, then to the teacher and then to the pupil, or the daughter and ultimately to the king; the opinion of some that the largest share goes to the eldest son is opposed to the Vedas; no partition between husband and wife; usages of countries and families not to be followed if opposed to the Vedas; impurity on death of agnates, cognates &c; gifts to be made at proper time, place and to proper person; *śrāddhas;* times of *śrāddha*; materials required at śrāddha, food (including flesh) appropriate at *śrāddhas*; what Brāhmaṇas are to be called at *śrāddha*; the four *āśramas*; rules about *parivrāj* i. e. *sannyāsin*; the duties of forest hermit; praise of the meritorious and condemnation of evil-doers; special rules about kings; founding of his capital and palace; position of the *sabhā*; extirpation of thieves; gifts of land and wealth to Brāhmaṇas; protection of people; persons exempt from taxation, such as Śrotriyas, women of all castes, students and ascetics; punishment of young men for adultery; punishment varied according as the woman wronged was Ārya or

Śūdra; punishments for abuse and for homicide; punishments for various breaches of conduct; dispute between cowherd and master; the perpetrator, the abettor and one who approves of the act are all guilty; who are to decide disputes; in case of doubt decision by inference and by divine proof (ordeals); punishment for perjury; all other *dharmas* should be learnt, according to some, from women and people of all castes.

Each of the two *praśnas* of the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra is divided into eleven *paṭalas*, there being 32 and 29 *khaṇḍikās* in the two *paṭalas* respectively. The Dharmasūtra is written in a more concise and compact style than that of Baudhāyana and has more archaic and un-Pāṇinean forms than any other extant Dharmasūtra. For example, the following are against the rules of Pāṇini; Adhāsana (for adha āsana) in I. 1. 2. 21, aglaṁsnu (I. 2. 3. 22), muhūṅśca (I. 2. 8. 22), agṛhyamāna (I. 4. 12. 8), sarvatopeta (for sarvata upeta) in I. 6. 19. 9, sakhim (for sakhīm) in I. 7. 21. 9. Haradatta points out in many places that the current reading was un-Pāṇinean and therefore he read differently (e. g. in II. 2. 5. 2 he reads 'viprakramaṇa', while the current reading was 'viprakramiṇa')[83]. This makes it probable that in the original text there must have been many more un-Pāṇinean forms than in the one preserved by Haradatta. There are many unfamiliar or rare words used by Āpastamba, i. e. ananiyoga (I. 6. 19. 12), anaiścārika (I. 8. 22. 1), Kartapatya (I. 2. 5. 3), vyupatoda and vyupajāva (-'pa') in I. 2. 8. 15, brahmahasaṁstuta (I. 1. 1. 32). We meet with strange forms of certain words, such as paryānta (I. 3. 9. 21), praśāsta (II. 8. 19. 3), anātyaya (I. 1. 1. 21 for anatyaya), brahmojjham (for -ojjhaḥ) in I. 7. 21. 8, śvāvit (1. 5. 17. 37), ṣṭhevana (I. 11. 30. 19 for ṣṭhīvana), ācāryadāre (for -dāreṣu) in I. 2. 7. 27. Though the Āp. *Dharmasūtra* is mainly in prose, there are verses here and there. Some of the verses are expressly stated to be taken from other sources by being introduced with the word "udāharanti" or with "athāpyudāharanti" e. g. I. 6. 19. 13 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa), I. 6. 19. 15 (compare Manu 8. 317 and Vas. 19. 44), I. 11. 31. 1, I. 11. 32. 24, II. 4. 9. 13 (two verses, same as Baud. II. 7. 22-23), II. 7. 17. 8, II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses almost the same as in Baud. II. 2. 34-36), II. 9. 23. 4-5 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa). Besides these there are several isolated verses, most of which

[83] 'प्रायेण मकारात्परमिकारमधीयते । तथाप्येष एवार्थः । इकारस्तु छान्दसोपपाठो वा ।'.

seem to be quotations, though not introduced with words like "udāharanti". They are I. 4. 14. 25, I. 6. 19. 14 (the first pāda of which is Manu 4. 212), I. 9. 27. 10, I. 9. 27. 11 (same as Baud. II. 1. 42), II. 2. 4. 14 (compare Manu III. 101). Some of these verses are defective in metre, there being nine syllables in one anuṣṭubh pāda as in 1. 9. 27. 10, II. 9. 23. 4-5, II. 2. 4. 14. One of the verses is in the classical Upajāti metre (II. 7. 17. 18), while another closely approaches that metre (I. 9. 27. 11). Besides these there are a few half-verses, II. 5. 11. 5-6 (same as latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1), II. 9. 21. 10 (Manu 6. 43 has the first pāda). Thus in all there are about twenty verses, of which at least six occur in Baudhāyana. Some sūtras that are printed as prose are parts of verses, e. g. I. 2. 5. 11. Besides these there are several verses in the paṭalas dealing with metaphysics (1. 8. 22. 4-8 and 1. 9. 23. 1-3) that are pieced together largely from Upaniṣad passages. Āpastamba in several places employs the first person plural about himself[84], e. g. I. 1. 1. 27, I. 8. 22. 3, I. 8. 23. 4. Haradatta points out that in his day there was difference in the text as handed down in Northern and in Southern India.[85]

Āpastamba quotes, besides the *Saṁhitās*, the Brāhmaṇas very frequently (e. g., I. 1. 1. 10-11, I. 1. 3. 9, I. 1. 3. 26, I. 2. 7. 7, I. 2. 7. 11, I. 3. 10. 8). He quotes the Vājasaneyaka (I. 5. 17. 31) and the Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 12. 3 on svādhyāya), he speaks of the Upaniṣads (II. 2. 5. 1), his quotations (II. 2. 3. 16-II. 2. 4. 1-9) from the Tai. Āraṇyaka agree, according to Bühler, with the text current in the Āndhra country. He speaks of the six *aṅgas* of the Veda (II. 4. 8. 10) and in the next sūtra enumerates Chandas, Kalpa, grammar, Jyotiṣa, Nirukta, Śikṣā, (phonetics) and Chandoviciti (metrics), which are seven (Śikṣā being probably intended to be included in grammar). There are passages in Āpastamba which agree with the Nirukta, e. g. the definition of ācārya[86].

84 'आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्य...यथा व्रतेषु समर्थः स्यात्यानि वक्ष्यामः ।' आप. I. 1. 1. 27; तत्रात्मलाभीयाञ् श्लोकानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 22. 3; 'अथ भूतदाहीयान्दोषानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 23. 4.

85 On the sūtra अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् (II. 7. 17. 25) he says 'उदीच्यास्त्वेतत्प्रायेण न पठन्ति । तथा च पूर्वैर्न व्याख्यातम्'.

86 'यस्माद्धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः' आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 14; 'आचार्यः कस्मादाचारं ग्राहयति आचिनोत्यर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा' निरुक्त I. 4 and 'तस्मै न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह' (quoted in निरुक्त II. 3).

He quotes the views of ten writers on *dharma* by name, viz. Eka (I. 6. 19. 7), Kaṇva (I. 6. 19. 3 and I. 10. 28. 1), Kāṇva (I. 6. 19. 7), Kuṇika (I. 6. 19. 7), Kutsa (I. 6. 19. 7), Kautsa (I. 6. 9. 4 and 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Vārṣyāyaṇi (I. 6. 19. 5 and 8, I. 10. 28. 2), Śvetaketu (I. 4. 13. 19 and I. 2. 5. 6), Hārīta (I. 4. 13. 11, I. 6. 18. 2, I. 6. 19. 12, I. 10. 28. 1, 5 and 16, I. 10. 29. 12 and 16). Some of the names (viz. Kautsa, Vārṣyāyaṇi, and Puṣkarasādi) occur in the Nirukta. He quotes the view of Śvetaketu in Śvetaketu's own words (in I. 4. 13. 20) that even a married man should every year stay with his teacher for two months to refresh his studies and gives it as his own opinion that Śvetaketu's view is opposed to the Śāstras (the Vedas). In another place (I. 1. 4. 5-6) he speaks of Śvetaketu as an *avara* (a person belonging to later ages) and as one who on account of the remnant of his meritorious actions done in a former life or lives was able to grasp the four Vedas in a short time. It is usual to see in this a reference to Śvetaketu in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VI. 1. 1-2), where it is stated that Śvetaketu mastered all the Vedas in twelve years. But this identification is somewhat of doubtful value. Āpastamba quotes Śvetaketu as a teacher of *dharma*. The quotation from Śvetaketu given by Āpastamba has nothing corresponding to it in the Upaniṣad. Besides the Chāndogya Upaniṣad appears to make a distinction between two Śvetaketu's (in VI. 1 and VI. 8), one being called Āruṇeya and the other Āruṇi (son of Aruṇa). Hārīta, whose views are cited so frequently, is quoted by Baudhāyana (II. 1. 50) and also by Vasiṣṭha (II. 6.). From the two sutras (I. 6. 19. 3 and 7) it follows that Kaṇva and Kāṇva are two distinct writers. The Kumbhakonam edition reads Kāṇva in I. 10. 28. 1, while Bühler reads Kaṇva there. Kāṇva Bodhāyana is a teacher, whose name occurs in the *ṛṣitarpaṇa* in many works. The view ascribed to Kāṇva by Āpastamba in I. 6. 19. 7 seems to be the same as that of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (I. 2. 19[87]). It has been shown above that there are close parallels in thought and expression

87 'क आश्यान्नः । य ईप्संदिति कण्वः । ...शुद्धा भिक्षा भोक्तव्येककुणिकौ काण्वकुत्सौ तथा पुष्करसादि. ।' आप.ध.सू. I. 6. 19. 2, 3 and 7. Here various views on the question as to whose food should be partaken by begging are set forth. Baudhāyana says 'ते ब्राह्मणाद्याः स्वकर्मस्थाः' which tallies with शुद्धा भिक्षा &c.

between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. In several places Āpastamba seems to be controverting the views of Baudhāyana or similar views held by others. Āpastamba condemns the view of giving the paternal wealth to the eldest son as opposed to the Vedas and explains the Vedic text (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 quoted above) about the eldest son being endowed with all wealth as a mere *anuvāda* and and not a *vidhi* (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 6-13). Baudhāyana cites both the texts of the Tai. S. about equal division among sons and about the eldest son's larger share and seems to favour the latter view by putting it last (II. 2. 2-7.). Similarly the discussion in Āpastamba (I. 1. 4. 5-12) about a *brahmacārin* eating the leavings (ucchiṣṭa) of his *guru*, provided the things are not directly forbidden by Śruti, seems to be directed against Baudhāyana (II. 1. 25-26). Although Āpastamba does not expressly quote Gautama, he appears to have had before him the Gautama-dharma-sūtra. He speaks of a smṛti (II. 6. 15. 25) that lays down that *upanayana* confers *adhikāra* on a man for śāstric actions and that before *upanayana* one is free to do anything and to eat anything. This, as interpreted by Haradatta, refers to Gautama (II. 1)[88]. There are striking coincidences between Gautama and Āpastamba, e. g. Gaut. I. 19. = Āp. I. 1. 1. 41 (about some teachers prescribing the yellow robe to a *brahmacārin*), Gaut. I. 3 = Āp. II. 6. 13. 7 (about the violation of *dharma* by the great in former ages), Gaut. 9. 52 = Āp. I. 11. 31. 13), Gaut. 23. 9 = Āp. I. 9. 25. 2; Gaut. 16. 19 = Āp. I. 3. 9. 14-15). Āpastamba frequently refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (I. 1. 2. 37, 38, 41: I. 1. 4. 17; I. 2. 5. 20; I. 2. 6. 4: I. 3. 9. 3: I. 3. 11. 3 &c.) and 'aparam' (II. 6. 15. 22). It is somewhat remarkable that in many of these cases (where 'eke' occurs), the views are those either held by Gautama or ascribed by him also to others, e. g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 38 about the staff of a *brahmacārin* refers to Gaut. I. 23; Āp. I. 1. 2. 41 is almost same as Gaut. I. 19, Āp. I. 2. 5. 20 seems to refer to Gaut. I. 54-59, Āp. I. 3. 9. 3 (the view of some that Vedic study lasts for four months and a half) seems to refer to Gaut. 16. 2, and Āp. I. 3. 11. 3 (about not studying after dining at a sacrifice for deities that are manuṣya-prakṛti) pointedly refers to Gaut. 16. 34 which contains the word 'manuṣyayajñabhojana'. Āpastamba twice

88 अत्र सधिकारः शास्त्रैरभिवर्तते । सा निष्ठा । स्मृतिश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 15. 23-25; प्रागुपनयनात् कामचारः कामवादः कामभक्षः । अहुतात् । गौ. ध. सू. II. 1-2.

quotes verses from a Purāṇa (I. 6. 9. 13, II. 9. 23. 3) and in one place gives in prose the view of a Purāṇa (I. 10. 29. 7.)[89]. Āpastamba (II. 9. 24. 6) speaks of the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa (about creation of the world after a periodic dissolution). In one place Āpastamba (II. 11. 29. 11-12) says that 'the knowledge that exists (traditionally) among women and śūdras is the furthest limit of *vidyā* and it is said to be a supplement of the Atharvaveda.' Here he probably refers to Arthaśāstra, which according to the caraṇavyūha, is the Upaveda of the Atharvaveda. Āpastamba refers (II. 7. 16. 1) to Manu as founder of the institution of śrāddha. But this appears to be a reference to Manu, the mythical progenitor of mankind, and not to the Manusmṛti. It is noteworthy that Āpastamba (II. 7. 17. 8) quotes a verse, which is the same as Anuśāsanaparva 90. 46 (sambhojanī nāma &c.).

The Āpastambadharmasūtra stands in a peculiar relation to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. It is the only extant Dharmasūtra that contains many of the technical terms and doctrines of the Mīmāṁsā. He says (I. 1. 4. 8) 'a positive Vedic text is more cogent than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost[90]). This refers to Jaimini's rule (I. 3. 3) "if there is a conflict between an express Vedic text and Smṛti, the latter is to be disregarded: but if there be no conflict an inference (may be made that the Smṛti is based upon some Śruti)". In another place Āpastamba says (I. 4. 12. 11) 'where an action is done on account of finding pleasure therefrom (i. e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) Śāstra'. This is the same as Jaimini's teaching (IV. 1. 2)[91]. He speaks of the

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89 'यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं स्पृशति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे'। आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; this seems to be a summary of a verse like the one in Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 10. 12) and Vasiṣṭha (III. 18) 'स्वाध्यायिनं कुले जातं यो हन्यादाततायिनम्। न तेन भ्रूणहा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति॥' (Baud. has अध्यापकं कुले and भ्रूणहा भवति).

90 'श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारात्' आप. ध. सू.; 'विरोधे त्वनपेक्ष्यं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्' पू. मी. सू.
Vide also 'विप्रतिषेधे श्रुतिलक्षणं बलीयः' आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 9 for the same position.

91 'यत्र तु प्रीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति' आप.; यस्मिन्प्रीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्सार्थलक्षणाविभक्तत्वात्' पू. मी. सू. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 9-10 'दृश्यते चापि प्रवृत्तिकारणम्। प्रीतिर्ह्युपलभ्यते' and 'हेतुदर्शनाच्च' पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 4.

convention (*samaya*) of those who know Nyāya (i. e. **Mīmāṁsā**) that aṅgas (such as the Kalpasūtras are) cannot be designated the Vedas (which are the principal), which is clearly a reference to Pūrvamīmāṁsa (I. 3. 11-14)[92] and he says that those who know Nyāya lay down that a mere *anuvāda* (affirming or reciting) of what is well-known to all is not a positive rule (a *vidhi*), which is similar to Jaimini's rule[93]. The dictum of Āpastamba that the word "sale" (*kraya*) applied to a bride in some Vedic texts is merely figurative closely resembles Jaimini's[94] remarks on the same point. The remark of Āpastamba that the rules of *anadhyāya* only apply to Vedic study and not to the recital of *mantras* at sacrifices corresponds to a rule in Jaimini[95] almost in the same words. These examples show that in Āpastamba's day Mīmāṁsā doctrines had been far advanced and that works existed that dealt with Mīmāṁsā topics (Nyāyas). The correspondence in language with the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to advance the view that Āpastamba knew the extant Mīmāṁsā-sūtra or an earlier version of it that contained almost the same expressions. It cannot be said that all these passages are later interpolations. They have all been explained by Haradatta and one of the sūtras referring to Mīmāṁsā topics occurs in so early a work as the commentary of Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. 1. 7) who quotes "Brāhmaṇoktā vidhayaḥ", (Āp. I. 4. 12. 10). The last passage is quoted by Medhātithi also (on Manu II. 6).

The dharmasūtra of Apastamba has been quoted from very ancient times as authoritative. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini VI. 8. 18 quotes one sūtra of Āpastamba and a paraphrase of another.[96] The Tantravārtika refers to the sūtras of Apastamba about local and

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92 'अङ्गानां तु प्रधानैरव्यपदेश इति न्यायवित्समयः ।' आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 8. 13.

93 'अथापि नित्यानुवादमविधिमाहुर्न्यायविदः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 13; 'अर्थवादो वा विधिशेषत्वात्तस्मान्नित्यानुवादः' पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 30.

94 तस्यां क्रयशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रम् । धर्माद्धि सम्बन्धः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11-12; 'क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्' पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15.

95 'विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम्' आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 9; 'विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य' पू. मी. सू. XII. 3. 19.

96 "यथैव स्मृतिः 'धर्मे च अर्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या' इति, 'धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत' इति च एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव 'अन्यतरापाये अन्यां कुर्वीत इति ।' शबर; आप. says 'धर्मप्रजासम्पन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । अन्यतराभावे कार्या प्रागग्न्याधेयात्' II. 5. 11. 12-13.

family usages,[97] about drinking wine and about the conflict between the views of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (vide above page 26 also). Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra IV. 2. 14 quotes Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3 (about the planting of trees for fruit as a meritorious act and the collateral benefits of shade and fragrance). He also cites (on Brahmasūtra II. 1. 1.) about the supreme soul a half verse from Apastamba (I. 8. 23. 2)[98]. In his bhāṣya on Bṛhadāraṇyaka, he cites Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 (upāsane gurūṇām &c.). The two *paṭalas* of Āpastamba (I. 8. 22 and 23) dealing with *adhyātma* (philosophy) were commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, who, from the general style and method of the commentary (vide Trivandrum edition of the adhyātmapaṭala), seems to be the same as the great ācārya. Sureśvara in his *Vārtika* (I. 1. 97) on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad quotes the sūtra about the planting of mango (Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3 [99]) trees. Viśvarūpa, who according to Mādhava, was the same as Sureśvara,[100] quotes (Trivandrum edition) in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (ācāra and vyavahāra only) Āpastamba's sūtras about twenty times. The quotations show that the text of Āpastamba was identical with the one printed, barring a few variations that are no more than mere slips on the part of the scribes of Mss. In his commentary on Yāj. III 237 Viśvarūpa quotes eighteen sūtras of Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 6–23) consecutively which are the same as those in the printed text. Medhātithi quotes Āpastamba II. 5. 11. 2, II. 4. 7. 16, II. 8. 19. 20, I. 4. 14. 30–31 on Manu II. 247, III. 102, III. 273 and VIII 357 respectively and appears to refer to Āpastamba I. 4. 13. 6 (about "om") on Manu II. 83. The Mitākṣarā has several quotations and Aparārka contains

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97 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 138 'प्रतिदेशं व्यवस्थया । आपस्तम्बेन संहृत्य दुष्टादुष्टत्वमादृतम् ॥ '. This has in view 'एतेन देशकालधर्मा व्याख्याताः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 1; 'यापि चापस्तम्बस्मृतिवचनात्तुल्यबलत्वाशङ्का भवेत्सापि तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबेदिति एतेन प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविधिना निराकृतेति नैवं विप्राचारप्रामाण्यमाशङ्कितव्यम्.'

98 परमात्मानमेव प्रकृत्यापस्तम्बः पठति 'तस्मात्कायाः प्रभवन्ति सर्वे स मूलं शाश्वतिकः स नित्यः'.

99 आम्रे फलार्थे इत्यादि ह्यापस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । फलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् । बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक. आपस्तम्ब's words are 'तद्यथा आम्रे फलार्थे निमिते छाया गन्ध इत्यनूत्पद्येते एवं धर्मं चर्यमाणमर्था अनूत्पद्यन्ते ।'

100 Vide my article in JBBRAS for 1922 pp. 205–206.

about two hundred sūtras of Āpastamba, though rather in a mutilated form. But it is not necessary to refer to these and other later works in detail, since Haradatta's commentary, as will be shown later on, was wtitten about the time of Aparārka. Thus from the days of Śabara (500 A. D. at the latest) to 1100 A. D. we have a host of writers who vouch for the authenticity of the extant text of Āpastamba.

About the home and personal history of Āpastamba little is known. Āpastamba is not an ancient name. It does not occur in the Vedic texts. It occurs in the *gaṇa* "Bidādi" in Pāṇini IV. 1. 104. He speaks of himself as belonging to later ages (*avara*). Vide Āpastamba[101] I. 2. 5. 4. and II. 6. 13. 9. In the *tarpaṇa* he is generally mentioned after Bodhāyana and before Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin (vide note 68a above). Therefore according to tradition his school was elder or more authoritative than that of Hiraṇyakeśin. In one place Āpastamba refers to a peculiar śrāddha usage of the *udīcyas* (II. 7. 17. 17).[102] Āpastamba must be supposed to have embodied in his work the usages of his own country. If he specially mentions the usages of a particular locality, it would follow that he did not hail from that locality. But the exact meaning of " Udīcya " is doubtful. Haradatta quotes a verse of the grammarians, according to which the country north of the Śarāvatī was called "Udīcya". According to the Mahārṇava quoted in the commentary on the caraṇavyūha the Āpastambīyas were to be found to the south of the Narmadā, in the south-east, that is, in Āndhra and the territory about the mouth of the Godāvarī. Therefore it is natural to suppose that Āpastamba's school had its origin in the south and probably in Āndhra. The Pallavas made land grants to Āpastambīyas. Vide I. A. vol. V. page 155.

The age of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra can be settled within only approximate limits. It is probably later than the Gautama Dharmasūtra and also the Baudhāyayanadharmasūtra and before 500 A. D. it was an authoritative smṛti work according to Śabara. Āpastamba is enumerated by Yājñavalkya as a writer on *dharma* (I. 5)

101 'तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात्' and 'तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः'.

102 उदीच्यवृत्तिस्त्वासनगतानां हस्तेषूदपात्रानयनम् । on this हरदत्त says शरावत्या उदक्तीरवासिन उदीच्यास्तेषां वृत्तिराचारः.

and by Śaṅkha-Likhita. Its style and grammar (which is un-Paṇinean in the extreme) entitle it to great antiquity. There is no clear reference to Buddhism and other schisms anywhere. It appears to look upon Śvetaketu as not far removed from its own epoch. It was probably written at a time when Jaimini had founded his school. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we assign it to some period between 600--300 B. C. On several points his views are opposed to those of his predecessors, e. g. he rejects secondary sons, condemns *niyoga*, does not admit Paiśāca and Prājāpatya as valid forms of marriage (vide above page 29). There are other points also wherein Āpastamba differs from Gautama and the other sūtrakāras. Gautama (IV. 14-17) and Baudhāyana (I. 8. 7-12) give long lists of mixed castes and Gautama includes Yavana among them. Āpastamba is silent on this point. But this has hardly any bearing on chronology. Even the Vedic works mention the Niṣāda and the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra has a special adhikaraṇa (VI. 1. 51) devoted to him ; the Bṛ. Upaniṣad mentions (IV. 3. 22 and 37) such castes as Cāṇḍāla, and the Gītā mentions the Śvapāka. The Āp. Śrauta speaks of the Niṣāda (9. 14. 12-13). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) mentions Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa and Vaiṇa. Gautama (17. 30) forbids the eating of the flesh of cows and bulls, while Āp. (I. 5. 7. 30-31) seems to allow it and cites the Vājasaneyaka for support. In this connection it has to be noted that Vasiṣṭha also has a similar sūtra (14. 46). Āp. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a penance for one who practises usury and lays down that one should not eat at the usurer's (I. 6. 18. 22), while Gautama appears to allow usury to a Brāhmaṇa as a calling if done through an agent (X. 6). Baudhāyana, on the other hand, quotes verses that condemn usury in strong language as even worse than brahmahatyā, holds that a Brāhmaṇa who is a usurer should be treated as a śūdra and allows the first two castes to practise usury only towards atheists, śūdras and such like persons (I. 5. 79-81). So these differences of Āp. from others are hardly conclusive as to his chronological position.

The commentary of Haradatta called Ujjvalā-vṛtti is the only one so far recovered. For an account of Haradatta, vide sec. 86. The Smṛticandrikā (I, page 25) quotes a passage from the *bhāṣya* of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 19-20) and (II. p. 300) quotes the explanation of the bhāṣyakāra on Āpastamba II. 6 14. 1. Both these passages

are not found in the commentary of Haradatta, though in the latter case, Haradatta holds the same view as that of the Bhāṣyakāra. Similarly the Vīramitrodaya (Vyavahāra, page 671) quotes the bhāṣyakāra of Āpastamba, but that quotation does not agree with Haradatta. Haradatta himself does not call his work *bhāṣya*, but *vṛtti*. Besides the Subodhinī on the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 132) quotes a passage from the Apastambadharmavṛtti which is found in Haradatta on Āp. II. 6. 14. 1. Haradatta himself cites sometimes two or three other interpretations of the same sūtra (e. g. on Ap. I. 2. 5. 2; I. 3. 10. 6; I. 5. 15. 20; II. 2. 3. 16). So the *bhāṣyakāra* was probably one of his predecessors.

In Aparārka, Haradatta, Smṛticandrikā and other works there are numerous quotations in verse ascribed to Āpastamba. These quotations are concerned with topics of Āhnika, Śrāddha, and Prāyaścitta. The Smṛticandrikā (III. pp. 423 and 426) quotes a Stotrāpastamba. Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18) quotes several verses on prāyaścitta from Āpastamba. Three of these verses are found in the Āpastamba-smṛti in verse (Jivananda's collection vol. I pp. 567-584 chap. I verses 16, 19, 31). The Smṛti printed by Jivananda contains about 207 verses in ten chapters on prāyaścitta and purifications. But the quotations from the Smṛticandrikā and Aparārkra show that the verse Apastamba was a much larger work and since they regarded the versified work as equally authoritative with the sūtra work, the versified smṛti must have been comparatively an ancient work.

8. Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

The Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra forms the 26th and 27th *praśnas* of the Hiraṇyakeśi-kalpa. The Śrauta sūtra has been published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona). The Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra was edited with extracts from the commentary of Mātṛdatta by Dr. Kirste (Vienna, 1889). The Gṛhya forms the 19th and 20th *praśnas* of the Kalpa, each *praśna* being divided into eight paṭalas. The Śrauta-sūtra is largely based on the Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba. The Gṛhya-sūtra is indebted to the Gṛhya-sūtra of Bhāradvāja. The Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin can hardly be called an independent work. Hundreds of sūtras are borrowed word for word from the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra. The Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin is therefore the oldest voucher for the authenticity of Āpastamba's text and is very valuable for checking the latter.

The Hiraṇyakeśins form a sūtra-caraṇa of the Khāṇḍikeya section of the Taittirīyaśākhā and were formed later than the Āpastambīya School. In a grant of the Kongu kings dated in 454 A. D. Brāhmaṇas of the Hiraṇyakeśi School are mentioned (I. A. vol. V. page 136). According to the Mahārṇava quoted in the commentary of the caraṇavyūha, the Hiraṇyakeśins were to be found in the south-west between the Sahya mountain and the ocean and near Paraśurāma (i. e. in the Konkan). There are at present many Brāhmaṇas in the Ratnagiri District who call themselves Hiraṇyakeśins. The Dattaka-mīmāṁsā of Nanda-paṇḍita twice quotes passages from the commentary of Śabarasvāmin on the sūtra of Satyāṣāḍha. If he was identical with the great commentator of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā (which is almost certain), then we have unimpeachable evidence for the existence of the works of the Hiraṇyakeśins long before the fifth century A. D.

Bühler in his second edition of the Apastamba-dharmasūtra (1893) gave (in appendix II) the various readings of the Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra from two MSS. I secured a modern transcript of the Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra from the Deccan College collection (No 138 of 1881-82), which contains the text and also the commentary of Mahādeva thereon. There are 18 folios for the sūtra and 101 for the commentary. That ms. presents some readings which are not noticed by Bühler as found in the two mss. consulted by him. For example, the ms. reads " saptama āyuṣkāmamaṣṭame brahmavarcasakāmam (reversing the order of years in Āp. I. 1. 1. 21-22), omits the words " yadi snāyat daṇḍavat plavet' (from Āp. I. 1. 2. 30.), reads 'vastrāṇyeva vasītobhaya &c. ' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 9 omits vasīta), reads ' gurave ' for ' acāryāya ' in Āp. I. 1. 3. 31. The ms. of the Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra contains certain additions to the sūtras of Apastamba. For example, a sūtra ' kṣāralavaṇa-madhumāṁsāni ca varjayet ' is added after Āp. II. 9. 22. 14, a sūtra ' teṣām pūjā śreyasyatmanaḥ kāryā ' occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 8, and the sūtra ' sarva-dharmāṇām svadharmānuṣṭhānāniyameṣu ca yuktaḥ syāt ' occurs after Ap. II. 9. 25. 13. The manuscript contains a few verses, that are not found in the Āpastambadharmasūtra, introduced by the words 'athāpyudāharanti[103],' (except in one case

103 ' पशवश्च मुसादाम्ना अश्मा चालवणोधृ (द्रु)नः । एतद् ब्राह्मण ते वर्ण्यं तन्तुश्चारञ्जनीकृतः ॥ ' after आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 21. 4.; अध्यापकं कुले जातं यो हन्यादाततायिनम् ।

viz. 'putreṇa, &c.) The manuscript also omits certain sūtras found in Āp. e. g. 'varṇajyāyasām cetarair varṇaiḥ' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 8), 'anyatra rāhudarśanāt' (Āp. II. 7. 17. 25), 'athopanayanaṁ tata udakopasparśanam' (Āp. I. 1. 1. 36.). In the case of some sūtras the readings of Hiraṇyakeśin present a smoother and more classical Sanskrit than that of Āpastamba and are manifestly attempts to bring them in a line with the requirements of the śiṣṭas at the time when the Āpastambasūtras were taken over into the Hiraṇyakeśi school. Hiraṇyakeśisūtra has 'pādonam' and 'ardhonam' for 'padūnam' and 'ardhena' of Āpastamba (I. 1. 2. 13-14), 'asandarśane' for 'asandarśe' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 29), 'aglāniḥ' for 'aglāṁsnuḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 22), 'prakṣālayet' for 'prakṣālayīta' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 36), 'kartṛpatyam' for 'kartapatyam' (Āp. I. 2. 5.3) 'yathāśakti' for 'śaktiviṣayeṇa' (Āp. II. 5. 12. 1). Another noticeable feature is that the arrangement of the sūtras into subsections is a good deal different in the two works. Bühler notes that from the 13th khaṇḍikā (6th paṭala) of the second praśna both the manuscripts consulted by him do not indicate the *paṭalas*. The Deccan College manuscript does not number them from the second paṭala in the second *praśna*. The number of paṭalas in the first *praśna* of Hiraṇyakeśi is eight, while Āpastamba has eleven paṭalas in each of the *two praśnas*. The distribution of sūtras in the khaṇḍikās is therefore different in the two works. Hiraṇyakeśi has 31 khaṇḍikās in the first *praśna* and 20 in the second. Besides a few of the khaṇḍikās are differently placed. The first khaṇḍikā of Hiraṇyakeśi (first *praśna*) stops after Āp. I. 1. 2. 1, the third reaches up to Āp. I. 1. 4. 6; Āp. I. 8. 22 and 23 (the adhyātmapaṭala) come in Hiraṇyakeśi immediately after Āp. I. 6. 19 and are Hiraṇya. I. 6. 20; Āp. I. 7. 20 and 21 = Hir. I. 6. 21-22; Āp. I. 9. 24 and 25. 1-4 = Hir. I. 6. 23; Āp. I. 9. 25. 4-13 and I. 9. 26. 1-10 = Hir. I. 7. 24; Āp. I. 9. 26. 11-14 and I. 9. 27 = Hir. I. 7. 25; Āp. I. 10. 28 = Hir. I. 7. 26; Āp. I. 11. 31. 1-10 = Hir. I. 8. 29; Āp. I. 11. 31. 11-23 =

न तेन भ्रूणहा भवति मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छतीति । which is हिरण्यकेशि I. 7. 27. 8 and comes after आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणामृतं सुते । अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण प्राप्नोति ब्रध्नस्य विष्टपम् ॥ दौहित्रस्तत्प्रतिमुञ्चति यत्प्राप्तं महद्भयम् । ब्राह्मदेवास्त्वधिकारिणः ॥ after आप. II. 5. 12. 4; 'वेदाध्यायी पञ्चाग्निस्त्रिसुपर्णो ज्येष्ठसामिकः । ब्राह्मदेयानुसन्तानी पञ्चैते पङ्क्तिपावनाः ॥' after आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 21. The verse अध्यापकं is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 12 and Vas. III. 18 and for पुत्रेण &c. compare मनु 9. 137.

Hir. I. 8. 30. In the second *praśna* the variance in distribution of sūtras into khaṇḍikās is still greater. Besides Āp. II. 4. 8–9 are placed in Hiraṇyakeśi before Āp. II. 3. 6–7 and Āp. II. 6. 13–15 before Āp. II. 5. 10–11. Sometimes a single sūtra of Āpastamba is split up into two and placed in two different khaṇḍikās, e. g. Āp. I. 9. 25. 4 is split into Hir. I. 6. 23. 31 and I. 7. 24. 1 (the portion from 'rājānam gatvā' being the first sutra of Hiraṇyakeśi's 24th Khaṇḍikā.

The com. of Mahādeva Dīkṣita called Ujjvalā, is almost word for word the same as that of Haradatta's Ujjvalā. That one has borrowed from the other admits of no doubt and Bühler thinks that Mahādeva is the borrower. But there is hardly anything to turn the scale in favour of Haradatta. Sometimes Mahādeva's commentary contains more matter than Haradatta's (e. g. on the sūtras 'Saptame brahmarcasakamam &c. 'Upanayanam vidyārthasya śrutitaḥ', 'dvādaśāvarardhyam') and sometimes Haradatta contains more explanation (e. g. on 'tasmiṁśca vidyākarmāntam &c.; on 'nāpsu ślāghamānaḥ snāyāt', on 'pāṇisaṁkṣubdhenodakenaika &c.'). Mahādeva differs from Haradatta's explanation of the word 'atha', which the former takes in the sense of 'ānantarya or adhikāra', while the latter takes it only in the sense of 'ānantarya'. That Mahādeva also is an early writer follows from the fact (noted by Bühler p. 117n) that portions of his commentary are contained in the Munich Ms. of Haradatta dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). It is to be noted that Haradatta after saluting Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his Ujjvalā does obeisance to Mahādeva (which may mean God Śiva or the author Mahādeva if he was the *guru* or father of Haradatta). Mahādeva often comments on the sūtras as found in Āpastamba and not on the readings of them as existing in the Hiraṇyakeśi school; e. g. he comments on 'padūnam', on 'adhāsanaśāyi' for ardhāsanaśāyī (the reading of the sūtra), on 'ātmasvastyayanārthena' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 9) for 'svastyayanārthena' of the ms. of Hir. The explanations of the two writers sometimes differ, as for example on 'ācaryādhīnas syād-anyatra patanīyebhyaḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 19[104]). One more circumstance that is worthy of note is that the Ujjvalā of Haradatta does not contain many quotations from Smṛtis as com-

104 हरदत्त explains 'आचार्याधीनो भवेत्युपनयनान्ते यत्संशासनं तत्सिद्धयैवाचार्याधीनतानूद्यते,' while महादेव makes it a विधि 'आचार्याधीनतया स्थातव्यमिति विधिः'.

pared with his commentary on the Gautamadharmasūtra. Although one may be inclined to hold that it is Mahādeva who borrows, it must be clearly recognized that there is hardly any positive evidence in support of such a view. There is a commentary called Vaijayantī on the Hiraṇyakeśi-śrauta-sūtra. This Mahādeva is very likely identical with the Mahādeva who commented upon the dharmasūtra.

9. Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

This *dharmasūtra* has been printed several times. The collection of Jivananda (part II, pp. 456-496) contains only 20 chapters and a portion of the 21st and so does the collection of Mr. M. N. Dutt (Calcutta 1908). The Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis (1905, pp. 187-231) and the edition of Dr. Führer in the B. S. series (1916) contain thirty chapters. According to Dr. Jolly (R. u S., p. 6) some mss. give only six or ten chapters. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra with the commentary called Vidvanmodinī was printed at Benares. In the following Dr. Fuhrer's edition has been used.

Kumārila (vide note 55 above) tells us that the dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha was specially studied by the students of the Ṛgveda, but that along with other dharmasūtras it is authoritative for all *caraṇas*. No śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of Vasiṣṭha, if they ever existed, have come down to us. We have therefore to fall back upon one of two hypotheses, *viz*. either the dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha is the solitary remnant of a school that might have once possessed a complete *kalpa* or that it was composed as an independent work on *dharma* and was subsequently seized upon by the students of the Ṛgveda, who had only śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana. For reasons given elsewhere I incline to the latter view. The *dharmasūtra* of Vasiṣṭha cites quotations from all Vedas and beyond the name Vasiṣṭha there is hardly anything special in the dharmasūtra to connect it with the Ṛgveda. It is true that in the 17th chap. several verses of the Ṛgveda (such as I. 21. 5, I. 124. 7, V. 4. 10 which occur in sūtras, 3, 16 and 4 respectively) and several passages from the story of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa are quoted by the sūtra and that several hymns of the Ṛgveda, such as the *asyavāmīya* (Ṛg. I. 164), *haviṣpāntīya* (Ṛg. X. 88), *Aghamarṣaṇa* (X. 190), are referred to in the 26th chap. But there is nothing remarkable in this as some of the verses and *sūktas* are mentioned in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra also. Besides the Vas. Dh. S. quotes several

passages from the Taittirīyasaṁhitā (as in Vas. V. 7-9, which quotes Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 6 and Vas. XI. 48 which quotes Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5), the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Maitrayṇīya-saṁhitā (in Vas. I. 37).

The contents of the Vas. Dh. S. are :— I Definition of *Dharma*, limits of Āryāvarta, who are sinners, the mortal sins, a brāhmaṇa can marry a girl of any of the three higher castes, six forms of marriage, the king was to regulate the conduct of people and to take the sixth part of wealth as a tax ; II. The four *varṇas*, the greatness of *ācārya*, before *upanayana* there is no authority for religious rites, the privileges and duties of the four castes, in distress a Brāhmaṇa could subsist by resorting to the calling of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to sell certain things, usury condemned, rates of interest allowed; III. Censure of illiterate Brāhmaṇa, rules on finding treasure-trove, who are *ātatāyins*, when they could be killed in self-defence, who are *paṅktipāvanas*, constitution of a *pariṣad*, rules about *ācamana*, *śauca* and purification of various substances; IV. The constitution of the four castes is based upon birth and the performance of *saṁskāras*, the duties common to all castes, honouring guests, *madhuparka*, impurity on birth and death ; V. dependence of women, rules of conduct for a *rajasvalā*; VI. usage is transcendental *dharma*, praise of *ācāra*, rules about answering calls of nature, moral characteristics of a brāhmaṇa and the peculiar characteristics of a śūdra, censure of partaking food at the houses of śūdras, rules of etiquette and good breeding ; VII the four āśramas, and the duties of a student; VIII. Duties of an householder, honouring guests, IX. rules for forest hermits ; X. rules for *saṁnyāsins* ; XI. six persons who deserve special honour, viz. the priest at the sacrifice, son-in-law, king, paternal and maternal uncles and a *snātaka* ; order of precedence in serving food, guests, rules about śrāddha, times for it, the brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, rules about *agnihotra*, *upanayana*, the proper time, staff, girdle &c. for it ; method of begging for alms, prāyaścitta for those whose *upanayana* is not performed ; XII. rules of conduct for a *snātaka*; XIII. rules about the beginning of Vedic study, rules about holidays for Vedic studies, rules about falling at the feet of the *guru* and others, guiding principles in precedence as regards respect (learning, wealth, age, relationship, avocation, each prior deserving more consideration than each succeeding one), rule of the road ; XIV. rules about forbidden and permitted food, rules about the flesh of certain birds and animals ; XV. rules of adoption,

about excommunication of those who revile the Vedas or perform sacrifices of śūdras and for other sins; XVI. About administration of justice, king as guardian of minors, threefold *pramāṇas*, viz. documents, witnesses and possession; rules about adverse possession and about king's advisers; qualifications of witnesses; perjury condoned in certain cases; XVII. praise of *aurasa* son; conflicting views about *kṣetraja* son, viz. whether he belongs to the begetter or to him on whose wife he is begotten; twelve kinds of sons; partition between brothers, grounds of exclusion from partition, rules of *niyoga*, rules about grown-up unmarried girl, rules of inheritance, king as ultimate heir; XVIII. *pratiloma* castes such as cāṇḍāla, no Vedic studies for śūdras or in their presence; XIX. king's duty to protect and to punish; importance of *purohita*; XX. about prāyaścittas for various acts unknowingly or knowingly done; XXI. prāyaścitta for adultery by Śūdra and others with women of the Brāhmaṇa caste or for cow-killing; XXII. prāyaścitta for eating forbidden food and sacred texts that purify in case of sins; XXIII. penances for *Brahmacārin* having sexual intercourse, for drinking wine &c.; XXIV. Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra; XXV. secret penances and penances for lesser sins; XXVI-VII. virtues of prāṇāyāma, Vedic hymns of Gāyatrī as purifiers; XXVIII. praise of women, eulogy of Vedic *mantras* like *aghamarṣaṇa* and of gifts; XXIX. rewards of gifts, *brahmacarya*, *tapas* &c.; XXX. eulogy of *dharma*, truth and *brāhmaṇa*.

The Vas. Dh. S. resembles in several respects the other dharmasūtras described above. It contains almost the same subjects and is similarly composed in prose interspersed with verses. The Vas. Dh. S. is in style like the Gautamadharmasūtra and has many sūtras identical with or closely resembling those of the latter. Vide. p. 18 above. It has also several sūtras closely corresponding with the sūtras of Baudhāyana. Grave doubts have been entertained about the authenticity of the whole of the text of the Vas. Dh. S. as the mss. contain varying numbers of chapters from 6 to 30, and as the text is hopelessly corrupt in several places (e. g. vide note 108 below). The Vas. Dh. S. contains many verses which bear the impress of a comparatively late age. Chapters 25-28 are entirely in verse, while there are other chapters (like III. 2-12, VI. 1-13, XI. 20-42) which contain many verses interposed between prose passages. In this respect Vasishtha's work is on a par with Bau-

dhāyana's, in the fourth praśna of which there are chapters entirely consisting of verses. It has therefore been argued that the text of Vasiṣṭha was tampered with freely, particularly as regards the chapters at the end. But as shown below it will have to be admitted that the interpolations, whatever they may be, were made at a very early period. The Mitākṣarā quotes Vas. by name about 80 times and the quotations are taken from almost every chapter from the first to the last. For example, Mit. quotes Vas. 27. 1 on Yāj. III. 311, Vas. 27. 21 on Yāj. III. 324, Vas. 28. 7 on Yāj. III. 298, Vas. 28. 18, 19 and 22 on Yāj. III. 310. Even Medhātithi quotes Vasiṣṭha over twenty times. The quotations are mostly taken from the first chapter to the 21st. Only one quotation from the last few chapters (viz. 27. 16) has been found in Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 211) and that too is not quoted as Vasiṣṭha's, but is ascribed to 'others.' Viśvarūpa, who flourished about the first quarter of the 9th century quotes Vas. about thirty times in his commentary on the *ācāra* and *vyavahāra* sections of Yāj. These quotations hardly differ in any respect from the text of Dr. Führer's edition and are scattered over almost all chapters from the 1st to the 17th, six quotations being taken from chapters 3 and 17 each. In the prāyaścitta section Viśvarūpa quotes Vas. even more frequently. Besides several sūtras from the 1st, 4th, 10th and 11th chapters, he quotes here no less than 22 sūtras of the 20th chap. and 9 of the 21st. Moreover sūtras 37 and 39 of the 23rd chap. are quoted (on Yāj. III 281-282). What is more remarkable is that two verses (2-3) of the 28th chapter are ascribed to Vasiṣṭha and explained in detail (on Yaj. III. 256), while Vas. 28. 4 is quoted without the author's name. These facts make it certain that the Vas. Dh. S. contained in Viśvarūpa's day all the chapters from the first to the 23rd and also the 28th. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya in Bṛ. Upaniṣad (III. 5. 1) quotes Vas. X. 4 and on Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 15 he quotes Vas. VII. 3. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes numerous verses preceded by the words 'athāpyudāharanti', which is the case with Baudhāyana also. Several verses occur without these words being prefixed, but most of them seem to be quotations (e. g. Vas. II. 3 which combines Manu. II-169 and 170, IV. 6 which is Manu 5. 41, VI. 6 and 8 which are Manu IV. 157 and 158). Some of these verses introduced with the words 'athāpi' &c. as well as some of those not so introduced are in the regular classical Upajāti, Upendravajrā or Indravjrā (vide. I. 38, X. 20 for verses with *athāpi* &c.

and VI. 9 and 25, X. 17, XVI. 36 for verses without them). Some of the verses are in the ancient Triṣṭubh form (e. g. VI. 3 and 30, VIII. 17, XVII. 71). In one verse (VI. 5) there are twelve letters in the first *pāda* and 11 in the rest. One quotation with the words " athāpi " &c. is in prose (II. 5). There are a few un-Pāṇinean forms like 'Vivadanti' in XIV.47 (vide Pāṇini I. 3. 47). It looks as if the dharmasūtra once ended with the 24th chapter, where we have an injunction (in sūtra 6) against imparting the dharmasūtra to one who is not a son or pupil. The same sūtra occurs in Baudhāyana Dh. S. IV. 4. 9 and the succeeding sūtra is the same in both. But the words ' prāyaścitta has been described in the *rahasya* sections for playing false to the husband' (in Vas. V. 4) apparently refer either to chapters 25-28 (which contain *rahasya* penances) or to some prototype of those chapters now lost.

The Vas. Dh. S. quotes largely ftom the Ṛgveda and other Vedic *Saṁhitās*. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareya and Śatapatha are frequently cited. The Vājasaneyaka (Vas. 12. 31 and 23. 13) and the Kāṭhaka (Vas. 12. 24 and 30. 5) are mentioned by name. The Tai. Āraṇyaka is quoted in Vas. 23. 23. The Upaniṣads and Vedānta occur in 22. 9. Vasiṣṭha quotes a *gāthā* of the Bhāllavins from their Nidāna work about the extent of the home of Brāhmanism, which is quoted by Baudhāyana also (Dh. S. I. 1 . 27). He speaks of the *aṅgas* of the Veda (3. 23 and 13. 7) and gives their number as six (3. 19). Itihāsa and Purāṇa are mentioned in 27. 6. The science of words (grammar), of omens and portents and of astrology and astronomy (Nakṣatravidyā) are referred to in 10. 20–21. He prohibits the learning of the language of the Mlecchas (in 6. 41). Vas. quotes a verse that states that the view holding the *aprāmāṇya* of the Vedas leads to perdition (12. 41). In Vas. II. 8–11 occurs the Vidyāsūkta in four verses that we meet with in the Nirukta (II. 4). Vasiṣṭha calls his own work dharmaśāstra (in 24. 6) and probably refers to other works on *dharma* in the words 'one who studies dharmas' (in 3. 19). The study of dharmaśāstra as a penance for even mortal sins is spoken of in 27. 19. Vas. quotes several authors on dharmaśāstra. He quotes a verse from Hārīta (in II. 6) which occurs in Baudhāyana also with slight variations (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 7), though without the author's name. The two halves of this verse are almost the same as the latter halves of Manu. 2. 171–172. Bühler is therefore not quite accurate when he

says without qualification that the verse attributed to Hārīta occurs in Manu (p. XX, S. B. E. vol. XIV). Vas. quotes Gautama twice (in 4. 35 and 37) about impurity on death, the first corresponding to Gautama (14. 41), while there is nothing in Gautama to correspond to the 2nd. Vas. quotes a verse (11. 20) which mentions Yama by name and embodies the latter's views. Vas. (18. 13-15) quotes three ślokas sung by Yama, one of which (14) is the same as Manu 4. 80 and another (15) is very similar to Manu 4. 81. Another śloka of Yama is quoted by Vas. (19. 48) which is almost the same as Manu 5. 93. From these facts and others Bühler draws the conclusion (S. B. E. vol. XIV, p. XX) that these verses were taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra, which occupied the same position in Vasiṣṭha's day as the Manusmṛti does at present. I demur to this conclusion, which will be discussed later on in detail (under Manusmṛti). Vas. (14. 30-32) quotes ślokas of Prajāpati, the first of which mentions Yama by name. Vas. 14. 16-19 and 24-27 are quoted as ślokas of Prajāpati, three of which (14. 16, 18 and 24) are practically the same as Manu. 4. 248, 249 and 5. 127. Vas. 14. 19 contains a *pāda* which occurs in Manu 4. 212. It is remarkable that the Vas. Dh. S. cites Vasiṣṭha himself with great reverence (as *bhagavān*) in 2. 50 (about the rate of interest), 24. 5 (about Kṛcchra penance), 30. 11. In numerous places the Vas. Dh. S. either refers to Manu by name or quotes the views of Manu (under the form 'iti Mānavam') or a śloka of Manu (with the words 'Mānavaṁ ślokam). All these passages have an important bearing on the age of the Manusmṛti and on the supposed existence of a Mānavadharma-sūtra. They therefore deserve to be carefully examined. Vas. I. 17 is in prose (about local, family or caste usages) and summarises the views of Manu. The absence of the word 'iti' before 'abravīn' Manuḥ' and the form of the sūtra itself clearly establishes that Vas. is not directly quoting a sūtra of Manu. That sūtra is only a summary of our Manu I. 118. Vas. 3. 2 (which is preceded by the words 'Mānavaṁ ślokam') is Manu II. 168. And so are Vas. 13. 16, 20. 18, which are Manu 4.117 and 11.151 (with very slight variations). That the latter existed in Vasiṣṭha's text is vouched for by Aparārka (p. 1075). Vas. 4. 5 is in prose and cites the view of Manu that animals may be sacrificed only for worshipping and honouring the

manes, deities and guests [105]. There is hardly anything to show that it is a direct quotation from Manu and not a summary of Manu's views. The sūtra briefly summarises the views that we find expressed in our Manu 5. 22, 32, 41 and 42 (the words of 42 'eṣvartheṣu paśuṁ hiṁsan' are interesting and bear a close resemblance to 'paśum hiṁsyād' in Vas.). That sūtra is followed by a verse which is the same as Manu 5. 41. It is to be noted that the same verse occurs in the dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu (51. 64) which reads 'nānyatreti kathaṁcana' for 'nānyathetyabravīn Manuḥ'. This change appears to have been purposely made to keep up the impression that the Viṣṇu-Dh. S. emanated from Viṣṇu himself and so could not have borrowed from a human author. Vas. 4. 7 is very similar to Manu 5. 48. Bühler (S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxxi) is wrong in taking Vas. 4. 8 as a quotation from the Mānavadharmasūtra. There is nothing to show that it is so taken. It is more probably a quotation from or a summary of a Brāhmaṇa passage (compare a quotation in Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 109, which is similar). Vide note 46. Vas. 23.43 (where Manu is referred to as prescribing an easy penance called Śiśukṛcchra for children and old men) corresponds more or less with Manu 11. 211 and 219 and Vas. 26. 8 has evidently Manu 11. 260 in view. There are only two places in Vasiṣṭha where the name of Manu occurs for which it is not possible to point out a corresponding verse in the Manusmṛti. They are Vas. 12. 16 and 19 37. The latter is cited as a Mānavaśloka and is in the Upajāti metre.[106] Because this is not found in our Manu, Bühler and other Western scholars seem to think that the verse is taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra which once existed in mixed prose and verse and is now lost. But as will be shown elsewhere this hypothesis is based, to say the least, on very slender foundations. Besides these two that are not found in our Manu, there are about forty verses that are common to the Vas. Dh. S. and the Manusmṛti and about a dozen verses which, though not strictly identical, are more or less similar. There are several prose sūtras of Vas. which correspond to the

105 पितृदेवातिथिपूजायामप्येव पशुं हिंस्यादिति मानवम् । वसिष्ठ 4. 5; वसिष्ठ 4. 8 is अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय महोक्षाणं वा महाजं वा पचेदेवमस्मा आतिथ्यं कुर्वन्तीति ।

106 शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति—न भिन्नकार्षापणमस्ति शुल्के न शिल्पवृत्तौ न शिशौ न दूते । न भैक्षलब्धे न हृतावशेषे न श्रोत्रिये न प्रव्रजिते न यज्ञे ॥. The वि. र. (p. 305) says 'वसिष्ठः शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरति न भिन्नम्' &c.

verses of Manu almost word for word.[107] The hypothesis that commends itself to me is that Vas. contains borrowings from the Manusmṛti or its purer ancient original in verse.

In the words 'Śrāmaṇakenāgnimādhāya' (Vas. 9. 10), the sūtra of Vikhanas seems to be referred to. Gautama (Dh. S. 3. 26) contains the same words. Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is the same as Gautama's 19th and Baudhāyana's tenth in the 3rd *praśna* and seems to have been borrowed from Gautama. Vasiṣṭha refers to the views of others in the words 'eke' or 'anye' (Vas. 1. 12, 13, 25 ; 4. 10; 17. 66; 20. 2). Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII, p. XVIII) thinks that Vas. 28. 10–15 and 18–22 are borrowed from the Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. LVI and LXXXVII (or its original the Kāṭhakadharmasūtra. Dr. Jolly is not right with regard to both the places. Bühler has already pointed out his mistake as to the second passage (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XXII). The verses in Vas. 28. 10–15 occur in several smṛtis (vide Saṅkhasmṛti, 10th chap. in Jivananda's ed. part II. pp. 356–357 for the same verses). Besides Vas. 28. 11 occurs in Baud. Dh. S. IV. 3. 7. Hence it is hardly proper for any scholar to make the dogmatic assertion that one particular smṛti must have borrowed from any other. The rather very corrupt passage in Vasiṣṭha (16. 21-23[108]) very closely resembles a passage of Śaṅkha, which is cited by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 305 and by the Kṛtya-kalpataru (I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 852, folio 8a).

Bühler is of opinion that the home of the school to which the Vas. Dh. S. belonged lay to the north of the Narmadā and the

107 वसिष्ठ 7. 3. 'तेषां वेदमधीत्य वेदौ वेदान्वाविशीर्णब्रह्मचर्यो यमिच्छेत्तमावसेत् ।' compare मनु 3. 2 ; वसिष्ठ 13. 61 'तृणभूम्यग्न्युदकवाक्सूनृतानसूयाः सतां गृहे नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन ।' ; compare मनु 3. 101 ; वसिष्ठ 16. 30 'स्त्रीणां साक्षिणः स्त्रियः कुर्याद् द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः शूद्राणां सन्तः शूद्राश्चान्त्यानामन्त्ययोनयः', compare with मनु 8. 68 'स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्युर्द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः । शूद्राश्च सन्तः शूद्राणामन्त्यानामन्त्ययोनयः ॥'.

108 The printed Vas. reads 'बेधसो वा राजा श्रेयान् गृध्रपरिवारं स्यात् । गृध्रपरिवारं वा राजा श्रेयान् । गृध्रपरिवारं स्यान्न गृध्रो गृध्रपरिवारं स्यात्'. This hardly makes any sense. The कृत्यकल्पतरु presents a good reading (from शङ्खलिखित) 'न गृध्रपरिवारः स्यात् । कामं गृध्रो राजा श्रेयान् हंसपरिवारः । परिवाराद्धि दोषाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति । तेऽलं विनाशाय ।'.

Vindhya (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XVI). When it is extremely problematical whether the Vas. Dh. S. was the product of a school, it is idle to speculate as to the home of the Vas. Dh. S. Bühler's is no more than a mere conjecture and it is better to admit that we know nothing positive at present on the point.

The earliest work to refer to Vasiṣṭha as an authority on *dharma* is our Manu (8. 140), saying that Vas. allowed 1/80th of the principal as interest per month. This appears to refer to the rule in Vas. 2. 50. We saw above that Vas. borrows from the Manusmṛti, which in its turn quotes a rule of Vasiṣṭha. The explanation of this is twofold. Both the Manusmṛti and Vas. have received later additions and further it is possible that the present Vas. Dh. S. is the work of some one who had received the teachings of Vas. through a succession of teachers and disciples. Yāj. mentions (1. 4) Vasiṣṭha as a writer on *dharma*. The Tantravārtika as seen above (note 55) remarks that the Vas. Dh. S. was studied by Ṛgvedins. The same work when speaking of works on dharma puts Manu, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha in the forefront.[108a] Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other early commentators largely quote from Vas. The verse 'agnerapatyam' (Vas. 28. 16) occurs in the Ragiṁ copperplate of Tīvaradeva of the last quarter of the 8th century (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions No. 81). Therefore the existence of a work of Vasiṣṭha on dharma at least in the first centuries of the Christian era is vouched for with certainty and the authenticity of its text is supported by eminent writers from the 7th century downwards. Aparārka quotes passages from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which have in view the present text of Vas.[109] Some of the views held by Vasiṣṭha are very ancient. For example, he speaks of the twelve secondary sons, assigns a very inferior position to the Dattaka son (17th chapter), allows *niyoga* (17. 56 ff) and the remarriage of child widows (17. 74); like Āpastamba he mentions only six

108a 'प्रायेण मनुगौतमवसिष्ठादिप्रणीताः समानेष्वर्थेषु धर्मसंहिता वर्तन्ते । नैषामितरेतरत्वम् एव श्रुतयः स्वनुमनाः । न च व्याकरणस्य नामिः समानार्थत्वम् ।' तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 24.

109 'वसिष्ठेन समाख्यातं ब्रह्महत्यापनोदनम् । द्वादशरात्रमभ्यस्तो द्वादशरात्रमुपवसेत् ॥' अपरार्क p. 1067 (this is वसिष्ठ 23. 38) ; 'वसिष्ठेन तथोक्तं वै प्रायश्चित्तं कृतस्त्विप । कामतो मद्यपाने तु न सुरायाः कदाचन ।' अपरार्क p. 1075 (this is वसिष्ठ 20. 19).

forms of marriage (1. 28-29), *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, *gāndharva*, *kṣātra and mānuṣa*. In some respects his views are different from those of early writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana. He prohibits the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman (I. 25-26). Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2 for the contrary view. He elaborates rules of adoption (15th chapter) which are not found in Gaut. or Baud. or Āpastamba. He speaks of documents as one of the three means of proof (Vas. 16. 10-15), while Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent on the point, though in Gautama (13. 4) there appears to be a reference to documents. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Vasiṣṭha is later than Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, but much earlier than the beginnings of the Christian era and may tentatively be assigned to the period between 300-100 B. C. It has been asserted by an eminent authority (Cambridge History of India vol. I, p. 249) that Vasiṣṭha 18. 4 (vaiśyena brāhmaṇyām-utpanno Rāmako bhavatītyāhuḥ) probably contains a reference to the Romans. This assumptiou is gratuitous and does not deserve serious consideration. The reading Romaka (on which the learned writer relies) is not supported by the best mss. and it is most hazardous to seize with avidity on a variant reading and to build an imposing structure of chronology thereon. The offspring of a Vaiśya male from a Brāhmaṇa woman is designated Rāmaka by Vasiṣṭha, while Gautama calls him Kṛta (4. 15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7) calls such an offspring Vaidehaka ; so Rāmaka has as much to do with the Romans as with Rameses. In the *nibandhas* there are several quotations ascribed to Vasiṣṭha which are not found in the printed Dharmasūtra. For example, Haradatta on Gaut. (22. 18) quotes a verse in the Upajāti metre which is not found in the present text [110].

So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites (on Yāj. I. 19) the views of a writer called Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Mit. on Yāj. (II. 91) quotes the definition of a *jayapatra* (judgment) from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha and on III. 20 quotes him about impurity on miscarriage. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about 20 verses from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha on *āhnika* and śrāddha ; Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on the Caturviṁśatimata

110 The verse is न नालिकेरेण न शाणवालैर्न चापि मौञ्जेन न वध्रशृङ्खलैः । एतैस्तु गावो न निबन्धनीया बद्धानुतिष्ठेत् परशुं प्रगृह्य ॥ The same verse is quoted in the मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 264) without the author's name.

(p. 12) seems to quote a prose passage fron Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. From the above it follows that Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha was an early compilation and dealt with almost all such topics (including Vyavahāra) as are dealt with by Yāj. The Mit. also quotes a Bṛhad-Vasiṣṭha. The Smṛticandrikā (III. p. 300) quotes a few verses from a Jyotir-Vasiṣṭha. The I. O. catalogue (No. 1339 p. 392) speaks of a Vasiṣṭha-smṛti in ten *adhyāyas* about the religious observances and duties enjoined on devotees of Viṣṇu.

That Yajñasvāmin wrote a commentary on the Vas. Dh. S. follows from Govindasvāmin's comment on Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 51), where he quotes Vas. 21. 13 and Yajñasvāmin's comment thereon.

10. Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra has been printed several times in India, viz. by Jivananda in his Dharmaśāstrasaṅgraha (1876 part I pp. 70-176), by the Bengal Asiatic Society (1881, ed. by Dr. Jolly with extracts from the commentary Vaijayantī), by M. N. Dutt (Dharmaśāstra texts, vol. II. pp. 541-666, Calcutta, 1909) and translated by Dr. Jolly (in the S. B. E. vol. VII with an Introduction). In the present work Dr. Jolly's edition has been used. The sūtra contains one hundred chapters. Though the number of chapters is so large, the sūtra is not very extensive. There are several chapters such as 40, 42 and 76 that contain only one sūtra and one verse. The first chapter and the last two are entirely in verse; the remaining chapters are in mixed prose and verse, the versified portion being generally at the end of each chapter. As pointed out by the Vaijayantī the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kaṭha. It also stands in a peculiar relation to the extant Manusmṛti. According to the Caraṇavyūha, Kaṭha and Cārāyaṇīya are two of the twelve sub-divisions of Caraka-śākhā of the Yajurveda. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII p. XII) says that the Viṣṇudharmasūtra has four chapters (21, 67, 73 and 86) in common with the Kāṭhak-gṛhya (except the final parts in 21, 67, 86) and that both drew from a common source. Bühler points out (West and Bühler's digest, 3rd ed. p. 35) that the Kāṭhakagṛhya found in Kashmir agrees closely with the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu and the *mantras* in the latter agree with the Kāṭhaka recension of the Yajurveda. But the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is not the work of the same author that composed the Kāṭhaka Śrauta or Gṛhya sūtras, nor does it appear that it formed part of the

Kāṭhaka Kalpa. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 7) says that Govindarāja (12th century) in his Smṛtimañjarī cites a passage in prose from a Kaṭhasūtrakṛt on the penance for Brāhmaṇa murder which is wanting in our Viṣṇusmṛti (vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxi n for the passage).

The contents of the Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra are :-1. The earth being lifted out of the surging ocean by the great Boar, went to Kaśyapa to inquire as to who would support her thereafter, and was sent by him to Viṣṇu who told her that those who would follow the duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas* would be her support, whereupon the earth pressed the great God to impart to her their duties; 2. the four *varṇas* and their *dharmas* ; 3. the duties of kings (rājadharmāḥ); 4. the Kārṣāpaṇa and smaller measures ; 5. punishments for various offences ; 6. debtors and creditors, rates of interest, sureties; 7. three kinds of documents; 8. witnesses ; 9. general rules about ordeals; 10–14. ordeals of balance, fire, water, poison and holy water (*kośa*); 15. the twelve kinds of sons, exclusion from inheritance, eulogy of sons ; 16. offspring of mixed marriages, aud mixed castes ; 17. partition, joint family and rules of inheritance to one dying sonless, re-union, strīdhana ; 18. partition among sons of a man from wives of different caśtes ; 19. carrying the dead body for cremation, impurity on death, praise of Brāhmaṇas ; 20. the duration of the four Yugas, Manvantara, Kalpa, Mahākalpa, passages inculcating that one should not grieve too much for the departed ; 21. the rites for the dead after period of mourning, monthly śrāddha, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa ; 22. periods of impurity on death for *sapiṇḍas*, rules of conduct in mourning, impurity on birth, and rules about impurity on touching various persons and objects ; 23. purification of one's body and of various substances ; 24. marriage, forms of marriage, inter-marriages, guardians for marriage ; 25. the *dharmas* of women ; 26. precedence among wives of different castes ; 27. the saṁskāras, garbhādhāna and others; 28. the rules for *brahmacārins* ; 29. eulogy of ācārya ; 30. time for the starting of Vedic study and holidays ; 31. father, mother and ācārya deserve the highest reverence ; 32. other persons deserving of respect ; 33. the three sources of sin, viz. passion, anger, greed; 34. kinds of *atipātakas*, deadliest sins; 35. five *mahāpātakas* ; 36. *anupātakas*, that are as deadly as the mahāpātakas ; 37. numerous upapātakas ; 38–42. other lesser sins ; 43. the twenty one hells and the duration of hell torments for various sinners ; 44. the various low births to which sinners are consigned for various sins ; 45. the

various diseases suffered by sinners and the low pursuits they have to follow by way of retribution; 46-48. various kinds of kṛcchras (penances), sāntapana, cāndrāyaṇa, prasṛtiyāvaka; 49. actions prescribed for a devotee of Vāsudeva and the rewards thereof; 50. prāyaścitta for killing a brāhmaṇa and other human beings, for killing cows and other animals; 51-53. prāyaścittas for drinking wine and other forbidden substances, for theft of gold and other articles, for incest and sexual intercourse of other kinds; 54. prāyaścittas for miscellaneous acts; 55. secret penances; 56. holy hymns like *Aghamarṣaṇa* that purge sin; 57. whose society should be avoided, Vrātyas, unrepentant sinners, avoiding gifts; 58. the pure, variegated (mixed) and dark kinds of wealth; 59. The duties of house-holders, *pākayajñas*, the five daily *mahāyajñas*, honouring guests; 60. the daily conduct of a householder and good breeding; 61-62. rules about brushing the teeth, *ācamana*; 63. means of livelihood for a householder, rules for guidance, good and evil omens on starting on journey, rule of the road; 64. bathing and *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes; 65-67. worship of Vāsudeva; flowers and other materials of worship, offering of food to deities and *piṇḍas* to ancestors and giving food to guests; 68. rules about time and manner of taking food; 69-70. sexual intercourse with wife and about sleep; 71. general rules of conduct for a *snātaka*; 72. value of self-restraint; 73-86. śrāddhas, the procedure of śraddhas, aṣṭakā śrāddha, the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered, times of śrāddha, fruits of śrāddha on the several week days and the 27 *nakṣatras* and the *tithis*, materials for śraddha, brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at śrāddha, brāhmaṇas who are *paṅktipāvana*; countries unfit for śrāddha, tīrthas, letting loose of a bull; 87-88. gifts of antelope skin, or a cow; 89. kārtika snāna; 90. eulogy of gifts of various sorts; 91-93. works of public utility such as wells, lakes, planting gardens, embankments, gifts of food, flowers &c.; difference in merit according to the recipient; 94-95. rules about forest hermit (vānaprastha); 96-97. about *saṁnyāsa*, anatomy of the bones, muscles, veins, arteries &c.; concentration in various ways 98-99. praise of Vāsudeva by the Earth and of Lakṣmī; 100. rewards of studying this Dharmaśāstra.

The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra somewhat resembles the Dharma-sūtra of Vasiṣṭha. Like the latter it is full of verses. But one feature which is peculiar to the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra is that it professes to be a revelation by the supreme Being. None of the other dharma-

sūtras so far described assumes this role. The style of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is easy and somewhat diffuse. It presents hardly any ungrammatical forms. The printed text is corrupt only in a few cases; the verses occur generally at the end of chapters. Sometimes the number of verses in a chapter is very large e. g, in chapter 20 there are 21 sūtras and 32 verses, in chapter 23 there are 24 verses, in chap. 43 there are 14, in chap. 51 there are are 20 verses. Some of the verses are in the classical Indravajrā (19. 23-24) and the Upajāti metres (23.61 and 59. 30) and a few are Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 47, 72. 77). The three Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 41) are three out of the four verses of the Vidyā-sūkta occurring in the Nirukta (II. 4). There is one verse (72. 6) which has eleven letters in the first *pada* and twelve in the remaining three.

In determining the age of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra one is confronted with a difficult problem. Some of the chapters undoubtedly contain material which is comparatively old and on a level with the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba. Such are the chapters about rājadharma and punishments (3 and 5), the rules about twelve sons and the mixed castes (15-16), funeral rites and mourning (21 and 22). But there are very large portions of the work that bear a clear impress of a later date. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra and the Manusmṛti have at least 160 identical verses. But this is not all. There are hundreds of sūtras which are merely the prose equivalents of verses from the Manusmṛti. For example, Viṣṇu 2. 3 and Manu 2. 16, Viṣṇu 3. 4 and 6 and Manu 7. 69-70, Viṣṇu 3. 7-10 and Manu 7. 115, Viṣṇu 3. 11-15 and Manu 7. 116-117, Viṣṇu 4. 1-13 and Manu 8. 132-137, Viṣṇu 5. 4-7, and Manu 9. 237, Viṣṇu 20. 1-21, and Manu I. 67-73, Viṣṇu 51. 7-10 and Manu 4. 209-212, Viṣṇu 59. 21-25 and Manu 3. 70, Viṣṇu 62. 224 and Manu 2. 59, Viṣṇu 71. 48-52 and Manu 4. 80, and Viṣṇu 96. 14-17 and Manu 6. 46 agree almost word for word. The verses that are identical in both are found in all the chapters of the Manusmṛti from the second to the last, the largest number (about 47) occurring in the 5th and chapters eleven, two, and three respectively contributing 25, 24, and 19 verses. Therefore the question whether the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu or *vice versa* or whether both borrow from a common original assumes very great importance. As the correspondence extends over several hundred verses of the Manusmṛti, the last hypothesis of borrowing from a common original does

not recommend itself to me. No such common source is known to have existed and to say that there were hundreds of floating popular verses whose authorship was unknown and which were drawn upon by both works appears to me to be an extremely gratuitous and unsatisfactory assumption. In my opinion it is the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra that borrowed the verses *ad hoc* or adapted them from the Manusmṛti. There are several lines of reasoning that strengthen this hypothesis. There are some verses that are identical in both, in which the name of Manu occurs, which the Viṣṇudharmasūtra omits by making slight verbal changes. For example, Viṣṇu 23. 50 substitutes 'tat parikīrtitam' for 'Manur-abravīt' in Manu 5. 131 and Viṣṇu 51. 64 reads 'nānyatreti kathaṁcana' for Manu 5. 41 'nānyatretyabravīn-Manuḥ' (this last occurs in Vas. 4. 6). The reason for these changes is obvious. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra professes to be a direct revelation from Viṣṇu and it is in keeping with this assumed role that not one human author is mentioned by name in the sūtra. Therefore where the name of Manu occurred in any verse, it was purposely omitted. Another reason why the sūtra must be presumed to be the borrower is the character of the extant work itself. It is a kind of hotchpotch and contains verses that are identical with those of other works. For example, several verses of the Bhagavatgītā occur in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Viṣṇu 20, 48-49 and 51-52 are the same as Gīta 2. 13. 23, 24, 28; Viṣṇu 72. 7 and Gīta 13. 14-18 are almost identical. Viṣṇu 96. 97 and the first half of 98 are the same as Gīta 13. 1-2, except that in keeping with its character of a revelation to the Earth, the Viṣṇudharmasūtra substitutes 'vasudhe' for 'kaunteya' and 'bhāvini' for 'bhārata.' Several verses of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti are identical with those of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For example, Viṣṇu 6. 41 and Yāj. 2. 53, Viṣṇu 8. 38 and Yaj. II. 79, Viṣṇu 9. 33 and Yāj. 2. 97, Viṣṇu 17. 17 and Yāj. 2. 138, Viṣṇu 17. 23 (first half) and Yāj. 2. 210 (latter half), Viṣṇu 62. 9 and Yāj. 1. 21, Vi. 63. 51 and Yāj. 1. 117 are identical. Besides these there are hundreds of prose sūtras that are identical with passages of Yājñavalkya. For example, Vi. 3. 72-74= Yāj. II. 1-4; Vi. 3. 82 = Yāj. 1. 318-320 (rules about land grants); Vi. 5. 65-69 = Yāj. II. 217-220, Vi. 5. 73 = Yāj. II. 221; Vi. 45. 3-12 = Yaj. 3. 209-211 (about diseases suffered by sinners); Vi. 60. 24 = Yāj. 1. 17; Vi. 96. 55-79 = Yāj. 3. 84-90 (about 360 bones of the body); Vi. 96. 80-88 = Yāj. 3. 100-102 (about the number of arteries, veins, muscles etc.); Vi. 96. 89-92 = Yāj. 3. 93-99. Dr. Jolly

thinks that Yājñavalkya borrows from Viṣṇu the whole of the anatomical section (vide S. B. E. vol. VII, p. XX). With great respect I differ from this opinion. There is nothing to show that the anatomical details were first given to the world by Viṣṇu. They must have first been embodied in works on medicine such as those of Caraka and Suśruta[111] and were probably copied by Dharmasūtra writers. But if there is any borrowing between Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya I think from the character of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that it is the sūtra that must be regarded as borrowing from Yājñavalkya. There are several matters in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra which are wanting in Yājñavalkya and which induce one to place the extant sūtra later than Yājñavalkya, viz. the name 'Jaiva' for Thursday (Vi. 78. 5), the long list of tīrthas (Vi. chap. 85) which include Śrīparvata and the five rivers of the south called southern Pañcanada, the importance of the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter on a full moon day (Vi. 49. 9-10), the vague definition of Āryāvarta[112] (Vi. 84. 4). The verse in Viṣṇu 54. 33 (about half prāyaścitta for boys and old men) is ascribed to Aṅgiras by the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 243).

Therefore the most probable conclusion is that the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from the Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkya and other authors. It would be too much to assume that the Manusmṛti, the Bhagavatgītā and Yājñavalkya borrow from such a comparatively unimportant work as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The above conclusion is further strengthened by certain other considerations. The Manusmṛti has been quoted with utmost reverence by a host of writers from the fifth century downwards, such as Śabara, Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya. Yājñavalkya was commented upon by Viśvarūpa in the first half of the 9th century. Viśvarūpa in his commentary quotes scores of sūtras from Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkha and Hārīta. But it is significant that Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya does not quote even a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name. It is true that Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 66) says that

111 Vide चरक, शारीरस्थान chap. 7 and सुश्रुत, शारीरस्थान chap. 5; in the अष्टाङ्गहृदय of वाग्भट, शारीर chap. 3, we find 360 bones and 700 muscles.

112 चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते। स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः॥ It is to be noted that Yāj. (I. 2) lays down *dharmas* for the country in which the black deer moves about, following Baud. I. 1. 28 and Vas. I. 13.

the four forms of asceticism (*pārivrājya*) should be understood from other smṛtis like those of Viṣṇu[113]. This probably refers to chap. 97 of the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Medhātithi (on Manu 3. 248) quotes Viṣṇu (21. 12) and on Manu 9. 76 quotes a sūtra of Viṣṇu which I could not trace in the printed Viṣṇu.[114] The Mitākṣarā mentions Viṣṇu about thirty times. The quotations are taken from chapters 19, 21, 22, 35-42, 50, 51, 52, 75 and 79 of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, 18 sūtras of chap. 22 (on āśauca and kindred topics) being quoted on Yāj. III. 23, 24, 27, 29-30. But it is a remarkable fact that not one of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra is cited as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā. The only exception is a verse cited as Viṣṇu's on Yāj. III. 265, which has the same purport as Viṣṇu 52. 14 (a verse) and the first *pāda* of which is identical with that of the verse in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.[115] A few verses that are quoted as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā could not be traced in the extant dharmasūtra.[116] It is not unlikely that the sūtra first contained mostly prose sūtras based on Manu and the Kāṭhakagṛhya and verses were tacked on later. Among later writers of *nibandhas* Aparārka quotes Viṣṇu most profusely and the Smṛticandrikā also quotes Viṣṇu about 225 times.

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113 स्मृत्यन्तरेभ्यश्च विष्ण्वादिभ्यो विशेषतश्चतुर्विधः पारिव्राज्यप्रकारभेदोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

114 The quotation is ' अष्टौ विप्रसूताः षट् राजन्याश्चतुरो वैश्या द्विगुणं प्रसूतेति न शूद्रायाः कालनियमः स्यात्संवत्सरमित्येके '; compare for a somewhat similar rule Vas. 17. 78.

115 यथाह विष्णुः । दत्त्वैवापहृतं द्रव्यं स्वामिने व्रतमाचरेदिति । while विष्णुधर्मसूत्र reads ' दत्त्वैवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः । प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कल्मषस्यापनुत्तये ॥ . '

116 The verse are : ओष्ठौ विलोमकौ स्पृष्ट्वा वासो विपरिधाय च । quoted on Yāj. I. 195: ' अप्रशस्तास्तु कानीनगूढोत्पन्नसहोढजाः । पौनर्भवश्च नैवैते पिण्डरिक्थांशभागिनः ॥ quoted on Yāj. II. 132; अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः । पूर्वेषां तु स्वधाकारे पौत्रा दौहित्रका मताः ॥ on Yāj. II. 135; आक्रुष्टस्ताडितो वापि धनैर्वा विप्रयोजितः । यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्प्राणांस्तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम् ॥ ज्ञातिमित्रकलत्रार्थं सुहृत्क्षेत्रार्थमेव च । यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्...घातकम् ॥ उद्दिश्य कुपितो हत्वा तोषितः श्रावयेत् पुनः । तस्मिन् मृते न दोषोऽस्ति द्वयोरुच्छ्रावणे कृते ॥ on Yāj. III. 227; स्त्रीणामर्धं प्रदातव्यं वृद्धानां रोगिणां तथा । पादो बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वयं विधिः ॥ on Yāj. III. 243; गोघ्नस्य पञ्चगव्येन मासमेकं पलत्रयम् । मत्यहं स्यात्पराको वा चान्द्रायणमथापि वा ॥ on Yāj. III. 263.

Many of the verses found in Vi. are quoted by Aparārka as Viṣṇu's, e. g. Vi. 84. 4 on Yāj. 1. 2; 68. 46-47 on Yāj. 1, 106; 67. 33 on Yāj. 1. 107; 5. 183 on Yāj. 2. 60; 10. 9-11 on Yāj. 2. 102. But there are numerous verses quoted as Viṣṇu's by Aparārka which are not found in the sūtra, e. g. on Yāj. I. 21, 53, 89, 100. Aparārka quotes almost whole chapters of Viṣṇu, e. g. Vi. 68 on Yāj. I. 106 and 90 on Yāj. I. 208, 70 on Yāj. 1. 114. It is to be noted that Vi. 70. 17 (a verse) is quoted by Aparārka as a prose sūtra (on 1. 114) with slight verbal changes. All these facts make one feel naturally sceptical about the authenticity of most of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra. They probably formed no part of the sūtra at the time when the Mitākṣarā was composed. At all events it cannot be gainsaid that the verses are a very late part of the sūtra.

The Viṣṇudhamasūtra contains quotations from all the Vedic saṁhitās and from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (as in Vi. 15. 45). It mentions the Vedāṅgas very frequently (30. 3 and 38, 28. 35, 83. 6), it speaks of Vyākaraṇa (83. 7), of itihāsa (3. 70, 30. 38, 83. 7), of Dharmaśāstras (3. 70, 30. 38, 73. 16, 83. 8), of Purāṇa (3. 70, 30. 38 &c.). About the close correspondence between Baud. III. 6 and Viṣṇu. 48 and between Vas. 28. 10-15 and 18-22 and Viṣṇu 56 and 87 vide remarks made above pp. 23, 57. The sūtra quotes several verses (called gāthās) and says they were sung by pitṛs; vide 78. 52-53, 80. 14, 83. 21, 85. 65-67. They bear close resemblance to the gāthās sung by the pitṛs quoted in the Anuśāsana-parva 88. 11-15 and a half verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yadyekopi Gayāṁ vrajet' is the same in Vi. 85. 67 and Anu. 88. 14. The Viṣṇusmṛti enumerates twenty one hells (43. 1-22), which are almost the same as Yājñavalkya's (3. 222-224). It mentions the names of the seven days of the week (78. 1-7), Thursday being called Jaiva, while Yājñavalkya mentions only the seven planets (with Rāhu and Ketu) in the same order (I. 296). It recommends the practice of *satī* (25. 14), speaks of *pustakas* (18. 44, 23. 56), a word which is not used by the other dharmasūtras so far described. It gives a long list of good and evil omens at the time of starting on a journey (63. 33-39). Among evil omens it includes the sight of yellow-robed ascetics (i. e. Buddhists probably) and Kāpālikas (63. 36). It prohibits speech with Mlecchas, Antyajas (71. 59) and journeys to Mleccha countries (84. 2). It contains special directions about the worship of Vāsudeva in chap. 49

and speaks of Śvetadvīpa as the reward of devotion to Vāsudeva (49. 4). Here and there, there are eulogies of Vāsudeva (1. 50–57, 65. 1, 97. 10, 98 which gives one hundred names of Viṣṇu). It speaks of the four vyūhas of Vāsudeva (67. 2) and of the Varāha incarnation. It gives a vague location of Āryāvarta as a country where the four varṇas exist (84. 4). It enumerates numerous sacred places (85. 1–52), among which Śrīparvata, Saptārṣa (modern Satara ?), Godāvarī and southern Pañcanada deserve to be specially noted. Though it does not specifically enumerate the eighteen titles of law just as Yājñavalkya does not, yet it contains rules (in chapters 5–6) on almost all of them.

As Yājñavalkya enumerates Viṣṇu among the propounders of dharmaśāstras, it follows that a work of Viṣṇu existed in comparatively early times. What matters that work embraced it is difficult to say. It probably contained the topics found in the works of Gautama, Āpastamba and others. It may have included portions borrowed from the Kāṭhakagṛhya. When Dr. Jolly says that certain chapters of Viṣṇu agree closely with the Kāṭhakagṛhya, all that is meant is that some of the sūtras of Viṣṇu are the same or almost the same as those of the Kāṭhakagṛhya (e. g. compare Viṣṇu 21, 73 and 86 with Kāṭhakagṛhya V. 12, V. 9, and V. 3 respectively). But in all these places Viṣṇu contains more details than the Kāṭhakagṛhya. It may however be noted that in a few cases the views of the Kāṭhakagṛhya differ from those of Viṣṇu. For example, Viṣṇu (30. 1) speaks of Vedic studies for 4½ months only in the year when once they are started on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada, while the Kāṭhakagṛhya (I. 9. 10) gives three alternatives, viz. 4½, 5 or 5½ months ; Viṣṇu prescribes that the proper year for the upanayana of a kṣatriya is the 11th from conception (27. 16), while the Kāṭhaka prescribes the 9th, without specifying whether it is from conception or birth (IV. 1. 2) ; Viṣṇu enumerates eight forms of marriage (24. 18), while the Kāṭhaka (II. 3 and 4) speaks of only two, Brāhma and Āsura, and is silent about the rest ; Viṣṇu (46. 19-20) defines Sāntapana and Mahāsāntapana differently from the Kāṭhaka (I. 7. 3-4), but agrees with Yājñavalkya (III. 315–316). Here the recent Lahore edition of the Kāṭhakagṛhya by Dr. Caland has been used. As it used Kāṭhaka *mantras* and borrowed from the Kāṭhakagṛhya, the dharmasūtra may have been a text-book of the Kāṭhaka school and probably originated in Kashmir and Punjab which is the home

of the Kaṭhas. The date of the older portion of Viṣṇu may be placed between 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. But this is no more than a mere conjecture. It is to be noted that Kumārila does not mention the Viṣṇudharmasūtra among the sūtras studied by particular schools. Then several centuries later on the whole of the sūtra was recast from the Vaiṣṇavite point of view and received large additions both in prose and verse. When these additions were made we have no exact means of determining. It is probable that they were not made very long before Viśvarūpa. At all events the additions were made long after the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and after the 3rd century. The mention of the week days makes the sūtra comparatively a late work. The earliest epigraphic mention of a week day is in the Eran inscription of 484 A. D. (vide Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp. 88-89) and Varāhamihira (6th century) knew the week days well. The Brahmapurāṇa (28. 55) mentions Sunday and the Padmapurāṇa mentions Thursday (Brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 11. 34). The Sūrya-siddhānta (XII. 6 and 78) speaks of the lords of days. Thus although the extant Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra is a late recast, it contains a few doctrines that were held in ancient times. For example it allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a girl of anyone of the four castes (24. 1) and does not inveigh against *niyoga* as Manu does.

A few of the sūtras agree closely with Nārada. Vide Vi. 7. 10-11 and Nārada (Ṛṇādāna verses 136-137).

The Mitākṣarā quotes all the prose passages of chapters 35-42 and ascribes them to Bṛhadviṣṇu (on Yāj. 3. 242). Similarly on Yāj. 3. 261 it ascribes Vi. 35. 3-5 to Bṛhadviṣṇu. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 298) ascribes Vi. 17. 4 ff to Bṛhad-Viṣṇu. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. 3. 267) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which summarises some sūtras of Viṣṇu [117] (50. 6 and 12-14).

In the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a Laghu-Viṣṇusmṛti in five chapters and 114 verses dealing with the duties of the *varṇas* and the four āśramas. Aparārka in his commentary on Yāj. 3. 258 quotes four verses from Laghu-Viṣṇu, which are not found in the Ānandāśrama text. So Aparārka used some other work or perhaps a larger work. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya often quotes gadya-

117 The verse of वृद्धविष्णु is विप्रे तु सकलं देयं पादोनं क्षत्रिये स्मृतम् । वैश्येर्धमेकपादस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शस्यते ॥ The sūtras are ब्राह्मणं हत्वा द्वादशसंवत्सरं कुर्यात् । पादोनं क्षत्रियवधे । अर्धं वैश्यवधे । तदर्धं शूद्रवधे ।

Viṣṇu and padya-Viṣṇu. The former from a quotation in vol. I. part 2, p. 234 seems to be the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra itself. In the Sarasvatīvilāsa numerous sūtras of Viṣṇu with the explanations of Bhāruci thereon are quoted, which are not found in the printed Viṣṇu.[118]

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra was commented upon by Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works on dharmaśāstra, who wrote at Benares the commentary called Vaijayantī (according to certain mss.) in 1679 (i. e. 1622-23 A. D.) of the Vikrama era. Dr. Jolly publishes extracts from this commentary in his edition of the sūtra.

From the fact that the Sarasvatīvilāsa quotes several times the sūtras of Viṣṇu with Bhāruci's explanation, it looks probable that Bhāruci commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For further information on Bhāruci vide sec. 61.

So far only the printed and well-known dharmasūtras have been passed under review. But there were numerous other dharmasūtras which are either now extant in rare mss. or are not yet discovered but are only to be reconstructed from quotations. It is now time to discuss them.

11. The Dharmasūtra of Hārīta

That Hārīta was an ancient sūtrakāra on *dharma* is quite patent from the fact that the dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote him as an authority (vide pp. 25, 39, 54). Āpastamba quotes Hārīta more frequently than any other author. From this it may

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118 e. g. para 637 यथाह भारुचिरेताद्वृष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति। (Viṣṇu's sūtra seems to have been बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृह्णीयात्); para 719 अत्र भारुचिः (on विष्णु's सूत्र ' पितृव्यपितृभ्रातृभिरेव संसर्गो नान्यैः) वैकल्पिकोयं संसर्गविधिरिति; para 736 अत्र भारुचिः भिन्नोदराणामिति निर्धारणे षष्ठी (on विष्णु's सूत्र ' भिन्नोदराणां संसृष्टिनो गृह्णीयुः'), para 847 contains a long sūtra of Viṣṇu ' अविभाज्यं गार्हं धार्मं मैत्रं वैधमाकस्मिकमादृशाद्यं प्रविभाज्यमत ऊर्ध्वं सर्वमविभाज्यम् ' and para 848 contains भारुचि 's explanation of it.

Vide pp. 32, 50, 165, 166, 243, 244 &c. of the recently published Mysore edition of the सरस्वतीविलास for sūtras of Viṣṇu which are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu. It appears that the सरस्वतीविलास had a very much larger version of the sūtra before it.

be concluded that they belonged to the same Veda. The Tantravārtika (vide note 55 above) mentions Hārīta along with Gautama and other sūtrakāras on dharma. From Viśvarūpa down to the latest writers on dharmaśāstra Hārīta is most profusely quoted. From the quotations it appears that his dharmasūtra was perhaps the most extensive of all dharmasūtras.

The late Pandit Vamansastri Islampurkar discovered at Nasik a ms. of the Hārīta-dharmasūtra. It was not possible for me to make use of it for the present work. Dr. Jolly (in R. und S. pp. 8–9) gives an account of the ms. from which I give a summary. It is so faulty that an edition based on it alone cannot be thought of. The ms. contains thirty chapters. So far as the language and contents are concerned the work impresses one as ancient, but the material citations ascribed to Hārīta in later digests on court procedure and the law of crimes &c. are not found in the ms. The prose is mixed up with verses in Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh metres, which are often introduced with the characteristic words "athāpyudāharanti" as in other dharmasūtras. The ms. quotes 'bhagavān Maitrāyaṇi' and the verse "Śatadāyo vīro" which is Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā I. 7. 5. Dr. Caland points out remarkable correspondence between the citations of Hārīta and the Maitrāyaṇīya Pariśiṣṭa and Mānavaśrāddhakalpa. All this tends to show that he was a sūtrakāra of the Black Yajurveda. The numerous quotations from Hārīta in Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are not however found in the ms. The ms. was found at Nasik, which is also the source of two mss. of the Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā. The Kashmirian word 'kaphella' is cited in Hārīta and so the Hārīta-dharmasūtra probably originated there. Hemādri (caturvarga III. 1. p. 559) mentions a commentator (bhāṣyakāra[119]) of Hārīta.

From the numerous quotations from Hārīta in the *nibandhas* it appears that the dharmasūtra dealt exhaustively with the same topics as are dealt with in other dharmasūtras, viz. sources of dharma, brahmacārin of two kinds (upakurvāṇa and naiṣṭhika), *snātaka*, the householder, the forest hermit, prohibitions about food, impurity

119 The sūtra of Hārīta is 'पालङ्क्या-नालिका-पौतीक-शिग्रु-सृसुक-वार्ताक-भूस्तृण-कफेल्ल-माष-मसूर-कृतलवणानि च श्राद्धे न दद्यात्' on which हेमाद्रि says, 'कफेल्लः आरण्यविशेषः काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्ध इति हारीतस्मृतिभाष्यकारः.'

on birth and death, śrāddha, the paṅktipāvana, general rules of conduct, the five yajñas, Vedic study and holidays, duties of kings, rules of statecraft, court procedure, the various titles of law, duties of husband and wife, various kinds of sins, prāyaścittas, expiatory prayers &c.

According to Kullūka (on Manu 2. 1) the Hārīta-dharmasūtra opened with the words 'now then we shall explain *dharma*; dharma is based upon revealed texts (śruti); revealed texts are of two kinds, the Vedic and the Tāntric.[120]' The quotations show that this very style was pursued in the body of the work. Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 322) quotes a sūtra[121] in similar style about a penance 'tulāpuruṣa' said to have been promulgated by Śiva himself. The sūtra often introduces verses as quotations with the words "an author says thus" (evaṁ hyāha; *vide* Aparārka on Yāj. I. 83, I. 154, III. 135, Vivāda-ratnākara pp. 443, 626). Numerous passages quoted as Hārīta's are identical with passages from other dharmaśāstra works. The sūtra 'Jāyāpatyorna vibhāgo vidyate' is quoted as from Hārīta by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 268), which is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16. The same work quotes 'pratyakṣavidhānād gārhasthyasya' as from Hārīta which is part of Gautama 3. 35. A verse about the enormity of usury quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 177) as Hārīta's is almost the same as Baudhāyana (I. 5. 79) and Vasiṣṭha[122] (2. 42). A verse about atipātakins (quoted by Aparārka on Yāj. III. 231) is the same as Viṣṇu 34. 2. Manu is mentioned by name in several verses (*vide* Smṛticandrikā III. p. 426, Vivāda-ratnākara p. 552-553). Two verses are cited in the Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana as found in Hārīta, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 30) and Manu (8. 18-19). A verse quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 21) is almost the same as Manu 8. 95. Several times we have the words 'Prajāpativaco yathā' (vide Aparārkā on Yāj. I. 154 and Smṛticandrikā I. p. 181). Hārīta seems to have relied upon the views

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120 'अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः। श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च ॥'. The Brahmayajña probably takes the words अथातो... स्यामः' from हारीत and not from the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra.

121 अथातस्त्रिनयनोक्तस्य तुलापुरुषस्य कल्पं व्याख्यास्यामः।

122 The verse is 'ब्रह्मघ्नं वृद्धिजीवं च तुलया समतोलयत्। अतिष्ठद् ब्रह्महा कोट्यां वृद्धिजीवस्त्वकम्पत ॥

of 'ācāryas' in several places.[123] He often quotes the views of others (eke, apare[124]) and sometimes refutes them.[125]

Hārīta refers to the Vedas, the Aṅgas, dharmaśāstra, metaphysics, and other branches of knowledge.[126] The quotations do not show that he belonged to any particular Veda, as he quotes from all the Vedas promiscuously. In this connection it is worthy of note that though Kumārila mentions Hārīta as an ancient dharmasūtrakāra, he does not assign him to any particular school, while he assigns Āpastamba and Baudhāyana to the Taittirīya school.

Some of the doctrines of Hārīta are worth noting. He speaks of eight forms of marriage, but two of them are styled Kṣatra and Mānuṣa, while Ārṣa and Prājāpatya are omitted (vide Vīramitrodaya, Saṁskāraprakāśa, p. 84). Vasiṣṭha has the same nomenclature (I. 29). Hārīta speaks of two sorts of women (*brahmavādinīs* and *sadyovadhūs*) and states that the former were entitled to have the Upanayana performed, to keep the sacred fire and to study the Vedas.[127] He speaks of the twelve kinds of sons (vide Haradatta on Gautama 28. 32). He looks down upon the profession of an actor and forbids the employment of a Brāhmaṇa actor in any śrāddha or rite for gods.[128] Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 332) quotes from Hārīta a lengthy passage in mixed prose and verse, where the worship of Gaṇeśa comes in.[129]

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123 विश्वरूप on Yāj. I. 195. 'तन्मात्रच्छेदनमेके वाससाम्। न वा साधारणत्वात्। साधारणं हि वास इत्याचार्याः। तस्मात्सर्ववाससामुपघातापनोदनादेव शुद्धिः।'; अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 154. 'आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिरित्याचार्याः;' मद. पा., p. 704. 'न ह्यशुद्धानामयं लोको न पर इत्याचार्याः'.

124 *Vide* मद. पा. pp. 607, 706; स्मृतिच॰ III. p. 422, अपरार्क on Yāj. II. 127.

125 अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 183. 'यानशयनान्यपरिहार्याण्येके मन्यन्ते। तन्न। वर्णविशेषात् शुक्लमलिनसंसर्गदर्शनात् पापसंसर्गयोगाच्च तस्मात् पृथक् शौचाच्छ्रेयांसः।

126 स्मृतिच. III. p. 290. वेदा अङ्गानि धर्मोऽध्यात्मं विज्ञानं स्थितिश्चेति षड्विधं श्रुतम्।

127 द्विविधाः स्त्रियः। ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च। तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्या। quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 24. and चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्या (Benares ed.) p. 113.

128 कुशीलवादीन् दैवे पित्र्ये च वर्जयेत्। quoted by अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 222-224.

129 We have there the names शालकटंकट, कूष्माण्डराजपुत्र, महाविनायक, वक्रतुण्ड, गणाधिपति. For the first two vide मानवगृह्यसूत्र II. 14 and याज्ञ. I. 285 ff.

A very interesting question is the relation of the verse quotations from Hārīta with the prose quotations from Hārīta. The dharmasūtra was probably interspersed with verses as is the case more or less with all dharmasūtras except that of Gautama. But there are numerous verses ascribed to Hārīta in the *nibandhas*, which are manifestly modern. Both the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 86) quote Hārīta's verses eulogising the satī. The Smṛticandrikā (III. p. 344) quotes his verses that refer to the signs of the Zodiac. There are numerous verses containing elaborate rules of procedure, ascribed to Hārīta, which are quite foreign to the general atmosphere of the ancient dharmasūtras. All such verses must be ascribed to a comparatively later date. In the Śuddhimayūkha it is said that certain verses quoted from the Mahābhārata by Hārīta are not found in several copies of the Mahābhārata.

Dr. Jolly (in 1889) collected together most of the prose and verse citations from Hārīta on the Vyavahāra section. In Jivananda's collection, we have a Laghu-Hārīta smṛti (I. pp. 177-193) and a Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti (I. pp. 194-409). The former contains seven *adhyāyas* and about 250 verses, dealing with the duties of the four castes and the *āśramas* and with Yoga. The latter is professedly a Vaiṣṇavite work, said to have been proclaimed by Hārīta to Ambarīṣa; it is divided into eight chapters and contains about 2600 verses, dealing with the *nitya* and *naimittika* rites of the *varṇas* and āśramas, the nature of the individual and supreme self and the means of attaining mokṣa. In the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis, Vṛddha-Hārīta is divided into eleven chapters, the first two of Jivananda's being split up into five. The Ānandāśrama collection contains a Laghu-Hārīta-smṛti in 117 verses which is different from the Laghu-Hārīta of Jivananda. The former deals with purification from pollutions of various kinds, with prāyaścittas, rules about impurity on birth and death, śrāddha and a few rules about inheritance, partition &c.

It is noteworthy that Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 254) quotes Vṛddha-Hārīta and Hārīta, both in prose, one immediately after another.

That the Vṛddha-Hārīta in verse is comparatively a late work follows from the fact that it distinctly recites that the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana were known to it as authorities

on rāja-dharma.[130] Some of the quotations ascribed to Laghu-Hārīta in Aparārka and other works are found in the Laghu-Hārīta, e. g. the verse 'vinā yajñopavītena' (Laghu-Hārīta, Ānandāśrama, verse 23) is quoted by Aparārka on Yāj. III. 289. Some verses that are ascribed to Hārīta are found in the Laghu-Hārīta, for example, the verse 'snānam kṛtvā tu ye', cited by the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 203), occurs in the Laghu-Hārīta (Ānandāśrama, verse 41). It appears that several compilations were made at different times, embracing different topics of *dharma* and ascribed to Hārīta, probably because they were based more or less on the Hārītadharmasūtra.

That some of the verses ascribed to Hārīta are very ancient follows from several considerations. For example, Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. III. 246) a verse from Hārīta. The Sarasvatīvilāsa quotes from Hārīta a brief passage which appears to be a portion of a verse and Kātyāyana's explanation thereon.[131] It follows that long before the sixth century A. D. Hārīta existed in verse.

For Hārīta on Vyavahāra, vide sec. 56.

12. The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita

From the Tantravārtika we learn (note 55 above) that the Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was specially studied by the Vājasaneyins (the followers of the white Yajurveda). The Tantravārtika also quotes a few words from that dharmasūtra which constitute an Anuṣṭubh *pāda*.[132] The Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 23) contains the story of the two brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita. In the Śāntiparva (130. 29 and 132. 15-16) the word Śaṅkha-Likhita seems to be used in a double sense, Śaṅkha also meaning the forehead. Yājñavalkya (1. 5) mentions Śaṅkha-Likhita among the writers on dharmaśātra. The Parāśarasmṛti says (1. 24) that in the four ages of Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, the ordinances of Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara are respectively of paramount authority

130 राजधर्मोयमित्येवं प्रसङ्गात् कथितो मया । कात्यायनेन मनुना याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता ॥ नारदेन च संप्रोक्तं विस्तराद्विदमेव हि । तस्मान्मया विस्तरेण नोक्तमत्र नृपोत्तम ॥ (Jivananda I, 4th chap. p. 265; Ānandāśrama, 7th chap. 270-272).

131 हारीतेनापि केचन भेदा उक्ताः । एकमूलो द्विस्थानो त्रिस्कन्धो द्विफलः । कात्यायनस्तु तान् व्याचष्टे । 2nd उल्लास, p. 61 (Mysore edition).

132 तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 139. 'स्मार्तधर्माधिकारे हि शङ्खलिखिताभ्यामुक्तम् – आम्नायः स्मृतिभास्करः.'

in matters of *dharma*. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 248) quotes a verse from an ancient author which says that Śaṅkha and Likhita pondered deeply over the *dharma* promulgated to the sages by Manu and drew upon the Veda[133] also. Commentators and *nibandhakāras* from Viśvarūpa downwards profusely quote Śaṅkha-Likhita. A considerable portion of these quotations is in prose. Hence it is quite clear that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita is an ancient one, that it was largely if not entirely in prose and that it was once easily accessible though it has not yet been discovered. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (vol. VII-VIII) I made an attempt at a reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

Jivananda (collection of smṛtis, part II., pp. 343-374) prints in 18 chapters and about 330 verses a smṛti of Śaṅkha and a smṛti of Likhita in about 93 verses (part II., pp. 375-382). The Ānandāśrama collection also prints the same text of the two smṛtis. The latter also contains a Laghu-Śaṅkha-smṛti in 71 verses and a Śaṅkha-Likhita-smṛti in 32 verses. All these, except perhaps the Śaṅkha-smṛti in 18 chapters, are late compilations. The smṛti in 18 chapters seems to have been compiled very early. About fifty verses from it are quoted by the Mitākṣarā. In the 11th and 12th chapters occur a few prose passages, one of which is quoted even by Medhātithi. The numerous prose quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita do not however occur in these smṛtis. One point deserves special notice. Comparatively early writers sometimes ascribe the same text to Śaṅkha-Likhita or to Śaṅkha simply. The well-known sūtra about succession to a son-less man (athāputrasya svaryātasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam &c.) is ascribed to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā, but to Śaṅkha-Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 135-136). Similarly the sūtra 'pitaryaśakte kuṭumbavyavahārān jyeṣṭhaḥ' &c. is asaribed to Śaṅkha by Aparārka and to Śaṅkha--Likhita by the Vivāda-ratnākara, Dāyatattva and Madanapārijāta. Quotations ascribed to Likhita are few and far between. Some passages are ascribed by some writers to Śaṅkha and by others to Likhita. For example, a prose passage 'Uddhṛtya parīkṣitābhiḥ' &c. is ascribed to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 18) and to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 20) and by the Vīramitrodaya (Āhnikaprakāśa p. 68). Similarly the sūtra 'ubhābhyāmapi hastābhyām prāṅmukho devatīrthena kuryāt' is ascribed to Śaṅkha--Likhita by the Pārāśaramādha-

133 समीक्ष्य निपुणं धर्ममृषिभ्यो मनुभाषितम् । आम्नायादप्यनुवृत्य शङ्खश्च लिखितस्तथा ॥

viya (I. 1. p. 352) and to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 101). The relation of the Śaṅkha-smṛti in verse to the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha seems to be this. The former is based upon the latter and is a versified paraphrase or adaptation of portions of the dharmasūtra.[134]

The versified Śaṅkha shows a tendency towards greater strictness. The dharmasūtra allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a woman of any of the four castes, while the verse Śaṅkha restricts him to the first three castes.[135] It is not unlikely that the dharmasūtra contained a few verses as is the case with Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha. Even so early a writer as Viśvarūpa looked upon the prose and verse portions as the composition of the same author (vide his comment on Yāj. III. 237, and Aparārka pp. 1149, 1154, 1161).

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was commented upon early. Lakṣmīdhara in his Kalpataru (Ghose's Hindu Law vol. II., p. 504) draws attention to the fact that the *bhāṣyakāra* of Śaṅkha read a well-known sūtra as 'sa yadyekaḥ syāt' instead of 'sa yadyekaputraḥ syāt'. Lakṣmīdhara flourished between 1100-1160 A. D. as he was a minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj. The Vivādaratnākara (1314 A. D.) also cites the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. The Vivādacintāmaṇi (p. 67) quotes from the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita would appear, from the quotations in the *nibandhas*, to have closely resembled the other extant sūtras on dharma in style and contents. It embraced almost all the topics treated of in Gautama or Āpastamba. It agrees very closely with the words of Gautama and Baudhāyana in several places.[136] It is curious to note that a quotation from Śaṅkha

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134 Compare उद्धृत्य परिपूताभिरद्भिरवोक्षिताभिरक्षाराभिरनभिश्रिताभिरफेनाभिरबुद्बुदाभिः (quoted as Śaṅkha's by the वीर०, आह्निकप्रकाश, p. 68) with शङ्खस्मृति 9. 6 'अद्भिः समुद्धृताभिस्तु हीनाभिः फेनबुद्बुदैः । वह्निना चाप्यदग्धाभिरकलुषाभिरुपस्पृशेत् ॥

135 The दायभाग (ed. of 1829, p. 210) quotes 'भार्याः कार्याः स्वजातीयाः श्रेयस्यः सर्वेषां स्युरिति पूर्वकल्पः । ततोनुकल्पश्चतस्रो ब्राह्मणस्यानुपूर्व्येण', the शङ्खस्मृति (4. 7) says 'ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या ब्राह्मणस्य प्रकीर्तिता ॥

136 Compare 'नाब्राह्मणीतिथिर्ब्राह्मणस्य' (quoted in वीर०, आह्निक०, p. 458) with गौ. ध. सू. 5. 39-42; 'दन्तवद्दन्तसक्तेषु' (quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 195) with गौ. ध. सू. I. 41-43; 'न तिष्ठन्न प्रणतो नाङ्गुलीभिः' (चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1, p. 977) with बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 15.

containing the names of writers of smṛtis cites Śaṅkha-Likhita as authority.[137]

The dharmasūtra seems to have permitted *niyoga*, speaks of twelve secondary sons, and did not favour (like Āpastamba) the claims of females to succeed to males. On certain points the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha marks a more advanced state of opinion than is the case with Gautama or Āpastamba. Śaṅkha speaks of several kinds of ordeals and appears to have contained elaborate prose rules about them (vide Aparārka on Yāj. II, 95 ; Smṛticandrikā II., p. 112, Vīramitrodaya, p. 270). As regards partition and inheritance, Śaṅkha-Likhita gives more detailed information than Āpastamba or Baudhāyana. The limits of Āryāvarta[138] stretched over wider areas according to Śaṅkha (i. e. to the east of Sindhu-Sauvīra and to the west of Kāmpilya) than is the case with Baudhāyana (I. 1. 25) or Vasiṣṭha (I. 8-9). The style of Śaṅkha reminde one of Kauṭilya rather than of Gautama. The quotations hardly exhibit any ungrammatical forms. It is noteworthy that Yājñavalkya is included among the authors of smṛtis by Śaṅkha (vide note 137 above). If it is the extant Yājñavalkya-smṛti that is meant to be referred to, then the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha will have to be assigned to a late date. But this does not seem to be likely. From the fact that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti itself enumerates Śaṅkha-Likhita among ancient authors on *dharma*, from the general style of the work, from the development of the legal conceptions it presents and from its doctrines about the rights of women, it appears almost certain that the extant Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much later than the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha. There are close correspondences between Śaṅkha and Yājñavalkya.[139]

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137 'स्मृतिर्धर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतारो मनुयमदक्षविष्ण्वङ्गिरोबृहस्पत्युशनआपस्तम्बगौतमसंवर्तात्रिहारीतकात्यायनशङ्खलिखितपराशरव्यासशातातपप्रचेतोयाज्ञवल्क्यादयः ।' quoted in चतुर्वर्ग. I. p. 527; वीर० परिभाषा०, p. 16 and स्मृतिच.

138 'देश आर्यो गुणवान् ... प्राक् सिन्धुसौवीराद्दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक् पारियात्रादनवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् ।' quoted in वीर०, परिभाषा०, p. 57.

139 compare 'षोडशे वा समिन्तः' शङ्ख quoted in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2., p. 734 with याज्ञ. I. 11; 'चूडाकर्म यथाकुलम्' शङ्ख (quoted in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2., p. 743) with याज्ञ. I. 12; 'दारानाहरेत्सदृशानसमानार्षेयानसम्बन्धानासप्तमपञ्चमात् पितृमातृबन्धुभ्यः' शङ्ख (quoted in उज्ज्वला on आप. ध. सू. II. 5.11.16) with याज्ञ० I. 53.

The prose quotations from Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to the Vedāṅgas, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, dharmaśāstra. Śaṅkha recognised eight forms of marriage. The views of Śaṅkha about the status of the offspring of mixed marriages differed from those of Baudhāyana (I. 8. 6) and Manu (X. 6) and were intermediate between the latter two.[140] The *tarpaṇa*[141] (which resembles the one in Baudhāyana, though it is more elaborate) refers to the six Vedāṅgas, Bhārata (but not Mahā-bhārata), to twenty writers on *dharma* and contains numerous details about geography, mythology, and cosmogony which are generally found in the Purāṇas. The dharmasūtra frequently cites the opinions of others. It mentions by name the views of Prajāpati, Āṅgirasa and Uśanas (Vivādaratnākara p. 537), Prācetasa (Vivādarat. p. 557-560), Vṛddha-Gautama (Madana-pārijāta pp.701-2). The verse quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha further mention Yama, Kātyāyana, and Śaṅkha himself. But in drawing chronological conclusions it is better to leave the verse quotations out of account. The same verses are ascribed to Manu and Śaṅkha[142] and a few sūtras closely resemble the Manusmṛti.[143] Six identical verses occur in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (28. 10-15) and in the Śaṅkha-smṛti (10th chap.).

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha is probably later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and so must be assigned to some date between 300 B. C. to 100 A. D.

13. Mānavadharmasūtra—Did it exist ?

Following the orthodox view of Western Sanskrit scholars that most of the dharmasūtras are older than almost all, if not all, the metrical smṛtis, I gave the first place of honour to the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others. But my own views differ to a great extent from those of the orthodox school of Sanskritists represented by Max Müller and Bühler. It is high time to state here my views about

140 ' ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पन्नो क्षत्रिय एव भवति ' शङ्ख quoted in मिताक्षरा on Yāj. I. 91.

141 *Vide* चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. pp. 950-955 and वीर०,आह्निक, p. 356. ff. for तर्पण.

142 The verse गर्भाष्टमे वै कुर्वीत in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 112 is मनु. 2. 36; ' भृतकाध्यापको यस्तु स उपाध्याय उच्यते ' quoted in स्मृतिच० I, p. 34. is मनु II. 141.

143 ' इषुं गृह्णाति राजन्या प्रतोदं वैश्या दशान्तं शूद्रा ' quoted in परा. मा. I. 2., p. 86, Compare मनु 3. 44.

the existence of a Mānava-dharma-sutra supposed to be the original of our extant Manu.

Some western scholars, particularly Max Müller and Weber, started the ingenious theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast or remodelling of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra. Max Müller went so far as to enunciate the bold generalisation "There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine dharma-śāstras which we possess now, are *without any exception* nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharmas* belonging originally to certain Vedic caraṇas" (H. A. S. L. pp. 134-135). For this sweeping generalisation there were very few data when it was made, as is admitted by Bühler. This theory of Max Müller was as hasty, as unfounded and as uncritical as several other theories of his such as that about the renaissance of Sanskrit Literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, about the absence of the art of writing in India before Pāṇini and about the uniform employment of the śloka for literary purposes in his so-called sūtra period and earlier. Western Scholars had to give up such theories before the stern logic of facts, but they have tenaciously clung to the theory about the Manusmṛti being a recast of the Mānavadharmasūtra. One of the main planks of Max Müller's edifice was the now exploded theory about the non-employment of the *anuṣṭubh* during the sūtra period (which he tentatively placed between 600 B. C.–200 B. C.) for continuous composition. In spite of the fact that one of the main planks has totally collapsed Bühler makes strenuous efforts to rehabilitate Max Müller's theory by additional *à priori* arguments (S. B. E. vol. 25, pp. XVIII-XXIII and XXXI-XXXIX). The main points brought forward by Bühler are :- (I) The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (IV. 5-8) contains four sūtras, the first of which is 'The Mānava says that one may kill an animal only in honouring the Manes, gods and guests.' There follow two verses and a passage in prose with *iti* at the end. Bühler argues that all the four sūtras are quotations and as the extant Manusmṛti is in verse, they must be regarded as taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra. (II) There are other quotations in Vasiṣṭha attributed to Manu which either contradict the present Manusmṛti or have no counterpart in the latter. Bühler draws special attention to the fact that Vasiṣṭha (19. 37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the anuṣṭubh metre and which has nothing corresponding to it in the extant Manusmṛti.

(III) A fragment of Uśanas quotes an opinion of Manu about impurity, which is in prose.[144] Bühler himself points out that here one ms. reads 'Sumantuḥ' for 'Manuḥ'. Therefore this argument is of very little use in establishing the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides, it is possible that the mutilated passage is not a quotation at all, but a mere summary of Manu's views. There is no 'iti' at the end to show that it is a quotation. (IV) Kāmandakīya-nītisāra (II. 3) says that according to the Mānavas the *vidyās* to be studied by a king are three, viz. the three Vedas, Vārtā, and Daṇḍanīti and that what is called Ānvīkṣikī is but a branch of *trayī*; while the Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the four as distinct *vidyās*.[145] Kāmandaka (XI. 67) says that Manu prescribed that the council of ministers should consist of twelve;[146] while Manu (7. 54) says that the '*sacivas*' should be seven or eight. Bühler therefore argues that Kāmandaka has in mind the Mānavadharmasūtra and not the Manusmṛti and on the word 'Mānavāḥ' makes the following observations 'It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the Mānavadharmaśāstra or of any other work, which is destined for all Aryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or similar way' (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII). In the first place it has to be noted that Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing the words of Kauṭilya in the above two places.[147] Further it is note-

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144 In No. 644 of Viśrambag (I) in the Deccan College there is a fragment of Uśanas where we read उपस्पृश्य... (gap) मनुराह । बाले देशान्तरस्थे चानग्निके वोराध्वाने (?) अनाशकेग्निप्रवेशे युद्धहते च सद्यः शौचम्. The words बाले देशान्तरस्थे occur in Manu 5. 78 in the same connection. For the rest, compare Manu 5. 93 and 95. We must probably read देशान्तरस्थे च साग्निके. No. 191 of A 1881–82 is another fragment of Uśanas which contains the same passage, Bühler's mss. read सद्यः शौचानष्टपतिताभितनिन्दिताचौरैर्न सह संवसेत् and he proposes शौचमिष्टमिति.

145 The words of the मनुस्मृति are त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम् । आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वार्तारम्भांश्च लोकतः ॥

146 कामन्दक says 'द्वादशेति मनुः प्राह षोडशेति बृहस्पतिः । उशना विंशतिरिति मन्त्रिणां मन्त्रिमण्डलम् ॥

147 'त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः । त्रयीविशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षिकीति' कौटिल्य I. 2; 'मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः' कौटिल्य I. 15.

worthy that Kāmandaka employs the word 'Manuḥ' while Kauṭilya uses the word 'Mānavāḥ' (about the number of ministers). Therefore according to the Kāmandakīyanītisāra there was no difference between the two, viz. the words 'Manuḥ' and 'Mānavāḥ' denoted the same thing, a work. What Bühler means by his emphasis on the word 'Mānavāḥ' is not quite clear. Early writers like Kumārila and Viśvarūpa employ the word 'Mānavam' with reference to the Manusmṛti just as they use the word Vāsiṣṭham to denote the Vaṣiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (vide Tantra-vārtika pp. 80, 115, 642 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 245 and 257). Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Upaniṣad I. 4. 17 applies the word 'mānava' to the Manusmṛti 'mānave ca sarvā pravṛttiḥ kāmahetukyeveti' (referring to Manu II. 4). Besides, there is hardly any conflict between the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti on the point of the number of the *vidyās*. The Mānavas knew that Ānvīkṣikī was counted as a fourth *vidyā* but said that it was really comprehended in the study of the Vedas. The Manusmṛti only lays down from whom the *vidyās* were to be learnt. As regards the number of ministers, we cannot afford to forget that the Manusmṛti (7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. Another explanation also is possible. In the final remodelling of the Manusmṛti from its original in verse it is not unlikely that a few changes were made. (V) On the strength of the preservation of the complete set of the sūtra works of Āpastamba on śrauta, gṛhya and dharma (also of Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin), it is urged that the Mānava *caraṇa* had a sūtra on dharma. The Mānavaśrautasūtra (parts 1-5 edited by Dr. Knauer and the *cbayana* by Miss Gelder at Leipzig in 1921) and the Mānava-gṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer in 1897 and recently in the Gaikwad Oriental Series) are extant. Bühler admits (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII) that the main pillars of his arguments are the quotations ascribed to Manu in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra.

The four sūtras of Vasiṣṭha (*IV*. 5-8) which are the sheet anchor of Bühler's argument have been dealt with above under Vasiṣṭha (pp. 53-56). If, as Bühler says, the four sūtras are one quotation, since 'iti' occurs at the end of the 8th sūtra, then we have here a quotation within a quotation, as 'iti' occurs also in sūtra 5. But this would be absurd. Besides sūtra 8 is really summarised from some Brāhmaṇa passage, as indicated above. The proper construction of the four

sūtras is as follows :— The fifth sūtra merely summarises the views of the Manusmṛti to be gathered from Manu V. 41 and 48. The word 'Mānavam' stands for the Manusmṛti just as it does in the Tantravārtika and in Viśvarūpa. Then the two verses of Manu are quoted. In the 8th sūtra a Brāhmaṇa passage is cited in support of the position that sacrificing an animal is not 'killing' (that leads to sin).

As regards the few quotations which cannot be found in the extant Manusmṛti the following points deserve consideration. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra contains numerous verses identical with those of the Manusmṛti. Most of the quotations attributed to Manu are found in the Manusmṛti. Hence even if a few quotations are not found in our Manu, we cannot at once jump to the conclusion that Vasiṣṭha had before him not the Manusmṛti, but the Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides Bühler is not right in saying that Vasiṣṭha 11. 23, 12. 16 and 23. 43 either contradict or find no counterpart in our Manu (S. B. E. vol. 25 p. XXXIV). Vasiṣṭha 11. 23 corresponds with Manu 3. 245-246.[148] None of the three contradict anything contained in the Manusmṛti. Vasiṣṭha 23. 43 (about Śiśukṛcchra) has nothing corresponding to it word for word in our Manu, but it seems to be an echo of Manu 11. 211.[149] In Vasiṣṭha 12. 16 (paryagnikaraṇaṁ

148 'प्राक्संस्कारात्प्रमीतानां स्ववंश्यानामिति स्थितिः । भागधेयं मनुः प्राह उच्छिष्टोच्छेषणे उभे ॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 23. Should we not read स्ववश्यानाम्, which would correspond to the word दासवर्ग in Manu? मनु reads 'असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां त्यागिनां कुलयोषिताम् । उच्छिष्टं भागधेयं स्याद् दर्भेषु विकिरश्च यः ॥ उच्छेषणं भूमिगतमजिह्मस्याशठस्य च । दासवर्गस्य तत्पित्र्ये भागधेयं प्रचक्षते ॥' 3. 245-246. The close correspondence between Vas. and Manu in ideas and phraseology should be specially marked.

149 वसिष्ठ (23. 43) ' अहः प्रातरहर्नक्तमहरेकमयाचितम् । अहः पराकं तत्रैकमेवं चतुरहौ परौ ॥ अनुग्रहार्थं विप्राणां मनुर्धर्मभृतां वरः । बालवृद्धातुरेष्वेवं शिशुकृच्छ्रमुवाच ह ॥ ; मनु 11. 245. ' त्र्यहं प्रातस्त्र्यहं सायं त्र्यहमद्यादयाचितम् । त्र्यहं परं च नाश्नीयात्प्राजापत्यं चरन् द्विजः ॥. It would be noticed that the शिशुकृच्छ्र comes to one-third of the प्राजापत्यकृच्छ्र, as the शिशुचान्द्रायण (मनु. 11. 218) is a milder edition of the चान्द्रायण. The प्रायश्चित्त for minors and women was one half or one third of that for adult males (vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 51. and आङ्गिरसस्मृति verse 33). बौ. ध. सू. (II. 1. 65) describes the four day's observance as the कृच्छ्र for women, minors and old men. याज्ञ. III. 319 calls it पादकृच्छ्र.

hy-etan-manurāha Prajāpatiḥ) there is nothing that contradicts our Manu ; that half and the preceding verses bear a close correspondence to Baudhāyana Dh. S. I. 4. 2. Similarly Bühler's argument about Mānava śloka in the Triṣṭubh metre is not quite sound. The text of Vasiṣṭha is far from satisfactory. On the non-occurrence of that verse or a corresponding śloka in our Manu no superstructure can be built. Vasiṣṭha quotes (4. 37) a sūtra or opinion of Gautama which is not found in the extant Gautamadharmasūtra. Verses ascribed to Vasiṣṭha in the nibandhas are not found in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (*vide* n. 108 above.)

The analogy of the works of the schools of Āpastamba and others can furnish no proof. There are on the other hand weighty grounds for discarding that analogy altogether. It is a remarkable fact that excepting the three *caraṇas* (of the Black Yajurveda) of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin that arose and flourished in the southern portion of India, no *caraṇa* of any of the other Vedas has an extant dharmasūtra ascribed to the founder of the *sūtra-caraṇa*. An explanation is suggested in the following lines. The Brāhmaṇas in southern India were in the very early days of their colonisation surrounded by an alien culture and by alien customs. It was necessary therefore to formulate distinctly the rules of general conduct for the Aryan community in southern India, that studied the Black Yajurveda. The same necessity did not exist in northern India, where the members of the *sūtracaraṇas* knew their ordinary every day duties very well, and were more or less a homogeneous community with the same ideals and culture. Therefore in the beginning when manuals of śrauta and gṛhya ceremonies were first composed, it was not thought necessary to compose set treatises on *dharma* for each *caraṇa*. Some of the rules of conduct were embodied in the gṛhya sūtras because they were germane to the subjects treated of in them (such as the duties of Brahmacārins and householders, holidays etc.). Works, however, dealing with the general usages prevalent among the Aryan community in various parts of northern India must have been composed early enough. When the knowledge of the existence of the complete set of the sūtra works in the Āpastamba and other *caraṇas* of the Yajurveda in southern India permeated to northern and central India, the leaders of the *caraṇas* cast about for works that would complete the works of their *caraṇas* and bring

them in a line with those of Āpastamba and others. Therefore the various *caraṇas* seized upon several dharmasūtras and adopted them in their schools for study. This must have occured at a comparatively early date. For Kumārila, as we saw above, enlightens us as to what dharmasūtras were specially studied in which Vedic schools. The fact that, though Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are said to have been specially studied by the students of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda respectively, there is hardly anything in these dharmasūtras that specially connects them with the two Vedas affords some corroboration of the above hypothesis. This assimilation of independent dharmasūtras into individual *sūtracaraṇas* probably took place before or in the first centuries of the Christian era. Śabara (on Jaimini I. 3.4) seems to make fun of the dharmasūtras when he says that the direction to observe *brahmacarya* for forty-eight years was a device of those who wanted to hide their impotence (Gautama 2. 52, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 11-12, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 1. speak of *brahmacarya* for 48 years). This shows that these dharmasūtras could not have been regarded as very authoritative by all early writers. Jaimini I. 3. 11 (according to Śabara) denies the independent authority of Kalpasūtras. It appears that the Mānava school, which according to the caraṇavyūha was a subdivision of the Maitrāyaṇīya, dwindled in numbers very early. Kumārila, who was a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit literature, nowhere mentioned the Mānavadharmasūtra as studied by followers of the Black Yajurveda, though he mentions Baudhāyana and Āpastamba as studied by them. He places the Manusmṛti even higher than the Gautamadharmasūtra and betrays no knowledge of the existence of the Mānavadharmasūtra. Viśvarūpa who is generally identified with Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara, remarks that the Mānavacaraṇa is not existent (or found).[150]

The foregoing discussion will, it is hoped, induce every impartial critic to endorse the conclusion that on the materials so far available the theory that the Mānavadharmasūtra once existed and that the extant Manusmṛti is a recast of that sūtra must be held not proved.

14. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

This epoch-making work was first published by Dr. Shamasastri in 1909 in the Mysore Sanskrit Series and was also translated by him. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum has published the work

150 'न च मानवादिचरणोपलब्धिरस्ति' p. 18 of विश्वरूप's comment on आचार section.

with his own commentary called Śrīmūla. Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt edited the text with a valuable introduction and the commentary, called Nayacandrikā, of Mādhavayajvan on portions of the text in the Punjab Sanskrit series at Lahore. In this work the edition of 1919 by Dr. Shamasastri has been used. This work has given rise to frequent and furious controversies about its authorship, its authenticity and its age and it cannot be said that we have heard the last of this din of controversy. Moreover this work has inspired besides numerous articles in journals several monographs, some of which have somewhat high sounding titles, such as Narendranath Law's 'Studies in Ancient Indian Polity,' Dr. P. Banerji's 'Public Administration in Ancient India,' Ghosal's 'History of Hindu Political Theories,' Majumdar's 'Corporate Life in Ancient India.' Benoy Kumar Sarkar's 'Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,' Jayasval's 'Hindu Polity,' Prof. S. V. Visvanathan's 'International Law in Ancient India (1925)'. It is not possible to discuss at great length all the problems about Kauṭilya here. Only a brief statement can be attempted. For fuller study reference may be made to the following works and papers :— Hillebrandt's 'über das Kauṭilyaśāstra und Verwandtes' (Breslau 1908), Z D M G vol. 67, pp. 49-96 (Dr. Jolly), Z D M G vol. 68, pp. 345-359 and vol. 69, p. 369 ff; J R A S 1916, pp. 130-137 (Prof. Keith), I. A. for 1918, pp. 157-161 and pp. 187-195 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Dr. Sukthankar), Dr. Kalidas Nag's 'Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra' (Paris 1923) and its translation in 'Journal of Indian History' vol. V, Dr. Otto Stein's 'Megasthenes und Kauṭilya' (Vienna 1922), K. V. Rangasvami Ayyangar's lectures on Ancient Indian Polity (Madras 1916), Dr. Winternitz in Calcutta Review 1924 and in his history of Indian Literature (vol. III, pp. 509-524), I. A. for 1924, pp. 128-136 and 141-146 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Prof. Utgikar); Dr. Johann J. Meyer's 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya' (Leipzig, 1925) and Prof. N. C. Bandopadhyaya's exposition of the social ideal and political theory of Kauṭilya. The Indian Antiquary for 1925 (pp. 175 and 201) gives an exhaustive bibliography on the date of Kauṭilya.

The Kauṭilīya is the oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra. Though Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra are often contradistinguished on account of the difference of the two śāstras in ideals and in the

methods adopted to reach them, Arthaśāstra is really a branch of Dharmaśāstra as the former deals with the responsibilities of kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on *dharma*.[151] For this reason and the further reason that the Kauṭilīya contains two sections (called dharmasthīya and kaṇṭakaśodhana) on the administration of justice, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya deserves careful consideration in this work. According to the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, Arthaśāstra is an Upaveda of Atharvaveda. The purpose of this Śāstra as stated in the Kauṭilīya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving (power over) the earth '.[152] Yājñavalkya distinctly states (II. 21) that in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the rule is that the former prevails '[153]. Nārada also (I. 39) says the same thing.[154] From comparatively ancient times Cāṇakya *alias* Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta has been credited with the composition of a work on Arthaśāstra. The Kāmandakīyanītisāra [155] pays a glowing tribute of praise to Viṣṇugupta, who, singlehanded, brought about the downfall of Nanda, bestowed the earth on Candragupta and distilled from the ocean of Arthśāstra the quintessence, his work on politics. Kāmandaka further tells us that he looked upon Viṣṇugupta as his *guru*.[156] The Tantrākhyāyikā (H. O. S. vol. 14) which is certainly not later than 300 A. D. pays homage to Cāṇakya the Great as one of the authors of treatises on Politics. [157] Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita

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151 'धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गतमेव राजनीतिलक्षणमर्थशास्त्रमिदं विवक्षितम्' मिता० on Yāj. II. 21.

152 तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति । कौ. 15. 1. So also the very first sentence is 'पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।'

153 अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ।

154 यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

155 यस्याभिचारवज्रेण वज्रज्वलनतेजसः । पपात मूलतः श्रीमान् सुपर्वा नन्दपर्वतः ॥ एकाकी मन्त्रशक्त्या यः शक्त्या शक्तिधरोपमः । आजहार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम् ॥ नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । समुद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥ काम. I. 4-6.

156 'विद्याश्चतस्र एवैता इति नो गुरुदर्शनम् ।' काम० II. 6; 'चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः' कौटिलीय I. 2.

157 मनवे वाचस्पतये शुक्राय पराशराय ससुताय । चाणक्याय च महते नमोऽस्तु नृपशास्त्रकर्तृभ्यः ॥ verse 2.

(section VIII, p. 131, 2nd edition B. S. Series) says that the teacher Viṣṇugupta compressed Daṇḍanīti for the sake of the Maurya king into six thousand ślokas and quotes passages from Cāṇakya.[158] Bāṇa associates the work of Kauṭilya with harsh and cruel expedients.[159] The Pañcatantra identifies Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta and speaks of Cāṇakya as the author of Arthaśāstra (*vide* part I. p. 2 ed. by Kielhorn part II. p. 65 and part III. 50 ed. by Bühler). Kauṭilya figures very largely in the Purāṇas (vide Pargiter's 'dynasties of the Kali age ' pp. 69-70 and Viṣṇupurāṇa 4. 24. 26-28). He has a prominent place in the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, as appears from the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. The Mṛchhakaṭika (I. 39 B. S. series) refers to Cāṇakya. The Mudrārākṣasa identified Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya and suggests the derivation of the latter name from 'Kuṭila' (crooked).[160] Some of the above items of information are supported by the personal references contained in the Arthaśāstra itself. At the end of the first chapter of the first *adhikaraṇa*, Kauṭilya is said to be the author of the Śāstra and at the end of the 10th chapter of the second *adhikaraṇa* Kauṭilya is said to have laid down the rules for royal edicts for the sake of the king.[161] The last verse[162] tells us that he who impatiently wrested the earth from the Nanda king composed the work and after the colophon a verse tell us that seeing the differing interpretations of bhāṣyakāras on the Arthaśāstra, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the sūtra and the bhāṣya.

The first question that arises for consideration is the authenticity of the work, that is, the question whether it can be the work of the

158 'इयमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता ।' दशकुमार॰ VIII; सत्यमाह चाणक्यः 'चित्तज्ञानानुवर्तिनोऽनर्था अपि प्रियाः स्युः । दक्षिणा अपि तद्भावबहिष्कृता द्वेष्या भवेयुः' दशकुमार VIII. Compare कौटिलीय V. 4 verses at the end.

159 'येषामतिनृशंसप्रायोपदेशनिर्घृणं कौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणम्' कादम्बरी p. 109 (Peterson).

160 कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एष येन क्रोधाग्नौ प्रसभमदाहि नन्दवंशः । मुद्राराक्षस I.

161 सुखग्रहणविज्ञेयं तत्त्वार्थपदनिश्चितम् । कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तग्रन्थविस्तरम् ॥ कौटिलीय I. 1; सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च । कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ॥ कौटिलीय II. 10.

162 येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः । अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥ दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तिं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् । स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च ॥

famous minister of Candragupta Maurya, who was a contemporary of Alexander, and who must therefore have flourished about 320 B.C. This question very largely depends upon the age of the work. But other considerations, more or less of a subjective character and depending upon the absence of certain things from the Kauṭilīya, must be dealt with first. Jolly, Keith and Winternitz hold that the extant Kauṭilīya is not the work of the Maurya minister. One argument, viz. that a person like Cāṇakya who had to build a vast empire such as that of Candragupta and who was bent down with the cares of the empire could not have found time to write such a work, may be brushed aside as entirely futile, being a purely subjective argument. Some persons may say that he could have found time, just as Sāyaṇa and Mādhava could find in later days, to write such a work in the midst of all cares, while others may deny the possibility of such a thing. Similarly most of the arguments from the silence of the Kauṭilīya are also quite unconvincing and lead to no certain and universally acceptable conclusion. The non-mention of Pāṭaliputra or of the empire of Candragupta is of very little use in deciding the question of the authenticity of the work. The argument of Stein and Winternitz that in Megasthenes' account of India no great person named Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya appears and that the former's account of the condition of India does not tally with that presented by the Kauṭilīya is of very little weight. We have no means for finding out what proficiency Megasthenes had acquired in the languages of India so as to be able to hold conversation with all sorts and conditions of men. Besides it is well known that Megasthenes' writings have been handed down in a fragmentary state and that he often spins his own yarns. Megasthenes declares the Indians to be unacquainted with writing. But no Western scholar would now subsribe to the view that writing was unknown in India about 320 B. C. Dr. Jolly himself has to remark that the idealising tendency in Megasthenes greatly impairs the trustworthiness of his statements (p. 40, Introduction to Kauṭilīya). This question of the authenticity of the work is bound up with the question whether it can be the work of an individual author or whether it is the product of a school. Hillebrandt vehemently argues that it is the product of a school and Jacobi as vehemently repudiates that hypothesis. The great stumbling block according to many scholars in the way of regarding Kauṭilya as the author of the work is the fact that the views of Kauṭilya are cited by name about 80 times in the work

itself almost always in opposition to the views of other teachers. But there is nothing specially to be wondered at in this. In order to avoid looking too egotistic, ancient authors generally put their own views in the third person as said by early writers like Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.[163] It has to be admitted that the first person singular also is used by ancient writers, though rarely.[164] Jacobi (I. A. for 1918 p. 188) and Keith are both wrong in thinking that the view of Kauṭilya is criticized by Bhāradvāja in V. 6. Kauṭilya states his position first and then mentions the view of his predecessor.[165] Dr. Jolly (Intro. to Kauṭilīya p. 44) is wrong in his explanation of Apadeśa (in XV. 1.[166]). That word is applied to passages which mean 'this or that author says this or that' and the Kauṭilīya cites from his own work a case of the statement of various views on a certain point. These words do not at all indicate that according to the Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya was a stranger. Keith thinks (J. R. A. S. 1916 p. 135) that as Kauṭilya is derived from Kuṭila, an author will not cite his own views under such an epithet. It is not unlikely that Cāṇakya acquired the epithet Kauṭilya on account of his methods in dealing with the Nandas and that as he did so from no purely selfish motives but for ridding the country of such tyrants as the Nandas are represented to have been, he might have come to relish the name given to him by the people. It has to be noted in this connection that many of the writers quoted in the Kauṭilīya bear nicknames (such as Piśuna, Vātavyādhi, Kauṇapadanta). This leads to the question as to whether the name is Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya. Hillebrandt seems to imply that all mss. employ the first form, while Pandit T. Ganapatisastri says his mss. support the latter form though in the first few pages he prints Kauṭilya. Mss. of the Kādambarī, the Pañcatantra and other works support the form Kauṭilya and the Mudrārākṣasa does the same by pointedly hinting at the etymology.

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163 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकारा. स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवते' मेधातिथि; on याज्ञ. I. 2 विश्वरूप says किं तु भगवनेव परोक्षीकृत्यात्मा निर्दिश्यते स्वप्रशंसानिषेधात् ।'.

164 यास्क says 'नान्यप्येके समामनन्ति ... तत्समामने' निरुक्त VII. 13; vide याज्ञ. I. 56. (न तन्मम मतं यस्मात् &c.) and II. 133.

165 एवमेकैश्वर्यममात्यः कारयेदिति कौटिल्यः । नैवमिति भारद्वाजः ।

166 एवमसावाहेत्यपदेशः । 'मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः, यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्यः ' इति.

A com. on the Kāmandakīyanītisāra styles the Kauṭilīya as Kuṭala-bhāṣya and Kuṭala is said to be a *gotra*. The form Kauṭalya is said to occur in an inscription at Ganesar in Dholka dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1291 (i. e. 1234-35 A. D.). Vide Indian Historical Quarterly vol. I. p. 786. It is very difficult to decide between the rival claims of the two forms, but it appears that the form of the name, Kauṭalya, is due to a later attempt to solve the difficulty of an author parading his views as those of a man nicknamed "crooked". Whether Kuṭala or Kauṭalya was known as a gotra ṛṣi in ancient times is extremely doubtful. Neither the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra (Uttaraṣaṭka, 6th chap., 10th Kaṇḍikā) nor the Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-10) mentions Kuṭala among the several gotra groups. In later works on *gotras*, we find the name in several forms. In the Pravaradarpaṇa of Kamalākara Kauṭali is said to be one of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa group of the Bhṛgus (p. 156, edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore) and Kauṭilya is assigned to the Yaska group of the Bhṛgus (p. 158). The Pravaramañjarī enumerates the Kauṭilyas (p. 32, of the edition by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore) among the Yaska group of the Bhṛgus, also among the Śaradvanta group of the Gautamas, a branch of the Aṅgirasas, (p. 161) and Kauṭili as one of the Bhṛgus (p. 42). We have to remember that so early a writer as Kāmandaka (who was well known to Bhavabhūti and Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra-vṛtti) who is assigned to the third centery A. D., and the Tantrākhyāyikā distinctly assign a work on politics to the minister of Candragupta. No weighty arguments have been advanced so far why this tradition vouched for so early should be disregarded. Keith finds it impossible that in the words 'six thousand ślokas' used by Daṇḍin the word śloka could mean a unit (in prose) of 32 letters. But Daṇḍin is evidently repeating the words that occur in the Arthaśāstra itself at the end of the first chapter.[167]

Before proceeding to discuss the age of the Kauṭilīya, it is advisable to say a few words on the form, style and contents of the work. The work is divided into 15 adhikaraṇas, 150 chapters, 180 topics and contains 6000 ślokas (i. e. units of 32 letters). The work is in prose interspersed with a few verses. Each chapter has

167 शास्त्रसमुद्देशः पञ्चदशाधिकरणानि सपञ्चाशदध्यायशतं साशीतिप्रकरणशतं षट्श्लोकसहस्राणीति । These words of the Kauṭilīya must mean 6000 units of 32 letters and nothing else.

at the end at least one verse and sometimes more. A few verses occur also in the midst of some chapters as in I. 8, I. 15, II. 10, II. 24, V. 6, VII. 5, VII. 6, VII. 9, VII. 13, X. 3, XIII. 4. There are about 340 verses excluding *mantras*. Almost all these verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, only eight verses being in the classical Indravajrā or Upajāti metres (in II. 9, II. 10 and X. 3). In our utter ignorance about the literature on Arthaśāstra prior to Kauṭilya it is impossible to say how many of these verses are borrowed and how many are of his own composition. There can be no doubt that some of these verses were composed by him (e. g. the two verses in I. 10, where the views of Ācāryas are given, and the words ' etat Kauṭilya-darśanam ' occur). It appears that some verses are clearly quotations. For example, the verse ' nāsya guhyam ' at the end of I. 15, and the verse ' saṁvatsareṇa patati ' at the end of IV. 7 are Manu 7. 105 and 2. 180 respectively. The last occurs in Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62 and also in Vas. I. 22. The two verses in the Upajāti metre in X. 3 ' yān yajñasaṅghaiḥ ' and ' navaṁ śarāvam ' occur respectively in the Parāśaradharmaśāstra (chap. III. p. 12 of Jivananda, part II) and in the Pratijñā (IV. 3 [168]). It is noteworthy that they are introduced with the words ' apiha ślaukau bhavataḥ ' and follow a quotation from or summary of a Vedic passage. Twelve verses in VII. 9 are introduced with the words ' tatraitad bhavati ' and may be quotations. A few of the verses bear a close resemblance to verses of other works ; e. g. the verse ' pṛṣṭaḥ priyahitam brūyāt ' (in V. 4) which is very similar to Manu. 4. 138. In some cases he connects verses with his own words, e. g. the words ' kurvataśca ' with ' nāsya guhyam ' (at the end of I. 15) and the last verse of II. 25. The style of the Kauṭilīya is simple and direct. It is not concise like that of the Vedānta or Vyākaraṇa sūtras. It resembles the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Hārīta and Śaṅkha-Likhita, but is not as archaic as that of Āpastamba. According to the commentaries the several headings of the prakaraṇas are sūtras and the contents of them the bhāṣya (vide Nayacandrikā pp. 137, 143-44 &c., edited by Dr. Jolly). It abounds in numerous technical and rare terms. It is generally in

168 The manner in which the गान्त्रसेवक brings in this verse does not show that it is the author's own. The verse is preceded by the words शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः and is probably put in as a weighty utterance from some ancient source.

accordance with Pāṇini's grammar, though such un-Pāṇinean words as 'pāpiṣṭhatama' (in VII. 11) rarely occur. It employs the word 'avyaya' in the masculine (II. 10), while Pāṇini (I. 1. 37) employs 'avyayam'.

The whole work on account of its careful arrangement of topics and unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The Kauṭilīya sheds such valuable light on the social, economic, political and religious life of ancient India and contains information on so many topics that it is not possible to convey any idea of its contents in a brief summary. The subjects of the fifteen *adhikaraṇas* are :— I. the discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of Ānvīkṣikī and politics, qualifications of ministers and purohita and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards harem, king's personal safety ; II. about superintendents of various state departments, founding villages, pastures and forests, forts, duties of the chamberlain (sannidhātā), the commissioner for revenues from forts, country, mines, forests, roads &c. ; accountant-general's office ; embezzlement of public funds ; royal edicts ; examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines ; superintendent of gold (i. e. of coins issued from the mints) ; superintendent of store-house (of agricultural produce &c.), of commerce, of forests, of arms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor houses, of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, of the capital and cities ; III. Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, strīdhana, twelve kinds of sons ; other titles of law ; IV. removal of thorns, protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc ; suppression of those who live by foul means ; detection of juvenile crime ; arrest of criminals on suspicion, accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions ; protection of all kinds of state departments ; fines in lieu of cutting off of limbs, sentence of death with or without torture ; intercourse with maidens ; punishment of fine for various wrongs ; V. conduct of courtiers, award of punishment for treason, replenishing of treasury in case of emergency ; salaries of state servants, qualifications of courtiers, consolidation of royal power ; VI. constitution of the maṇḍala, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work

as the source of prosperity; sixfold royal policy; threefold *śakti*; VII. circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy; the six *guṇas* (saṁdhi, war, neutrality, marching, taking shelter and dvaidhībhāva); causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies; combination of states; saṁdhi for the acquisition of a friend, gold or land; an enemy in the rear; recouping of lost strength; a neutral king and a circle of states; VIII. about *vyasanas* (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty; troubles of the king and the kingdom; troubles of men and of the army; IX. work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection; traitors, enemies and their allies; X. about war; encamping the army, march of the army, battle-fields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants &c.; array of troops for battle in various formations; XI. concerning corporations and guilds; XII. concerning a powerful enemy; sending an envoy; intrigues, spies with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries; capture of the enemy by stratagems; final victory; XIII. capture of forts; sowing dissensions; enticing of king by stratagem; spies in a siege; restoring peace in a conquered country; XIV secret means, strategems for killing an enemy, producing illusive appearances; medicines and incantations; XV division of this work into sections and their illustrations.

It would be interesting to say a few words separately on the chapter about judicial administration. Dr. Jolly has collected together the passages of the Kauṭilīya on judicial administration that bear a very close resemblance to the several works on ancient Indian Law (vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 67, pp. 51-90). It will be seen therefrom that there is the greatest correspondence between the Kauṭilīya and Yājñavalkya. It is no doubt true that many passages from Manu and Nārada agree closely with those of the Kauṭilīya but not to the same extent as those of Yājñavalkya. A few striking examples are quoted below.[169] The question then arises whether there is

169 (a) अभियुक्तो न प्रत्यभियुञ्जीत अन्यत्र कलहसाहससार्थसमवायेभ्यः । न चाभियुक्तेऽभियोगोऽस्ति । कौ. III. 1; अभियोगमनिस्तीर्य नैनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत् । कुर्यात्प्रत्यभियोगं च कलहे साहसेषु च ॥ याज्ञ. II. 9-10; (b) प्रतिरोधकव्याधिदुर्भिक्षभयप्रतीकारे धर्मकार्ये च पत्युः । कौ. III. 2; दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ संप्रतिरोधके । गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता न स्त्रियै दातुमर्हति ॥ याज्ञ. II 147; (c) सोदर्याणामनेकपितृकाणां पितृतो दायविभागः । कौ. III. 5; अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना । याज्ञ. II. 120;

borrowing and if so who the borrower is. The agreement in phraseology is so close that it must be regarded as a case of borrowing and in my opinion it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛti that borrows. The reasons are many. Yājñavalkya represents on numerous points of law a very great advance upon the doctrines of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya does not contain distinct directions upon the four stages of a law suit (plaint, reply, proof and judgment) nor upon the threefold aspects of proof (documents, witnesses, prescription). Yājñavalkya goes into all these matters. The Kauṭilīya does not recognise the widow or mother as heir to a sonless man ; Yājñavalkya does so. Kauṭilya does not mention the *bandhus* as heirs ; he hardly says anything about re-union.[170] The Kauṭilīya divides the strīdhana of a woman dying during her husband's lifetime among her sons and daughters, while Yāj. prefers the daughters to the sons.[171] It is not necessary to multiply examples. It goes without saying that Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage of juristic principles than the Kauṭilīya and so must be later than the latter by several centuries. The Kauṭilīya agrees very closely with Manu also, but considerations of space prevent me from going into the points of agreement. There are however numerous fundamental points on which Manu and the Kauṭilīya disagree.

Kauṭilya allows *niyoga* even in the case of Brāhmaṇas (last verse of III. 6 and at the end of I. 17 about kings). Manu first speaks of *Niyoga* and then condemns it (vide 9. 57-63 and 9. 64-68). As Bṛhaspati refers to this fact in Manu's work,[172] it appears that the

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(d) नष्टापहृतमासाद्य स्वामी धर्मस्थेन ग्राहयेत् । देशकालातिपत्तौ वा स्वयं गृहीत्वापहरेत् । कौ. III. 16 ; नष्टोपहृतमासाद्य हर्तारं ग्राहयेन्नरम् । देशकालातिपत्तौ च गृहीत्वा स्वयमर्पयेत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 169 ; (e) वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणामाचार्यशिष्यधर्मभ्रातृसमानतीर्थ्या रिक्थभाजः । कौ. III. 16 ; वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणां रिक्थभागिनः । क्रमेणाचार्यसच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनः ॥ याज्ञ. II. 137.

170 But see ' अपितृद्रव्या विभक्तापितृद्रव्यैः सह जीवन्तः पुनर्विभजेरन् ' कौ. III. 5. This contains a reference to reunion.

171 जीवति भर्तरि मृतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरश्च स्त्रीधनं विभजेरन् । अपुत्राया दुहितरः । तदभावे भर्ता । कौ. III. 2 ; अप्रजःस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपि । दुहितॄणां प्रसूता चेच्छेषेषु पितृगामि तत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 145.

172 बृहस्पति's word are 'उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु ', vide कुल्लूक on मनु 9. 68 for the whole quotation.

passages condemning *niyoga* were put in probably earlier than the first centuries of the Christian era. Though Kauṭilya speaks of almost the same 18 titles as those in Manu (8. 4-7) almost under the same names, there is a slight difference. Manu has no such title as *Prakīrṇaka*. Kauṭilya speaks of upanidhi and extends the same rules to Nikṣepa, while Manu speaks of the title as Nikṣepa. The ancient dharma-sūtras do not give the technical names of the eighteen titles of law, though some of them do occur therein. Vākpāruṣya and daṇḍapāruṣya occur in G. Dh. S. (12. 1) and Vas. (17.61). Baud. seems to have known the term 'Strīsaṅgrahaṇa' (Dh. S. II. 2.54). *Steya* occurs in all. Gautama speaks of *nidhi* (Dh. S. 12. 39). Manu positively says (9. 155) that the son of any member of the first three *varṇas* from a Śūdra woman does not inherit his father's wealth (though the preceding verses 151-154 seem to lay down different rules), while Kauṭilya allows such a son a share when there are sons born to a Brāhmaṇa from wives of higher castes or one third when he has no other sons (III. 6). Manu expressly mentions the mother and paternal grandmother as heirs (9. 217), while Kauṭilya appears to ignore them. Manu prohibits the remarriage of widows (V. 161-165), while Kauṭilya allows not only widows to remarry, but also wives whose husbands have not been heard of for a year or more according to circumstances (III. 4). Kauṭilya allows a wife to desert her husband, if the latter is of a bad character, has become a traitor to the king, endangers her life or has become an outcaste or impotent[173] (last verse of III. 2). Kauṭilya further seems to have allowed divorce which is unknown to any other known lawgiver, but he bases it only on the ground of mutual hatred and says that a marriage in the approved forms cannot be dissolved[174] (III. 3). Manu is very harsh upon gamblers and asks the king to supress gambling and banish gamblers (9. 221-224), while Kauṭilya only brings gambling under the control of the king for the purpose of detecting thieves &c. (III. 20). Manu first allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry even a Śūdra woman and then condemns such a thing (III. 13-19), while Kauṭilya does not condemn such unions. These divergences and others lead us to conclude

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173 नीचत्वं परदेशं वा प्रस्थितो राजकिल्बिषी । प्राणाभिहन्ता पतितस्त्याज्यः क्लीबोऽपि वा पतिः ॥ कौ०.

174 अमोक्ष्या भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या । भार्यायाश्च भर्ता । परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः । अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति । कौ०.

that the Kauṭilīya is much older than the extant Manusmṛti, which is in many matters carried away by puritanic zeal, while its older portion is more in harmony with the spirit of the Kauṭilīya. Therefore the Kauṭilīya is long anterior to the time when the extant Manusmṛti took its present form. The Kauṭilīya refers to the opinion of the Mānavas in five places. Two of the views ascribed to the Mānavas by Kauṭilya are the sama as those which Kāmandaka (II. 3 and XI. 67) ascribes to Manu. According to the Mānavas, the *vidyās* to be studied by a prince were three, viz. trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti, what is called ānvīkṣikī being but a branch of trayī; and the council of ministers was to consist of twelve. The Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the *vidyās* as four and lays down (7. 54) that the Council should consist of seven or eight *sacivas*. Bühler and others on account of this difference in the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti thought that Kauṭilya was referring to the Mānvadharmasūtra. In my humble opinion the evidence for the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra is practically nil, as detailed above in section 13. From the references to Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and Prācetasa Manu contained in the Mahābhārata, particularly in the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* it appears that there were two works in verse on *dharma* and politics attributed to these two or there was one work containing both. These works were subsequently recast as the Manusmṛti. It is therefore that some difference is noticed between the views ascribed to the Mānavas aud the extant Manusmṛti. Besides there is no real conflict in the matter of *vidyās*. The Manusmṛti does not positively say that the *vidyas* are four and not three; it simply says from whom trayī and the other three are to be learnt. The Manusmṛti (in 7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. It is possible that in recasting several changes were made. The third opinion of the Mānavas quoted by Kauṭilya is about the fine to be imposed upon officers of the state occasioning loss of revenue (II. 7). The other two views of the Mānavas quoted are concerned with the fine to be imposed on false witnesses and for forcible seizure of jewels[175] &c. It must be admitted that in the extant Manusmṛti there is nothing exactly corresponding with these views. But from this fact no one conclusion alone can be drawn. There may be a mistake in quoting, or there may be inter-

175 कूटसाक्षिणो यमर्थमभूतं वा नाशयेयुस्तद्दशगुणं दण्डं दद्युरिति मानवाः । कौ. III. 11; 'रत्नसारफल्गुकुप्यानां साहसे मूल्यसमो दण्ड इति मानवाः । कौ. III. 17.

polations, it may be that some of the verses in the original Manusmṛti have dropped out or that Kauṭilya is quoting not the Manusmṛti itself, but the views of works based on or explanatory of Manu. It is noteworthy that Bṛhaspati[176] contains a verse very similar to the views on sāhasa attributed to the Mānavas. We shall see below that Bṛhaspati's work was more or less a supplement of Manu. The only authors or schools, besides the Mānavas, cited by name in the dharmasthīya section are the Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas. It is remarkable that the well-known and ancient Dharmasūtrakāras like Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Hārita are nowhere quoted by name. It is noteworthy that in the dharmasthīya section Kauṭilya several times quotes the views of ācāryas and of some others under the word " apare ". Some of these views correspond closely with the discussions in the ancient dharmasūtras. One of these is the question as to whom the child belongs, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten. Kauṭilya first quotes the view of the ācāryas that it belongs to the husband of the mother of the child, then says that some hold that it belongs to the begetter, while Kauṭilya holds that it belongs to both.[177] It is to be noted here that both Baud. and Āp. say that according to the Brāhmaṇas the sons belong to the begetter, while Vasiṣṭha says there is a dispute on the point, both views being supported by ancient authorities. Gautama speaks of both views and at last (18. 13 "dvayorvā") seems to come to the same conclusion as Kauṭilya. It is not unlikely that Kauṭilya has in mind this discussion in the Dharmasūtras and also in Manu (9. 48-54 where the view is that the child belongs to the husband of the woman). Some of the other views attributed to ācāryas are that a woman could visit the houses of her husband's relations, of prosperous men, of village headmen, of female ascetics &c. (III. 4) ; that very poor men could divide even waterpots at a partition (III. 5); that the master who did not employ a servant ready to work according to agreement had to

176 स्त्रीपुंगोहेमरत्नानि देवविप्रधनं तथा । यौषेयं चोत्तमं द्रव्यमेषां मूल्यसमो दमः । बृहस्पति quoted in व्यवहारमयूख on साहस.

177 परपरिग्रहे बीजमुत्सृष्टं क्षेत्रिण इत्याचार्याः । माता भस्त्रा यस्य रेतस्तस्यापत्यमित्यपरे । विद्यमानमुभयमिति कौटिल्यः । कौ. III. 7. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 18. 9-13, बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 34-36 ; आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 5-6 (where the the same three verses as in Baud. occur) ; वसिष्ठ 17. 6-9.

pay the wages agreed upon as if the work had been finished (compare Viṣṇu V. 157); he who forcibly confined a man or woman or who by force released another from imprisonment was to be fined between 500 and 1000 (III. 17); that disputes of a remote date shall not be complained of and that he who is the first to complain wins, since one runs (to court) as one cannot bear the pain (III. 19); that in a complaint by one gambler against another, the successful party has to pay the fine called pūrvasāhasa and the defeated party the fine called madhyasāhasa (III. 20).

The foregoing discussion about the dharmasthīya section shows that in the sphere of the administration of justice, Kauṭilya is far in advance of the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana and so is much later than these (though in certain matters such as the rights of women to succeed to males he closely agrees with Gautama and Āpastamba), while he is earlier than the extant Manusmṛti (though not earlier than the oldest kernel of the Manusmṛti) and very much earlier than Yājñavalkya.

The question of the date of the Kauṭilīya can be settled only approximately and for that we have to rely only on the internal evidence. The external evidence does not carry us far; we can only say that the Kauṭilīya is certainly not later than the 2nd century A. D., since Kāmandaka, the Tantrākhyāyikā, and Bāṇa, speak of it with admiration. No one claims it to be earlier than 300 B. C. Even Keith who assigns it a late date and cannot place it earlier than 100 B. C. at the most has to admit (J R A S 1916, p. 135) that for a precise date we have no real ground.

The Kauṭilīya quotes five schools by name: Mānavāḥ (five times), Bārhaspatyāḥ (6 times), Auśanasāḥ (7 times), Pārāśarāḥ (4 times), Āmbhīyāḥ (once) and the following individual authors; Kātyāyana (1), Kiñjalka (1), Kauṇapadanta (4), Ghoṭakamukha (1), (Dīrgha) Cārāyaṇa (1), Parāśara (2), Piśuna (6), Piśunaputra (1), Bāhudantiputra (1), Bhāradvāja (7, once as Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja), Vātavyādhi (5), Viśālākṣa (6). He either differs from all these authors or they differ from each other in all the places where they are cited. All the individual authors that are cited only once occur on the same page (except Bāhudantiputra). He quotes the views of *ācāryas* over fifty times and in each case differs from them. "Ācāryas" means the ancient authors on the śāstra

collectively. Even the Nirukta quotes certain views as those of ācāryas. Kauṭilya is cited about 80 times. The **Kāmasūtra of** Vātsyāyana mentions a Ghoṭakamukha and a Cārāyaṇa. Whether they are identical with the authors cited by Kauṭilya is extremely doubtful. The Mahābhārata mentions among writers on Daṇḍanīti the following who occur in the Kauṭilīya also :—Bṛhaspati, Manu, Bhāradvāja, Viśālākṣa, Śukra (the same as Uśanas) and Indra (probably Kauṭilya's Bāhudantiputra), whose abridgment of Brahmā's work is called Bāhudantaka in the Śāntiparva (chap. 59).

According to the Nayacandrikā, Piśuna, Bhāradvāja, Kauṇapadanta and Vātavyādhi stand for Nārada, Droṇācārya, Bhīṣma and Uddhava respectively (pp. 73, 69, 74, 91).

The Mahābhārata mentions other writers on politics, viz. Gauraśiras, Kaśyapa, Utathya, Vāmadeva, Vasuhoma, Kāmandaka, (Śāntiparva 123. 11) and a few others which are not found in the Kauṭilīya.

The Kauṭilīya knows the four Vedas, the charms and incantations of the Atharvan, the six *aṅgas*, includes under itihāsa, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra ; it knows the Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata[178] schools of thought. It mentions Mauhūrtikas, Kārtāntikas (astrologers), Jupiter and Venus. It refers to dhātuśāstra (Metallurgy). Sanskrit was the official language and in the Śāsanādhikāra it mentions such *guṇas* of composition as mādhurya, audārya, spaṣṭatva, which show the beginnings of the Alaṁkāra śāstra. There is nothing to wonder at in this. In the second century A. D. we have the inscription of Rudradāman, which enumerates the guṇas of Kāvya. The Kauṭilīya does not mention edicts on stone or copper. It refers to Vaiśikakalājñāna (II. 27). The Kauṭilīya closely agrees with the Kāmasūtra in several respects, and the two works contain several identical passages (such as the list of kings that fell victims to intrigues and about *trivarga*). Keith argues from this that the Kauṭilīya and the Kāmasūtra are not separated by a long interval and that it is a late work. Dr. Jolly also is of the same opinion (p. 24 Intro. to Arthaśāstra). If the Kāmasūtra held up the Kauṭilīya as its model, then the two works would certainly look very much alike. There are points of difference

178 लोकायत occurs in the महाभाष्य on वर्णका तान्तवे (पा. VII. 3. 45). Vide Kielhorn vol. III., pp. 325-326.

between the two works, e. g. they differ in their attitude towards flesh-eating and the Kāmasūtra speaks of planetary influence and *lagna*, while the Kauṭilīya is silent on these points and only condemns in general terms the consulting of stars. We must note here that the Kauṭilīya (IX. 4) speaks of consulting *nakṣatras*, which were known from the earliest Vedic period and some of which were looked upon as auspicious for sacrificial purposes even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 1-2) and the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras. The Kauṭilīya follows the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa in the system of a *yuga* of five saṁvatsaras, in prescribing two intercalary months in a *yuga* and in saying that at the end of one *ayana* the variation between the length of the day or the night comes to six muhūrtas (vide II. 20). Keith argues that the ślokas in the Kauṭilīya are more classical than even those of the Rāmāyaṇa and that it contains correct Triṣṭubh stanzas which are wanting in the Bṛhaddevatā (a work of the 4th century B. C.). But this argument can produce no impression on those scholars who ascribe the Rāmāyaṇa to the 5th century B. C. or earlier. Nor is the date of the Bṛhaddevatā beyond the pale of discussion. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars as to the exact time when classical ślokas and correct Triṣṭubhs first came into vogue. It is to be noted that the Kauṭilīya defines *pada* as varṇasaṅghāta and not as in Pāṇini (sup-tiṅantaṁ padam).

Among the countries and peoples frequently mentioned by Kauṭilya, several are interesting. He speaks of silks from the land of the Cīnas[179] and blankets from Nepal. Keith says that the name Cīna being derived from the Thsin dynasty in China (which began its rule in 247 B. C.) this would show that the Kauṭilīya could not have been composed about 300 B. C. No one however knows how the word Cīna was derived and besides as Keith admits the passage may be an interpolation. He speaks of the *Saṅgha* of the Vṛṣṇis (I. 6) and the *Śreṇis* (corporations) of Kṣatriyas in the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra that lived by vārtā (agriculture and trade) and by the profession of fighting and the corporations of the Licchivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, and the Kurupañcālas that live on the title 'rāja' (XI. 1). Some of these tribes such as the Licchavis, Vṛjis (Vajjis in Pāli) and Mallas are well-known from ancient Buddhist works. What is meant by 'rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ'

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179 तथा कौशेयं चीनपट्टाश्च चीनभूमिजा व्याख्याताः । कौ. II. 11.

is not quite clear. It probably means that the organisation of the Licchavis and others was on democratic lines and that there was very keen competition for the honour of being elected the chief or president of those corporations, the latter being designated 'rāja'.[180] The Nayacandrikā explains that they bear the proud designation of 'rāja' but are penniless (and so can be easily employed in military service as mercenaries). We are told that the breed of horses from Kāmbhoja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vanāyu was the best and that Bāhlīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Taitala breeds were of middle quality. The Kauṭilīya speaks of Mleccha tribes and tells us that among them one's own children could be sold or pledged without incurring punishment (III. 13).

There is hardly any distinctive reference to things Buddhist except one passage (III. 20) where a fine of one hundred (*paṇas*) is prescribed for him who invited to dinners in honour of gods or Manes a Buddhist (Śākya), an Ājīvaka, a śūdra ascetic.[181] This shows that the work was written at a time when Buddhism was yet not a wide-spread religion and had not secured an honourable place among the people. The Ājīvika was a well-known sect in ancient India, said to have been founded by Makkhali Gosāla (vide V. A. Smith's Aśoka, pp. 134, 198 of edition of 1909, I. A. 1912, p. 286, 'Dialogues of Buddha' I, p. 71, n. 1, Journal of Bihar & Orissa Society, 1926, pp. 53-62). Aśoka bestowed some caves on them. Kauṭilya says that weights should be made of iron or of stones from Magadha and Mekala (country near the sources of the Narmadā).[182]

It is extremely doubtful whether the Kauṭilīya knew the extant text of the Mahābhārata. Most of the stories used as illustrations in the Kauṭilīya occur in the Mahābhārata (e. g. Aila, Duryodhana, Haihaya Arjuna, Vātāpi, Agastya, Ambariṣa, Suyātra i. e. Nala). But in some cases there is slight divergence between the two works, e. g. Janamejaya is said to have perished through having attacked Brāhmaṇas in anger, while the Mahābhārata (XII. 150) gives a different version; Kauṭilya says (IV. 8) that Māṇḍavya, though not a thief, declared

180 In the Jātakas (Fausböll vol I., p. 504 and vol. III., p. 1) reference is made to the 7707 *rājas* of the Licchavis in Vesāli.

181 शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतः शत्यो दण्डः । कौ. III. 20.

182 प्रतिमानान्ययोमयानि मागधमेकलशैलमयानि । कौ. II. 19.

himself to be a thief while the Mahābhārata (I. 107. 9) says that he spoke nothing; Kauṭilya mentions Jayatsena as the opponent of Nala (VIII. 3) in gambling, while the Mahābhārata gives his name as Puṣkara; the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa do not know that a Jāmdagnya ruled long as a king.[183] Kauṭilya seems to have known the Purāṇas. He says (III. 7) that *sūta* and māgadha of the Purāṇas are quite different[184] from members of the mixed castes called sūta and māgadha and includes Purāṇa (I. 5) among the subjects of royal study grouped under the head of *itihāsa*.

Kauṭilya exhibits a wonderful knowledge of herbs and drugs and Dr. Jolly thinks that his *Materia Medica* is more extensive than even Suśruta's. But the dates of Caraka and Suśruta are far from being settled and no approximately certain conclusion can be drawn from the drugs mentioned in the Kauṭilīya. Kauṭilya speaks of 'rasada' (one who administers mercurial poison) and prescribes banishment for those who trade in or administer 'rasa' for money in order to do away with a person secretly (IV. 4.) In II. 13 he speaks of gold that is 'rasa-viddha' (amalgamated with mercury) and in II. 12 of liquids containing gold (rasāḥ Kāñcanikāḥ) and of Hinguluka. Dr. Jolly thinks that this knowledge of metallurgy and alchemy is of Graeco-Syriac origin and so the Kauṭilīya is a work of the third century A. D.

It is of great importance to note that Kauṭilya lays down (II.4) that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Lakṣmi and Madirā (Durgā ?) and niches were to be set apart for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta and that the tutelary deities of the gates were to be Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Senāpati (i. e. Skanda). We know from the Mahābhāṣya[185] (Kielhorn Vol. II. p. 429) on Pāṇini (V. 3. 99 'jīvikārthe cāpaṇye') that the Mauryas set up images out of greed for money and that in its day images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped.

183 अरिषड्वर्गमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः । अम्बरीषश्च नाभागो बुभुजाते चिरं महीम् ॥ कौ. I. 6.

184 पौराणिकस्त्वन्यः सूतो मागधश्च ब्रह्मक्षत्राद्विशेषतः ।

185 'अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तास्तु भविष्यति । महाभाष्य.

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Kauṭilīya has certainly an ancient atmosphere about it, and that all that has so far been gathered from it agrees with its traditional date of 300 B. C. and no cogent arguments have been yet brought forward that would compel us to assign it a date later than the above by six centuries.

Two commentaries on the Kauṭilīya have been brought to light so far, one composed by Bhaṭṭasvāmin being called Pratipadapañcikā and the other the Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan. Both are fragments. The first was published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1925-1926, vol. XI and XII) by Messrs. K. P. Jayasval and A. Banerji-sastri. The com. is incomplete and begins with the 8th adhyāya of the 2nd adhikaraṇa and reaches up to the 36th adhyāya of the adhikaraṇa. The commentary on the whole work must have been very extensive, as the portion already printed on a part of the 2nd adhikaraṇa alone occupies 214 pages. This commentary quotes the explanations of previous commentators in the words 'anye', 'apare'. It quotes several ślokas of Bṛhaspati on the blemishes of diamonds and on prakāśa-taskaras. The commentary Nayacandrikā contained in Dr. Jolly's edition (Lahore) also is incomplete and begins with the 7th adhyāya of the 7th adhikaraṇa and breaks off in the 4th adhyāya of the 12th adhikaraṇa. It also refers to the views of its predecessors in the words 'kecit' &c. (vide pp. 35, 61, 62, 104, 115, 131, 191). It discusses various readings (pp. 136, 183, 188, 193 &c.).

Dr. Shamasastri includes in his edition 571 sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya. Their relation to the Kauṭilīya is a subject which requires careful investigation. In my own opinion they are later than the Kauṭilīya. It would be beyond the scope of this work to enter into details. Vide Dr. Jacobi's article in Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. III., pp. 669-676.

There are several *nīti* collections attributed to Cāṇakya and published several times in different parts of India. All of them are later than the Kauṭilīya and are compilations of maxims and fine sayings. One of them the Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (published in Calcutta Oriental series, 1921, 2nd edition) contains 660 verses and was compiled under Bhojarāja. Several other compilations pass under the names Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, Laghu-Cāṇakya &c. All these are passed over here from considerations of space and utility.

15. Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna

This work has beem published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri (1913).

Mahādeva in his commentary called Vaijayantī (Ānandāśrama ed.) on the Satyāṣāḍha Śrautasūtra speaks of six Śrauta sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, viz. Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Vādhūla and Vaikhānasa, and frequently cites passages from the Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtra. In the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, Vādhūla and Vaikhānasa are not mentioned. But that Vaikhānasa was a very ancient writer follows from the references contained in the ancient dharma works. In Gautama the word 'Vaikhānasa' occurs (Dh. S. III. 2) as the name for the order of forest hermits (vānaprastha) and in another sūtra (III. 26) he lays down that fire was to be consecrated according to the Śrāmaṇaka,[186] which latter is explained by Haradatta as Vaikhānasa Śāstra. Baudhāyana (Dh. S. II. 6. 17) has the same sūtra[187] and defines a Vaikhānasa as one who follows the rules of conduct laid down in Vaikhānasa Śāstra (Dh. S. II. 6. 16). The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (9. 10) also has the same sūtra as Gautama (Dh. S. III. 26). The Manusmṛti (VI. 21) speaks of the Vānaprastha as one who abides by the views of Vaikhānasa (Vaikhānasamate sthitaḥ).

The Vaikhānasadharmapraśna is divided into three praśnas, each praśna being subdivided into khaṇḍas. There are in all 41 khaṇḍas. The work is a small one. The contents of the work are :- 1. the four *varṇas* and their privileges, and the four *āśramas* ; duties of *brahmacārin* ; four kinds of *brahmacārins* ; duties of the householder ; four kinds of gṛhastha, *vārtāvṛtti* (subsisting by agriculture), śālīna, yāyāvara and ghorācārika ; forest anchorites ; vānaprasthas are either sapatnīka (accompanied by their wives) or apatnīka (not so accompanied) ; Sapatnīka are of four sorts, Audumbara, Vairiñca, Vālakhilya and Phenapa ; apatnīka Vānaprasthas ; of four kinds of *bhikṣus*, viz. kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa and paramahaṁsa; sakāma (performed with desire of wordly gain) and niṣkāma (not so performed) *karma* ; pravṛtti and nivṛtti ; three kinds of

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186 'श्रावणकेन (श्रामणकेन!) अग्निमाधाय' गौ. ध. सू. 3. 26 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 17.

187 गोविन्दस्वामी, the commentator of Baud. says 'वैखानसोपि वानप्रस्थ एव। संज्ञान्तरकरणं तु संव्यवहारार्थम्। विखनसा ऋषिणा प्रोक्तं वैखानसशास्त्रम्। तत्र हि बहवो वानप्रस्थस्योक्ता ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपा इत्यादयः समुदाचाराः'.

Yogins and their subdivisions ; II. the details of the śrāmaṇaka rites of the vānaprastha (khaṇḍas 1-4); duties of the forest hermit ; details of joining the order of saṁnyāsins (khaṇḍas 6-8) ; age for saṁnyāsa (above seventy or when childless or widower) ; every day duties and observances of saṁnyāsins ; about *ācamana* and Saṁdhyā ; saluting (abhivādana) of all relatives, male and female ; holidays for study (anadhyāya) ; bath and Brahmayajña ; rules about taking food ; forbidden and permitted food ; III. rules of conduct for gṛhastha (khaṇḍas 1-3), rules of the road ; purification of golden and other metallic things ; purification of other things ; about vānaprastha ; *bhikṣu* ; burial of a saṁnyāsin ; Nārāyaṇabali on the death of a saṁnyāsin, *tarpaṇa* in the case of saṁnyāsins with twelve names of Viṣṇu, Keśava &c. and with water ; *anuloma* and *pratiloma* ; the intermediate castes ; *Vrātyas*, their origin ; name and means of subsistence (khaṇḍas 11-15).

The Vāikhānasadharmapraśna appears by its style and its contents to be a work of comparatively later date than the dharmasūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is probably a recast of older materials. It contains the names of more mixed castes than the dharmasūtras and than even some of the later smṛtis. The present work seems to have been either written or retouched by a devotee of Viṣṇu. Faith in and devotion to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa loom very large here (I. 5. 5 nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇaḥ, I. 7. 6 and 9 ; II. 4-5 bhaktyā Viṣṇuṁ dhyāyan, III. 7. 3 Nārāyaṇaparaṁ brahmeti śrutaḥ, III. 9. 3 Viṣṇorālayapārśve). It speaks of the eight *aṅgas* of Yoga (I. 10. 9), of the Āyurveda with its eight *aṅgas* and of some treatise on evil spirits (bhūtatantra III. 12. 7). It refers to the views of some in the word 'eke' (I. 7. 4. and II. 9. 10). It speaks of the Śrāmaṇaka fire (in I. 6. 2 and I. 7. 3-4). It does not allow *saṁnyāsa* to Kṣatriyas (I. 1. 11). Vikhanas is cited as an authority (II. 5. 9 and III. 15. 14).

Bühler found a ms. of the Vaikhānasasūtra, consisting of a gṛhya in seven praśnas, three praśnas of dharma (the same as described above) and a fourth on pravaras. In the gṛhya a reference to Budhavāra occurs (R. and S. p. 9). Dr. Caland in his paper on Vaikhānasa-sūtra holds that the Manusmṛti borrows from Vaikhānasagṛhya and that the author of the latter was saturated with the idiom of Dravidian languages (vide Prof. Keith's review in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1927, p. 623). Dr. Caland's

view about Manu is entirely wrong as will appear from the section on Manu. Vide Th. Bloch in 'über das Gṛhya-und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa' (Lipzig, 1896).

Other Sūtra Works on Dharma.

It will be proper to say a few words about some other sūtra works on dharma thar are only available in mss. or are to be reconstructed from quotations in the digests. It is by no means to be supposed that these works that will be spoken of here were composed as early as those of Gautama, Āpastamba and others or were composed before the extant Manu and Yājñavalkya. But as the chronology of all ancient works on dharma is somewhat in a nebulous state, it is best to treat here of all works written in the sūtra style, even though in individual cases they may really belong to a later age than the works composed entirely in verse. They will be taken up in alphabetical order (Sanskrit).

16. Atri

That Atri was an ancient writer on *dharma* follows from a refer ence to him in Manu (III. 16) as holding the view that a *dvijāti* taking as wife a śūdra woman became fallen (*patita*). In the Deccan College collection there are several mss. (Nos. 185-187 of A 1881-82) of the Ātreyadharmaśāstra in nine *adhyāyas*. They treat of gifts, prayers (*japya*) and *tapas* by which men are freed from all sins. Some of the chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The first three chapters are entirely in verse and some of the verses (such as ekākṣaraṁ paraṁ brahma) occur in the Manusmṛti. The fourth opens with a long sūtra, which, in style, resembles later bhāṣyas and commentaries.[188] The 5th also is in verse and contains several verses found in Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. 28. 1, 4, 6). The sixth speaks of the specially holy hymns and verses of the Veda. Some of the verses here are the same as Vasiṣṭha (28. 10-11). The seventh refers to secret prāyaścittas and the very first sūtra after the opening words speaks of several non-Aryan tribes such as the Śakas, Yavanas, Kām-

188 अचीर्णप्रायश्चित्तानां यमविषयनरकयातमानिश्च (!) पतितानां यदि कदाचिन्मानुष्यं भवति तदेतच्चिह्नाङ्कितशरीरा जायन्ते । तद्यथा । अनृतवादी खली ब्रह्महा कुष्ठी &c.

189 अथातो रहस्यानि व्याख्यास्यामः । नटनर्तकगायन-गान्धर्विक-श्वपाककारुकवीशोत्कट-चीनाशाक-शक-यवन-काम्बोज-बाह्लीक-खश-द्रविड-वङ्ग-पारश-भील्वातदीनां (!) भुक्त्वा प्रतिगृह्य च स्त्रीगमने सहभोजने रहस्ये रहस्यातिप्रकाशे प्रकाश्यानि चरेत् ।

bhojas, Bālhīkas, Khaśas, Vaṅgas and Pāraśa (Persians?) &c. It is to be noted that the same sūtra (with slight variations) is quoted as Atri's by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 266 p. 1123). The 7th and 8th chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The 9th is in verse and speaks of Yoga and its *aṅgas*. It refers to the fact that Śiśupāla, son of Damaghoṣa, because in his hatred of Govinda he always thought of the latter, went to heaven. The same sūtra work is noticed in I. O. Cat., pp. 380-81, Nos. 1305 and 1306.

There are several works styled Atri-smṛti or saṁhitā in the mss. One of them is in six chapters on secret prāyaścittas, gifts, pitṛmedha and ācāra (vide I. O. Cat., p. 381, No. 1308). There is another work styled Atrisaṁhitā printed in Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 13-46). It contains about 400 verses and deals with the following topics :— importance of honouring *guru*, duties of four castes; purifications of several *malas*; virtues of Brāhmaṇās such as śauca, anasūyā; definition of *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*, ten yamas and niyamas; importance of sons; adopted sons, prāyaścittas for taking forbidden food or drink and for other transgressions, impurity on birth and death; cāndrāyaṇa, Kṛcra, Sāntapana; gifts; purifications from avoidable contacts with rajasvalā &c.; Śrāddha and the Brāhmaṇas to be invited for it.

In this work Atri is himself cited as an authority. Other authors and works quoted are : Āpastamba (p. 30), Yama (p. 41), Vyāsa (p. 24), Śaṅkha (pp. 22, 35), Śātātapa (p. 35). The Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Purāṇas, Bhāgavatāḥ (p. 45) are mentioned. It contains (on p. 14) the verse 'sadyaḥ patati māṅsena' which is found in Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (2. 27) with the words 'athāpyudāharanti'. There are other verses also which occur elsewhere e. g. 'atha cenmantravid' occurs in Vasiṣṭha 11. 20, 'tryahaṁ sāyaṁ tryahaṁ prātaḥ' (p. 23) is also Manu XI. 211. On p. 26 occur the words 'atrāpyudāharanti' and so what follows is a quotation. On p. 32 there are three verses in another metre.

Atri's verse about adoption [190] is quoted as the first authority on adoption in the Dattakamīmāṅsā. He mentions the seven *antyajas* to be the washerman, the shoemaker, *naṭa*, *buruḍa*, kaivarta

190 अपुत्रेणैव कर्तव्यः पुत्रप्रतिनिधिः सदा । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्तस्मात्प्रयत्नतः ॥ अत्रि p. 17.

(fisherman), meda, and *bhilla* (p. 29). He further says[191] that there is no question of untouchability in fairs, marriage seasons, in Vedic sacrifices and in all festivals. He says that Brāhmaṇas from Magadha, Mathurā and three other places are not honoured (at a śrāddha) though as learned as Bṛhaspati.[192]

The work mentions the signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā and the Scorpion (p. 43), and hence was not composed before the first centuries of the Christian era.

In Jivananda there is a Laghu-Atri (part I, pp. 1-12) in 6 chapters and about 120 verses, dealing with the means of being freed from sins (such as prāṇāyāma, sacred formula, gifts &c.), with purifications from impurity on death and birth, with gifts. It mentions Manu. In the fourth chapter there are about ten lines in prose. There are numerous verses that occur also in the Vasiṣtha-dharmasūtra, e. g. Vas. 26. 8-9 and 16-18 occur on p. 3; Vas. 28. 11-16 occur on pp. 4-5. It is difficult to say who the borrower is.

There is a Vṛddhātreyasmṛti in Jivananda (part I. pp. 47-59) in five chapters and about 140 verses. This closely resembles the Laghu-Atri-smṛti described above. In the commencement both have the same six verses beginning with 'bhagavan kena dānena' and the works have many verses in common. In the fourth chapter of both the same prose passages occur.

Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 257) quotes two verses from Atri on prāyaścitta which are found in none of the three works described above.[193]

In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 65. 1) Atri is credited with the view that those who make a gift of gold give (practically) all

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191 देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च । उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥ p. 33.

192 मागधो माथुरश्चैव कापटः कीटकानुजौ । पञ्च विप्रा न पूज्यन्ते बृहस्पतिसमा यदि ॥ (p. 45). What is कापट ? Should we read कीकटाङ्गजौ (residents of the countries of कीकट and अङ्ग)?

193 The verses are भुक्त्वा तु प्रतिलोमानां सूतादीनामकामतः । प्राजापत्यं चरेत्कृच्छ्रं त्रिरात्रं त्वाहुताशनः ॥ चण्डालवर्जिते पात्रे स्पृष्ट्वा चैनं विशेषतः । भुक्त्वा कृच्छ्रमविज्ञाते ज्ञात्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥

objects. This bears a close resemblance to two verses that occur in Laghvatri (Jivananda part I. p. 5) and Vṛddhātri (part I. p. 51).[194]

17. Uśanas.

That Uśanas wrote a work on politics follows from several circumstances. The Kauṭilīya quotes the Auśanasāḥ seven times. It is almost certainly referring to a work. That work contained directions on the administration of justice also, as Kauṭilya speaks of Auśanasa method of partition (in allowing a tenth additional share to the eldest son, III. 6), as Auśanasāḥ prescribed fines in cases where witnesses proved stupid &c. (III. 11) and fines for forcible seizure of jewels &c. (III. 17). The Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva[195] (chap. 56, 29-30 and 57. 3) refers to a work on politics by Uśanas and quotes three verses, the last being found in Sabhā 55. 14. In other places also we have a Nītiśāstra ascribed to Bhārgava (Śānti 210. 20) and certain verses are ascribed to him (Śānti 57, 40-41 and 139, 70-71). *Vide* also Anuśāsana 39, 8-9 and Sabhā 62. 11-12. The Nītiprakāśikā of Janamejaya refers to a succession of teachers of politics from Brahmā down to Janamejaya and says that Śukra was

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194 सर्वान् कामान् प्रयच्छन्ति ये प्रयच्छन्ति काञ्चनम् । इत्येवं भगवानत्रिः पितामहसुतोऽब्रवीत् ॥ अनुशासन 65. 1. The verses in the two Atris are अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥ सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम् । हाटकक्षितिधेनूनां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥ The first verse occurs in Vas. 28. 16, in Vanaparva 200. 28, in the Rajim plate of Tīvaradeva (Fleet's Gupta inscriptions No. 81).

195 श्लोकौ चोशनसा गीतौ पुरा तात महर्षिणा । तौ निबोध महाराज त्वमेकाग्रमना नृप ॥ उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे । निगृह्णीयात्स्वधर्मेण धर्मापेक्षी नराधिपः॥ विनश्यमानं धर्मं हि योऽभिरक्षेत्स धर्मवित् । न तेन धर्महा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥ शान्तिपर्व 56. 28-30 ; भगवानुशना चाह श्लोकमत्र विशांपते । तदिहैकमना राजन् गदतस्तं निबोध मे ॥ द्वाविमौ ग्रसते भूमिः सर्पो बिलशयानिव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम् ॥ शान्ति० 57. 2-3 ; श्लोकश्चायं पुरा गीतो भार्गवेण महात्मना । आख्याते रामचरिते नृपतिं प्रति भारत ॥ राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्यां ततो धनम् । राजन्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥ शान्ति० 57. 40-41 ; निश्चयः स्वार्थशास्त्रेषु विश्वासश्चासुखोदयः । उशना चैव गाथे द्वे प्रह्लादायाब्रवीत्पुरा ॥ शान्ति० 139. 70.

one of those who abridged the enormous extent of rājaśāstra.[196] The Mudrārākṣasa (I. p. 71 Telang's ed.) also speaks of Auśanasī Daṇḍanīti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 307) asks the king to appoint ministers in accordance with the views propounded in the śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas and quotes a long passage in prose from Bṛhaspati in which the śāstras of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas are joined together. This work on politics probably contained verses also. Medhātithi on Manu (7. 15) quotes two verses speaking of eight activities of a king.[196a] So also on Manu 8. 50 Medhātithi cites from Uśanas the words ' prakṛtīnām balaṁ rājā, ' which are an Anuṣṭubh *pada*. This sūtra work on politics by Uśanas has not yet been discovered. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa says that Kāvya Uśanas was the purohita of the Asuras (7. 5. 20).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. of an Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra in prose with a few verses, *viz*. No. 644 of Visrambag (i) and No. 191 of A 1881-82. The first contains only two folios (2 and 4) and the available portion begins in the midst of the 2nd chapter. In the second ms. also the first folio is wanting and there are gaps in the fourth chapter. It is noteworthy that the second folio of the second ms. begins just at the beginning of the 2nd folio of the first. The work is a brief one (8 folios) in seven adhyāyas. Their contents are:-- II. impurity on birth and death ; purification of certain things in certain ways such as with water, ashes &c.; III. the four varṇas and the mixed castes such as Rathakāra, Ambaṣṭha, Sūta, Ugra, Māgadha &c, the Vrātyas ; IV. no bodily injury to be done to Brāhmaṇa ; prāyaścittas for killing a Brāhmaṇa or a man of the other varṇas and for other Mahapātakas, prāyaścitta for eating

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196 ब्रह्मा महेश्वरः स्कन्दश्चेन्द्रः प्राचेतसो मनुः । बृहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो महातपाः ॥ वेदव्यासश्च भगवान् तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः । एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेतारः परंतपाः । लक्षाध्यायाग्रगो ब्रह्मा राजशास्त्रे महामतिः । पञ्चाशच्च सहस्राणि रुद्रः संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ॥ It is further said that Skanda, Indra, Prācetasa Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Gauraśiras and Veda-Vyāsa abridged respectively to 25000, 10000, 6000, 3000, 1000, 700, 500 and 300 adhyāyas and that Janamejaya abridged even the last.

196a आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रैषनिषेधयोः । पञ्चमे चार्थवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥ दण्डशुद्ध्योः सदा युक्तस्तेनाष्टगतिको नृपः । अष्टकर्मा दिवं याति राजा शत्रुभिरर्चितः ॥ These are quoted also by कुल्लूक on Manu VII. 154.

the flesh of certain animals and for eating certain plants like garlic, prāyaścitta for adultery; discussion whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śudra woman; prāyaścittas for killing various beasts and birds; fourteen vidyās; V. śrāddhakalpa; what Brāhmaṇas are *pankti-pāvana*; details of śrāddha, food and flesh at śraddha; who are unfit to be invited at śrāddha; VI. what things a Brāhmaṇa could not sell; VII. punishments for the Mahāpātakas; what are pure things at all times. Some of the views of the Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra are worth special notice. The son of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya from a wife of the varṇa immediately next to it belonged to the caste of the father.[197] No sin or punishment attached to one if one killed an *ātatāyi* armed Brāhmaṇa. The fourteen vidyās are said to be the six *aṅgas* and the four Vedas, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa.[198]

The work very often quotes the views of others with the words 'eke'; for example it says 'the impurity on birth is ten nights for the parents of the child, but according to some only for the mother.'[199] The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman is called *pāraśava*, but according to some he is *niṣāda*. The whole of the portion in the ms. about the mixed castes bears a very close resemblance to Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 9) except in a few particulars.[200] At the end of all chapters from the second (except the third) there are verses and also in the midst. There are verses introduced with the words 'there is a śloka on this point' (bhavati cātra ślokaḥ) or with the words 'api codāharanti'.

197 ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायां जातो ब्राह्मण एव सः । chap. III folio 3 a.

198 चतुर्दश विद्यास्थानानि पुनः षडङ्गाश्चत्वारो वेदा मीमांसा न्याय एव च । धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥ . It will be noticed that there is a śloka from षडङ्गाः which is almost the same as Yāj. I. 3.

199 दशरात्रं मातापितृभ्यः सूतकं मातुरित्येके । folio 2 a ; compare गौ. ध. सू. 14. 14 'मातापित्रोस्तन्मातुर्वा ।' (and हरदत्त's comment thereon for various views); बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 105-109, where Baudhāyana's own view is that both are impure for ten days, but according to some the mother and according to others the father has to observe impurity for ten days.

200 The ms. (3rd chap.) has तत्र सवर्णासु सवर्णाः । ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रिया ... सः । वैश्यायामम्बष्ठः । शूद्रायां पारशवो निषाद इत्येके । क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायां क्षत्रियः शूद्रायामुग्रः । वैश्येन शूद्रायां वैश्यः । शूद्रेण वैश्यायामायोगवः क्षत्रियायां क्षत्ता ब्राह्मण्यां चण्डालः &c.

There are about 45 verses in the work, the 7th and last chapter being almost entirely in verse. As the mss. are corrupt and full of gaps, it is often difficult to find out whether a particular passage is prose or verse. In several verses the words 'Manur abravid' occur and in one place 'tan manor anuśāsanam'. The latter closely agrees with Manu. Several verses are common to Manu and Uśanas. The verse 'gurutalpe bhagaḥ kāryaḥ' (Manu 9. 237) occurs in the ms. So also the verse 'yena yena cidaṅgena' occurs in both.[202] The words of Manu (V. 78) 'bāle deśāntarasthe' are expressly quoted with the words 'Manur-āha'. There are many other verses which, though not cited expressly as from a particular author, are found in other ancient works. For example, the verse 'āpaḥ śuddhā bhūmigatāḥ' is Manu 5. 128 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 57. The half verse 'kāruhastaḥ śucir nityam' is Manu 5. 126 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 48. The verse 'yadekarātreṇa karoti pāpam' occurs in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 11) and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 42. The verse 'tryaham prātas tryaham naktam' is Manu XI. 211. It is a remarkable fact that some of the verses in this dharmasutra agree closely with the verses in the Uśanas-smṛti in verse, published by Jivananda, e. g. the verse 'dattvā tu Vedānatyartham' occurs on p. 525 and the verse 'nimantritastu yo vipro adhvānaṁ saṁprapadyate' on p. 527. Even the prose passages bear a close resemblance to the versified smṛti on many points, e. g. the prose passages about the duration of the satisfaction of the Manes by the offerings of the flesh of various animals occur almost in the same words in the versified smṛti of Uśanas (Jivananda, part I, p. 522).

The Auśanasa-dharmasutra contains several passages in prose which are the same as some verses in Manu.[203] The sūtra

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201 The ms. reads 'दशस्थानानि दण्डस्य चात्मनो (तन्मनो ?)रनुशासनम् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु सामान्यं ब्राह्मणस्त्वक्षतो भवेत् ॥', while मनु (8.124) is दश ... दण्डस्य मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु यानि स्युरक्षतो ब्राह्मणो व्रजेत् ॥

202 The ms. reads येन येन हि चण्डेन (चिदङ्गेन ?) हिंस्याच्छ्रेयांसमन्त्यजः । तदेव तस्य छेत्तव्यं छिन्ने निर्विषहो भवेत् ॥; in मनु (8. 279) the last pāda is तन्मनोरनुशासनम्.

203 The ms. has (in chap. II) रहःसु स्त्रीमुखं शुचिः । शुचयः फलपातने पक्षिणः । प्रसवे वत्सः । शूकर (मृग ?)ग्रहणे श्वा । ऊर्ध्वं नाभेः पुरुषः । गोर्मेध्या पृष्ठतः । पुरस्ताद्गजः । स्त्रियः सर्वतः । हृदयमासामशुचि । Compare मनु I. 92, बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 49 and वसिष्ठ 3. 45.

quotes in one place the divergent views of Vasiṣṭha,[204] Hārīta, Śaunaka, and Gautama on the question whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman. The view of Vasiṣṭha (as quoted in the ms.) is that a Brāhmaṇa could take to wife girls of all the four castes, but in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (I. 24) a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to marry girls of the three higher castes only. It is possible that the ancient reading of Vasiṣṭha's text was 'catasraḥ' (as quoted in the Auśanasa) which was changed into 'tisraḥ'. The passage reminds us of Manu III. 16 (Śūdrāvedī patatyatreḥ), but the views ascribed to Śaunaka and Gautama in the ms. differ from those ascribed to them in Manu. In another passage Vasiṣṭha's views seem to be quoted.[205]

From quotations in Haradatta's commentary on Gautama and from the Smṛticandrikā it appears that they had access to a sūtra work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of *dharma*, viz., ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes prose passages of Uśanas on *anadhyāya* (I. p. 59), on *dantadhāvana* (I. p. 106) and Haradatta quotes a prose passage on *anadhyāya* (on Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 1) and a prose passage on the fine for a kṣatriya abusing a śūdra (on Gau. Dh. S. 12. 10) and on *Niyoga* (on Gau. Dh. S. 18. 5). These passages are not found in the ms. But there are others that are found. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes two passages, which occur in the mss.[206] It

204 The ms. (chap. IV) has पतितां वृषलीपतिरित्याचक्षते। न पततीत्येके। ब्राह्मणस्य कल्पविहिताश्चतस्रो-(स्रो ?)नुपूर्वेण भार्या भवन्तीति वासिष्ठ आह। पतति न पततीति संशयः। वृषलीं पतीति (वृषलीं गत्वा पततीति ?) हारीतः। जननात्पततीति शौनकः। तदपत्यः पततीति गौतमः। The words of वासिष्ठ are 'तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्वेण द्वे राजन्यस्य एकैका वैश्यशूद्रयोः। शूद्रामप्येके मन्त्रवर्जं तद्वत्। तथा न कुर्यात्। I. 24-26. It should be noted that one ms. of वासिष्ठ omits the words 'वर्णानु ...कुर्यात्'.

205 यस्तु पुनर्ब्राह्मणां धर्मपत्नीमृतेन मैथुनं सेवेत स शुध्यतीति वैवस्वतः (वै वासिष्ठः ?) प्राजापत्येन शुध्यतीति हारीतः (chap. 4); compare वासिष्ठ 12. 23. and Manu XI. 67 and 173. The reading वैवस्वतः also is explicable. वैवस्वत may stand for मनु.

206 The passages are 'तत्र गोमयोदकैर्भूमिभाजनभाण्डशौचं कुर्यात्' (chap. V, about śrāddha) and 'श्वविड्वराहमार्जारकुक्कुटनकुलशूद्ररजस्वलाशुद्रीभर्तारश्च दूरमपनयितव्याः (॰मपनेतव्याः). They occur in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (III. p. 409 and p. 411).

appears therefore that the mss. either contain a portion only of the complete Auśanasa-dharma-sūtra or an independent sūtra work. The former alternative looks more probable. The foregoing discussion has shown that the sūtra work is later than the dharma-sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and also than the Manusmṛti, which it probably knew in a very ancient version slightly differing from the extant one.

In Jivananda's collection of smṛtis there is an Auśanasa-dharma-śāstra in 51 verses (part I. pp. 497-501). It deals with mixed castes and their avocations, such as sūta, māgadha, cāṇḍāla, śvapaca, pulinda &c. The same work occurs in the Ānandāśrama collection, pp. 46-48. The Mit. (on Yāj. 1. 94) remarks that the means of livelihood for the mixed castes should be sought for in the works of Uśanas and Manu.[207] It is probably this smṛti that is meant. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 says that the sale of hides and working on hides were the means of livelihood for Dhigvaṇas according to the Auśanasa.

In the same collection (part. I. pp. 501-554) there is another smṛti ascribed to Uśanas in 9 chapters and about 600 verses. It treats of Upanayana, daily observances like *ācamana*, Vedic study, occasions of *anadhyāya*, the dharmas of *snātaka* ; śrāddha, proper Brāhmaṇas for śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, rites after death, prāyaścittas for the mortal sins and lesser sins.

This smṛti quotes Uśanas himself, also Manu, Bhṛgu (Bhṛgu-putra III), Prajāpati and speaks of dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Pāñcarātras, Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas. Numerous verses from the Manusmṛti are found in it (e. g. Manu II. 42, 49, 50, 125) occur in the first chapter alone. There is a brief prose passage towards the end of the 9th chapter. It speaks of Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas and atheists together (p. 525).

None of these smṛtis in verse contains the passages in verse on vyavahāra ascribed to Uśanas that occur in the Mitākṣarā, Smṛti-candrikā and other works.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 260) and Aparārka (e. g. p. 158, 192, 255) contain prose passages ascribed to Uśanas and the same works contain numerous verses ascribed to Uśanas most of which are not

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1207 एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च द्रष्टव्याः । मिता.

found in the two smṛtis in Jivananda. Some of the verses in Aparārka ascribed to Uśanas are found in the Auśanasasmṛti (e. g, Aparārka p. 418 'kuryād-aharaḥ śrāddham' is Jivananda I. p. 521).

In other cases the verses quoted from Uśanas in Aparārka, though not quite identical, bear a very close resemblance (e. g. the four verses in Aparārka p. 450 closely resemble Jivananda I. p. 525 and have some verses in common).

Among the views on Vyavahāra quoted from Uśanas are some interesting ones. It was he who said that a son was not bound to pay his father's debt, if it was a fine or unpaid toll or what is not vyāvahārika.[208] He holds that even blind, deaf or old men, women, minors could be witnesses in charges of *sāhasa* (Aparārka p. 671). He is quoted also on ordeals, on svāmipālavivāda and on steya.

A work styled Śukranītisāra was edited by Oppert (Madras 1882) and by Jivananda (Cal. 1892) and translated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. Series. That work is a very interesting one, but is comparatively of a late date.

18. Kaṇva and Kāṇva

From the Ap. Dh. S. it appears that Kaṇva and Kāṇva were two distinct writers on dharma. In I. 6. 19. 2 Āpastamba starts the question as to the persons, food at whose house was permitted. He states various views on that point and says that Kaṇva was of opinion that food may be taken at anybody's house provided the latter offered it with a request (I. 6. 19. 3) and that the opinion of Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa and Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7) was that only that food that was offered by a pure and religious man should be partaken. In another place (I. 10. 28. 1) Āpastamba gives it as the opinion of Kautsa, Hārita, Kaṇva and Puṣkarasādi that a man became a thief if in any case whatever he appropriates another's belongings. The Kumbhakonam edition of Pandit Halasyanatha reads Kāṇva for Kaṇva.

Kaṇva is quoted a few times in the Smṛticandrikā on Āhnika (daily duties) and śrāddha. One of these quotations is in prose (I. p. 97).[209] Haradatta in his commentary on Gautama cites

208 दण्डो वा दण्डशेषो वा शुल्कं तच्छेषमेव वा। न दातव्यं तु पुत्रेण यच्च न व्यावहारिकम् ॥ मिता. and अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 47.

209 अध्वरे वेदेतिहासपुराणानीति ध्यायन् मार्गेण तीर्थेनोष्ठयोः सलोमदेशमुन्मृजेत्।

verses of Kaṇva in several places (e. g. Gautama Dh. S. 21. 3, 23. 3 and 11).[210] The first verse bears a close resemblance to Manu XI. 180 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62. Kaṇva is quoted in the Ācāramayūkha and the Śrāddha-mayūkha.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 58) quotes a verse of Kāṇva on the length of the stay of a *saṁnyāsin* in a village or town. On Yāj. III. 260 the Mit. quotes a verse of Kaṇva stating the prāyaścitta for a Brāhmaṇa having intercourse with the Kṣatriya wife of his teacher.

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Library there is a ms. of Kaṇva (vol. V, p. 1929 No. 2624).

19 Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa.

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11. 20) cites a verse which contains the view of Kaśyapa that a woman who is bought cannot be a *patnī* and that she is not authorised to take part in religious (daiva) rites or rites for the Manes.[211] This verse is ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 87). The Vanaparva quotes *gāthās* of Kāśyapa on forbearrance (29. 35-40). Whether Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa are two different writers of dharmasūtras it is rather difficult to say. Probably they are identical. It appears that the dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa comprised all the usual topics of dharmasūtras, such as daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, prāyaścitta. This sūtra has been quoted by all eminent writers from Viśvarūpa downwards. Viśvarūpa quotes Kāśyapa (in prose) on the prāyaścitta for contact with caṇḍālas[212] and for killing a cow when the sinner is a Brāhmaṇa or a member of another caste.[213] The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 23) quotes a prose passage from Kāśyapa on freedom from impurity on death.[214]

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210 The verse is संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन समाचरन् ।
यानाशनासनैर्नित्यमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥

211 क्रीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते ।
सा न दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासीं तां कश्यपोऽब्रवीत् ॥

212 चण्डालश्वपाकपुल्कसादिसंकरे सव्यवधाने षण्मासान् गोमूत्रयावकाः पक्षाहकालं पातव्याः । एवं प्रतिमासवृद्ध्या शुद्धिरा परिवृत्तेः सूर्यस्य । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 257.

213 प्रायश्चित्तमकामायासौ कामकृतेष्वेके । ... ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेदयित्वा सशिखं वपनं कृत्वा प्राजापत्यं कृच्छ्रमाचरेत् । चीर्णान्ते धेनुं तिलधेनुं दद्यात् । ... तेन चर्मणा प्रावृतो मासं गोष्ठे वसेत् । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 262.

214 बालानामदन्तजातानां त्रिरात्रेण शुद्धिः ।

The quotations in the Smṛticandrikā on āhnika and śrāddha are all in verse. Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18) quotes a sūtra on the prāyaścitta for *govadha*,[215] which is also quoted by Viśvarūpa. Haradatta (on Gaut. 23. 26) quotes a very long sūtra on the prāyaścitta for eating several things and doing several forbidden acts.[216] Haradatta (on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 2) quotes several verses mentioning the seven kinds of punarbhūs. The Hāralatā quotes a sūtra from Kaśyapa on āśauca. Aparārka quotes several sūtras and a few verses under both names Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa (vide Yāj. I. 64, III. 265, I. 222-25, III. 251, 288, 290, 292 for verses).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. (No. 200 of 1884-87 and No. 122 of A. 1881-82) which contain a Kāśyapa-smṛti in prose (4 folios having 8 lines on each side). It begins 'athātaḥ Kāśyapīyān gṛhasthadharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ'. It deals with the duties of householders, with prāyaścittas for doing mischief to wells, dikes, ponds, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas, for killing a cow and other beasts and birds, with rules on mourning after death and impurity on birth, with prāyaścittas for eating garlic and other similar things, with the five mortal sins, with prāyaścittas when such portents as earthquakes, lightning flashes occur, or for such accidental occurrences as the breaking of the milk pot, with purification of vessels of wood, metals, with the visible physical sins of sins committed in previous lives, with the seven *punarbhūs*.

In this work some of the sūtras quoted as Kāśyapa's in the commentaries are found, (e. g. the quotation No. 216 'laśuna' &c. above). So also the verses about punarbhūs of seven kinds quoted by Haradatta are found in the mss. In this smṛti, Kāśyapa is frequently cited as an authority.

It is to be noted that Kāśyapa is not mentioned by Yāj. as one of the dharmaśāstraprayojakas, though Parāśara (chap. I) mentions Kāśyapā dharmāḥ. The Smṛticandrika (I. p. 1) and the Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 13) speak of 18 Upasmṛtis in which Kāśyapa's is included.

215 गां हत्वा तच्चर्मणा परिवृतो मासं गोष्ठेशयस्त्रिषवणस्नायी नित्यं पञ्चगव्याहारः ।

216 लशुनपलाण्डुगृञ्जनकुक्कुटभक्षणे मेदःशुक्रपानेऽयाज्ययाजनेऽभोज्यभोजनेऽभक्ष्यभक्षणेऽगम्यागमने चैवं प्रायश्चित्तं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेद्य षड्रात्रोपोषितश्चीर्णान्ते प्राच्यामुदीच्यां दिशि गत्वा यत्र ग्राम्यपशूनां शब्दो न श्रूयते तस्मिन्देशेऽग्निं प्रज्वाल्य ब्रह्मासनमास्तीर्य तत्प्रणीतेन विधिना पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति ।

20. Gārgya

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Gārgya is enumerated among the expounders of Dharma (dharmavaktāraḥ). He quotes two sūtras, one from Gārgya (on Yāj. I. 72[217]) and the other from Vṛddha-Gārgya[218] (on Yāj. I. 195). Therefore it seems that a sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma did exist. The Mit. (e. g. on Yāj. III. 326), Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote several verses of Gārgya on āhnika, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Parāśara also mentions Gārgya among writers on dharma. Aparārka contains (pp. 124, 190, 368, 544) verses from Gārgya on topics of dharma. It seems that the two writers are identical. Aparārka also quotes several verses from Gārgya of astronomical import (e. g. p. 547 on the nomenclature of the months as *Caitra* in connection with the signs of the zodiac). This was probably an independent work. Fragments of a Gārgī saṁhitā on astronomy and astrology have been recovered and it contains valuable historical information (vide Kern's preface to Bṛhat-saṁhitā pp. 33-40 and Mr. Jayasval in JBORS. vol. 14, p. 397 ff). A Jyotir-Gārgya and a Bṛhad-Gārgya are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā. The Nityācārapradīpa (p. 20, BIS) mentions Garga and Gārgya separately as smṛtikāras.

21. Cyavana

The Mit., Aparārka and other works cite several sūtras and some verses from Cyavana. Aparārka quotes a very long prose passage from Cyavana (on Yāj. I. 207) about the procedure of making the gift of a cow and about the *mantras* to be recited in that ceremony. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 30) and Aparārka both cite a sūtra of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for coming in contact with a dog, a śvapāka, a corpse, smoke from a funeral pyre, wine, wine-vessel &c. Aparārka cites prose passages of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 264-265), for touching, carrying or burning the corpse of one who commits suicide (on Yāj. III. 292), on the method of the purification of houses, vessels, articles of food when touched by cāṇḍālas (on the same verse).

22. Jātukarṇya

Viśvarūpa on (Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Jātūkarṇa is mentioned as an expounder of

217 पलितः शिवस्त्वाख्या मर्तृवचपतिज्ञापां च ।

218 अनेकोद्धार्ये काष्ठपीठे भूमितले ।

dharma.[219] The name is variously written as Jātukarṇi or Jātūkarṇya or as Jātukarṇa. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a passage from Aṅgiras in which Jātūkarṇya is enumerated among writers of Upasmṛtis. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Jātūkarṇya a number of times.[220] On Yaj. I. 1, he gives a sūtra about "pratilomas"; on Yāj. I. 2 there is a sūtra sying that a pupil should not all of a sudden put a question to his teacher in an assembly of people, on Yāj. I. 29 about a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wearing an Upavīta of hemp and wool when initiated for sacrifice, on Yāj. I. 37 as to the age when a Brāhmaṇa became a vrātya, about the prohibition of marrying another wife of a different caste when one has already married a savarṇa wife (on Yāj. I. 79), about the time for śrāddhas (on Yāj. I. 215). These quotations show that Jātūkarṇya composed a sūtra work on ācāra and śrāddha, which was comparatively ancient. The quotations of Jātūkarṇya in Mitākṣarā Haradatta, Aparārka, and later writers are in verse and so it appears that by that time the work had been lost or forgotten. Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse of Jātūkarṇya which refers to the zodiacal sign Virgo. This would place the verse Jātūkarṇya not very much earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A. D.

23. Devala

In the Mit. there are several prose passages quoted from Devala, e. g. on Yāj. I. 120 there is a sūtra on the dharmas of the śūdra and the avocations open to him;[221] on Yāj. I. 128 there is a sūtra dividing householders into Yāyāvara and Śālīna and describing each of them.[222] In Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā there are several

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219 भूयांसो धर्मवक्तार उत्पन्ना भाविनस्तथा। निधानं सर्वधर्माणां वेद एव हि शाश्वतः॥ नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः। बौधायनो जातुकर्णो विश्वामित्रः पितामहः॥

220 'प्रतिलोमास्त्वन्त्यावसायिनः', 'नाकस्मात्समवाये गुरुं पृच्छेत्', 'दीक्षितौ चेद्राजन्यवैश्यौ शाणाविके कुर्वीताम्', 'द्विगुणां गायत्रीमतिक्रम्य ब्राह्मणो व्रात्यः स्यात्', 'सवर्णया सतदारो नान्यामिच्छेत्सन्तानस्यान्यगामित्वात्', 'अथ श्राद्धमपरपक्षे सर्वत्राविशेषात्। नभस्य एव वा सामर्थ्योपपत्तिभ्याम्'.

221 तानि च देवलोक्तानि। शूद्रधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिपोषणं कर्षणपशुपालनभारोद्वहनपण्यव्यवहारचित्रकर्मनृत्यगीतवेणुवीणामुरजमृदङ्गवादनादीनि।

222 यथा हि देवलः। द्विविधो गृहस्थो यायावरः शालीनश्च। तयोर्यायावरः प्रवरः याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहरिक्थसंचयवर्जनात्। षट्कर्माधिष्ठितः प्रेष्यचतुष्पदगृहग्रामधनधान्ययुक्तो लोकानुवर्ती शालीन इति।

prose quotations from Devala. On Yāj. III. 58 Aparārka quotes a long prose passage on the rules of conduct for a yati; on Yāj. III. 109 Aparārka cites a very long passage, in which Sāṅkhya and Yoga are defined, reference is made to extensive *Tantras* on the two systems and a brief résumé is given of the Śāṅkhya system, which greatly resembles the Tattvasamāsa. On Yāj. III. 227 Aparārka has a prose quotation from Devala about *patitas*. In the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 63) there is a lengthy passage from Devala on the daily duties of the *brahmacārin*, a sūtra (I. p. 52) is quoted about *brahmacarya* for 48 years and in another place there is a prose passage about the wife's duties.[223]

In the Mit., in Haradatta, Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā there are numerous quotations in verse from Devala on ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta and other topics. That seems to have been an independent work. In the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a Devalasmṛti in 90 verses dealing with purification and prāyacittas for contact with Mlecchas. This appears to be a late compilation. Some of the verses contained therein are ascribed to other authors, e. g. verses 17-22 are ascribed to Āpastamba by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. p. 1200) and verses 30-31 are ascribed by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 290) and Aparārka to Viṣṇu.

The Mahābhārata ascribes the view to Devala that in man there are three *jyotis*, viz. offspring, *karma*, and learning.[224]

Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā cite verses from Devala on partition, inheritance, on woman's power over stridhana. These show that Devala, the jurist, flourished about the same time as the great jurists Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana.

24. Paiṭhīnasi

Though not enumerated in Yājñavalkya, Paiṭhīnasi seems to have been a comparatively ancient sūtrakāra on dharma. On Yāj. III. 262 Viśvarūpa quotes a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow. Dr. Jolly (R. und S. p. 12) following Dr. Caland (Ahnencult &c. pp. 99, 109) thinks that Paiṭhīnasi belongs to the Atharvaveda as the prose quotations on śrāddha agree with the ritual of

223 पतिशुश्रूषा सहधर्मचर्या तस्यज्यमानपूजनम् ।

224 त्रीणि ज्योतींषि पुरुष इति वै देवलोऽब्रवीत् । अपत्यं कर्म विद्या च यतः सृष्टाः प्रजास्ततः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 72. 5.

the Atharvans. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 53) quotes a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi to the effect that a person should marry a girl who is beyond the third degree on the mother's side and beyond the fifth on the father's side.[225] On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two sūtras relating to impurity on death.[226] The Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and other writers quote numerous sūtras of Paiṭhīnasi. The Smṛticandrikā has a prose quotation on the duties of women.[227] In another place the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 263) cites a sūtra on partition.[228] Aparārka (p. 112) quotes two verses of Paiṭhīnasi recommending the practice of *satī* to women of all castes except Brāhmaṇa women. Aparārka (p. 239) quotes a sūtra saying that the food of astrologers, bell-makers and grāmakūṭas is poison.[229] Aparārka quotes (on p. 744) a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paiṭhīnasi about inheritance to a deceased sonless man.[230] Aparārka quotes another important prose passage[231] "the wealth of (a heirless) *śrotriya* goes to the *pariṣad* and not to the king, the king should not appropriate the wealth of temples and guilds, deposits and the wealth of minors and women." Then the sūtra quotes a verse on the same topic, which seems to refer to Manu 9. 194 in the word 'of sixfold origin' (ṣaḍagama). Another sūtra quoted by Aparārka (p. 754) says 'when an appointed daughter dies, her husband does not take her wealth ; if she be issueless, her mother or mother-in-law should receive it.' Aparārka quotes a verse of Paiṭhīnasi (p. 921) 'at the time of marriage, famines, sacrifices, fairs and pilgrimages there is no impurity due to birth or death.'

225 त्रीनतीत्य मातृतः पञ्चातीत्य च पितृत इति च पैठीनसिना &c.

226 नित्यानि विनिवर्तेरन् वैतानवर्जं शालाग्नौ चैके । सावित्र्या चाञ्जलिं प्रक्षिप्य प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं ध्यायेन्नमस्कुर्यात् ।

227 स्त्रियो गृहदेवतास्तासां न शौचं न व्रतं नोपवासः । पतिशुश्रूषयैव स्त्रियो गच्छन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 252.

228 पैतृके विभज्यमाने दायाद्ये भ्रातॄणां समो विभागः ।

229 सांवत्सरिकघाण्टिकग्रामकूटान्नं विषम् ।. The word ग्रामकूट (a village officer) is well known from inscriptions.

230 अपुत्रस्य स्वर्यातस्य भ्रातृगामि धनं तदभावे मातापितरौ लभेतां पत्नी वा ज्येष्ठा ।

231 'परिषद्गामि वा श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न राजगामि । न हार्यं राज्ञा देवतागणसंस्थितं न निक्षेपोपनिधिक्रियाक्रमागतं न बालस्त्रीधनानि । एवं ह्याह । न हार्यं स्त्रीधनं राज्ञा तथा बालधनानि च । नार्याः षडागमं वित्तं बालानां पैतृकं धनम् ॥'. This whole passage is ascribed to शङ्ख in वि. र. p. 598.

25. Budha

This sūtrakāra is not mentioned by Yāj. nor by Parāśara. He is very rarely cited. Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 4-5, Kalpataru (quoted in Vīra-mitrodaya, Paribhāṣā p. 16), Hemādri,[232] Jīmūta-vāhana's Kālaviveka are probably the earliest writers to mention him. In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of a Budha-dharma-śāstra in prose (No. 507 of 1881-82 and No. 145 of 1895-1902, 2 folios). The work is very brief[233] and speaks of *upanayana*, marriage, eight forms of marriage, the saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to Upanayana, the five daily great *yajñas*, śrāddha, pākayajñas, haviryajñas, somayāga, the means of subsistence for a Brāhmaṇa, the duties of Vaiśyas and Śūdras, the orders of forest hermits and *sannyāsins*, removal of thorns by the king, administration of justice, king's duties.

The work does not produce the impression of being early. It is in the nature of a summary of larger works on dharma. All quotations in Hemādri cited from Budha are not found in the mss.

26. Bṛhaspati

That Bṛhaspati was an ancient teacher of Arthaśāstra follows from the Kauṭilīya, wherein the Bārhaspatyas are cited six times. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti, chap. 59. 80-85) Bṛhaspati is said to have compressed into 3000 chapters the work on dharma, artha and kāma composed by Brahmā. The Vanaparva (32. 61) speaks of Bṛhaspati-nīti. The Mahābhārata several times cites verses (*gāthās* or *ślokas*) said to have been sung by Bṛhaspati[234] (vide Śānti. 23. 25, 56. 38-39, 57. 6-7). *Vide*

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232 चतुर्वर्ग० (दानखण्ड p. 527) says 'आदिशब्दाच्च बुधदेवलसोमप्रजापतिवृद्धशातातप-पैठीनसिच्छागलेयच्यवनमरीचिवत्सपारस्करपुलस्त्यपुलहक्रतुऋष्यशृङ्गात्रेयाणां ग्रहणम्'.

233 The Budha sūtra opens as follows ;—अथातो बुधधर्मशास्त्रं व्याख्यास्यामः। श्रेयोभ्युदयसाधनो धर्मः। गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मणो वसन्त आत्मानमुपनयेत्। एकादशे क्षत्रियो ग्रीष्मे। द्वादशे वैश्यो वर्षासु। मेखलाजिनदण्डकमण्डलूपवीतानि धारयेत्। &c. हेमाद्रि (परिशेष, काल, p. 309) quotes this as Budha's from स्मृतिमहार्णव.

234 भूमिरेतौ निगिरति सर्पो बिलशयानिव। राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम्॥ शान्ति. 23. 15. This verse (with the reading द्वाविमौ ग्रसते भूमिः सर्पो &c.) is ascribed by शान्तिपर्व 57. 3. to Uśanas ; vide note 195 above. बार्हस्पत्ये च

also Śānti. 58. 13-16, 69. 23-24. The Anuśāsana (39. 10-11) speaks of the Arthaśāstra composed by Bṛhaspati and others. In some of these places there are distinct references to a śāstra or *mata* of Bṛhaspati and sections of his work are referred to (as e.g. rājādhikāra). The Śāntiparva (170. 12) describes how a king could, according to Bṛhaspati's views, secure his goal in four ways.[235] In the Vanaparva (150. 29) men are said to be upheld by the *nayas* proclaimed by Bṛhaspati and Uśanas. Vide also Sabhā 50. 9, 55. 6, 73. 7-8, Udyoga 33. 71-72, 55. 66. The Kāmasūtra repeats the tradition that Brahmā composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* and that Bṛhaspati dealt with a portion of that work, viz. on *artha*.[236] Vide note 196 above. Aśvaghoṣa (Buddhacarita I. 46) speaks of the rājaśāstra of Śukra and Bṛhaspati. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya some of the special views of Bṛhaspati's school were that there were only two vidyās for kings viz. vārtā and daṇḍanīti and that the council of ministers should comprise 16 members. According to Kāmandaka and the Pañcatantra (II. 41) 'aviśvāsa' was the sheet-anchor of royal policy according to Bṛhaspati. The Yaśastilaka (p. 13) says that the nīti of Bṛhaspati had no place for Gods.[237] The commentary on the Nītivākyāmṛta gives the first verse of Bṛhaspati.[237a] Viśvarūpa contains several prose quotations which from their context must have been taken from Bṛhaspati about the qualifications of a senāpati, pratīhāra, dūta, &c. It is somewhat strange that in this quotation the *mantrin* is required to be deeply conversant with the śāstras of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas. For similar prose quotations, *vide*

शास्त्रे च श्लोको निगदितः पुरा । ... क्षममाणं नृपं नित्यं नीचः परिभवेज्जनः । हस्तियन्ता गजस्येव शिर एवारुरुक्षति ॥ शान्ति 56. 38-39 ; मरुत्तेन हि राज्ञा वै गीतः श्लोकः पुरातनः । राजाधिकारे राजेन्द्र बृहस्पतिमते पुरा ॥ गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य दण्डो भवति शाश्वतः ॥ शान्ति 57. 6-7.

235 चतुर्विधा ह्यर्थसिद्धिर्बृहस्पतिमते यथा । पारम्पर्यं तथा दैवं काम्यं मैत्रमिति प्रभो ॥ शान्ति॰ 170. 12.

236 प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गस्य साधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच । तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्वायम्भुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक् चकार । बृहस्पतिरर्थाधिकारिकम् । 5-7

237 बृहस्पतिनीतय इवादेवमातृकाः ।

237a वाचा कायेन मनसा प्रणम्याङ्गिरसं मुनिम् । नीतिशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि भूपतीनां सुखावहम् ॥

Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 323, II. 154. That Bṛhaspati also wrote a sūtra work on vyavahāra and other topics of dharma follows from the quotations contained in Viśvarūpa and Haradatta. For example, Viśvarūpa cites a prose passage from Bṛhaspati (on Yāj. II. 38) about the duty of the king to restore property stolen from his subjects if he could not recover it from the thief, about the rising scale of the rates of interest according to the castes, about the debts of a deceased man being payable by those who took his wealth, by his wife or by his son, about a surety being made to pay when the principal died, about the illegitimate son of a śūdra getting a share on his father's death and about his taking the whole estate with the king's permission if there were no legitimate issue of the śūdra.[238] Haradatta on Gautama 22. 18 quotes a prose passsage from Bṛhaspati on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow. These quotations establish that Bṛhaspati wrote a sūtra work on dharma also (i. e. at least on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta). Viśvarūpa also quotes a few verses from Bṛhaspati on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta and in one place at least indicates that the verse he attributes to Bṛhaspati occurred in the same work in which a prose passage quoted by him occurred.[239] From this it follows that the sūtra work of Bṛhaspati on dharma contained verses also in Viśvarūpa's time. Whether the two works on arthaśāstra and dharma were composed by the same Bṛhaspati cannot be determined. It looks probable that they were composed by different authors. Yāj. (I. 4-5) mentions Bṛhaspati among the expounders of dharma. He is probably referring to the sūtra work on dharma disclosed by quotations from Viśvarūpa.

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238 तथा च बृहस्पतिः 'चोरापहृतं तु सर्वेभ्योऽन्विष्यार्पणीयम् । अलाभे स्वकोशाद्वा । अददच्चोरकिल्बिषी स्यात् ।' on याज्ञ. II. 38; तथा च बृहस्पतिः—पादोपचयात् क्रमेणेतरेषाम्—इति on याज्ञ. II. 39; बृहस्पतिश्च धनस्त्रीहारिपुत्राणां पूर्वाभावे यथोत्तरमाधमर्ण्यं तदभावे क्रमशोऽन्येषां रिक्थभाजाम् । on याज्ञ. II. 47; तथा च बृहस्पतिः उपस्थाप्य विपत्तावुपस्थाप्यस्य पुनः प्रतिभूर्दाप्यः इति । on याज्ञ. II. 55; तथा च बृहस्पतिः—'कामतश्च शूद्रापरोधजस्य भ्रातुरंशं समानमात्रं प्रेते पितरि वसुः शुश्रुश्रेत् ' इति । on याज्ञ. II. 138.

239 on याज्ञ. III. 262 विश्वरूप says 'बृहस्पतिना तु द्वादशाहेन, गोघाती तस्मात्पापस्य मुच्यते । क्षीराहारो भवेत्तत्र क्षीरदध्यशनोऽपि वा ॥' तथेदमन्यत् 'गायत्र्या दशसाहस्रं &c. (two verses)' । तथेदं तत्रैवान्यत् 'द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्याहारः षड्रात्रं वा यावकाहारो गोष्ठे वसेत् । ... ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा शुध्येदित्याह बृहस्पतिः' इति । The words द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्याहारः are attributed to बृहस्पति by हरदत्त also.

In the Mit. and other commentaties and nibandhas over seven hundred verses on vyavahāra and a few hundred more on ācāra and prāyaścitta are cited from Bṛhaspati. That seems to have been an independent work composed between 300 and 500 A. D., which will be discussed later on (vide sec. 37).

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 644-651) and in the Ānandāśrama collection there is a Bṛhaspatismṛti in 80 verses in which Bṛhaspati is represented as instructing Indra about gifts. Several mss. in the Deccan College Collection contain this smṛti, but in an abridged form in 70 and 49 verses (No 130 of 1884-86 and No 147 of 1895-1902). Vide also I. O. cat. p. 386 No. 1324, 1325-1328. Aparārka quotes (p 1225) verse 7 of this smṛti (in verse) and the Dānaratnākara quotes verses 6 and 7 as from Dāna-Bṛhaspati.

The Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Lahore, 1921) is a later work and does not deserve more than a passing notice. In six chapters it deals with the conduct, duties, studies of kings, omens, rules of policy &c.

27. Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja

There is a Śrauta sūtra and a Gṛhya sūtra attributed to Bhāradvāja. The Ms. of the śrauta in the Bombay University Library contains nine praśnas and a portion of the 10th and begins 'darśapaurṇamāsau vyākhyāsyāmaḥ'. It quotes Ālekhana and Āśmarathya frequently. The Gṛhya has been edited by J. W. Salomons. It appears from quotations in Viśvarūpa and other early commentators that a sūtra work on dharma attributed to Bharadvāja or Bhāradvaja was in existence. The forms Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja probably refer to the same work. On Yāj. (I. 15) Viśvarūpa quotes a prose passage from Bhāradvāja prohibiting the learning of *mleccha* tongues and calling upon the preceptor to teach his pupil pure words, observance of Saṁdhyā and the kindling of fire ;[239a] on Yāj. I. 32 Bhāradvāja is quoted as prescribing a penance for even thinking of causing harm to beings;[239b] on Yāj.I.185 a lengthy sūtra of Bharadvāja on the purification of certain things is quoted, wherein is cited the view of some that boys are purified by a mere bath

239a तथा च भारद्वाजः—न म्लेच्छभाषां शिक्षेत । म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्द इति विज्ञायते । तस्माच्छिष्यमुपनीय साधुशब्दान् शिक्षयेत् सन्ध्योपासनामीन्धनानि ।

239b तथा च भारद्वाजः— 'मनसा प्राणिहिंसायां त्रिर्द्रुपदामावर्तयेत्' इति ।

when touched by *antyajas*;[240] on Yāj. I. 236 a prose passage of Bharadvāja forbids in śrāddhas the use of certain cereals as food.[241] Aparārka quotes a long prose passage (p. 1155) from Bharadvāja in connection with the prāyāścitta for cessation of gṛhya fires for various periods.

In the Smṛticandrikā, in Haradatta and in several other works verses of Bhāradvāja are quoted, which appear to be taken from a smṛti in verse.

That Bhāradvāja was an ancient writer on arthaśāstra follows from the Kauṭilīya, wherein the views of Bhāradvāja are cited seven times and of Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja once. Some of the views of Bhāradvāja as described in the Kauṭilīya are that a king should choose his ministers from amongst his fellow-students, that the king should consider his line of policy alone in secret, that the princes should be punished secretly when they manifest no love for the king their father, that the minister should set one prince against another when the king is on his death-bed, that when calamities befall the king and the minister, the former is the lesser of two evils, that one should bow down before the strong. This last view occurs in the Mahābhārata in the same words.[242] The Śāntiparva (chap. 140) contains a dialogue between Bhāradvāja and king Śatruñjaya of Sauvīra in which daṇḍa is said to be the most pre-eminent among the expedients. The same parva (chap. 58. 3) mentions Bhāradvāja in a list of writers on rājaśāstra. The Yaśastilaka[243] (4th Āśvāsa p. 100, Nirṇayasāgara ed.) quotes two verses of Bhāradvāja from his treatise on the topic of the six *guṇas*. This shows that Bhāradvāja's work on politics was available in the 10th century and contained verses (probably intermixed with prose).

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240 यत्तु भारद्वाजः–'न शौचं शयनासनकटप्रस्तरयानप्रस्तरगण्डोपधानकशिपुकम्बलकुगृहधान्यमणिफलकशिलासहस्ररोम्णामनिखातानां च काष्ठानां तृणपलालदाम्नां कुमाराणामन्यत्र प्रोक्षणादन्त्यस्पर्शने स्नानं कुमाराणामेके' इति । .

241. माषाढकीमुद्गवर्जं विदलानि न दद्यात्–इति भरद्वाजः ।

242 कौटिल्य says (12.1) इन्द्रस्य हि स प्रणमति यो बलीयसो नमति–इति भारद्वाजः; शान्तिपर्व 67.11. has 'इन्द्राय स प्रणमते नमते यो बलीयसे । '

243 अवक्षेपेण हि सतामसतां प्रग्रहेण च । तथा सत्त्वेष्वभिद्रोहादधर्मस्य च कारणात् ॥ विमाननाच्च मान्यानां विश्वस्तानां च घातनात् । प्रजानां जायते लोपो नृपतेश्चायुषः क्षयः ॥ इति कथमिदमभाषत षाड्गुण्यप्रस्तावे भारद्वाजः ॥

The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III. p. 231) quotes a verse of Bharadvāja which divides a pledge into four varieties. A few quotations from Bharadvāja on matters of vyavahāra are cited in other works. For example, the Sarasvatī-vilāsa cites a verse of Bharadvāja that a compromise, an exchange and a partition, if fair and equal, could be annulled only for ten days, but could be annulled till the 9th year, if unfair.[244] It appears that the verses of Bharadvāja on vyavahāra are taken from a work other than the ancient work on politics.

28. Śātātapa

Śātātapa is enumerated among the expounders of dharma by Yāj. (I. 4-5) and by Parāśara. Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka quote several prose passages of Śātātapa on prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 236) tells us that Śātātapa spoke of only eight upapātakas and that without dealing with śrāddha as a principal topic he spoke of some of the subsidiary details of śrāddha.[245] The latter passage quoted from Śātātapa is a half verse. So Viśvarūpa had a prose work of Śātātapa before him, mixed with verses. Haradatta on Gaut. (Dh. S. 22. 18) quotes a prose passage of Śātātapa about the penance for killing a cow. In the Mit., the Smṛticandrikā and other works numerous verses of Śātātapa are quoted on ācāra and śrāddha. This wotk of Śātātapa in verse is most probably a different one from the sūtra work. It appears that there are several smṛtis ascribed to Śātātapa. In Jivananda's collection there is a smṛti of Śātātapa called Karmavipāka in six chapters and about 231 verses. Its contents are : certain diseases are concomitants of certain sins; gifts of land, cows &c. ; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; penances for killing a Brāhmaṇa, a cow &c., penances for drinking wine, for incest and forbidden sexual intercourse of various sorts, for thefts ; rites for those who meet with violent and accidental death. The last verse declares that the Smṛti was promulgated by Śātātapa to his pupil Śarabhaṅga. It is a late production. It prescribes the reading of the Harivaṁśa (II. 30) as a penance for infanticide.

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244 सन्धिश्च परिवृत्तिश्च विभागश्च समा यदि । आदशाहं निवर्तेत विषमे नववत्सरात् । सरस्वतीविलास pp. 314, 320.

245 यथा शातातपः श्राद्धमनुक्त्वैव तद्गतान्गुणानाह–'विना यज्ञोपवीतेन गर्भैर्यस्तु समालभेत्' इति । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 4-5.

No. 1362 of the I. O. catalogue (and cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. V. pp. 1994-96) is a Śātātapa-smṛti in twelve chapters dealing with prāyaścittas for mahāpātakas, prāyaścittas fot injuries to various beings, marriage, vaiśvadeva, śrāddha, pitṛtarpaṇa, rules about taking one's dinner, prāyaścitta for dogbites and similar matters; impurity on birth and death, rules of conduct (ācāra).

No. 1361 of the I.O. catalogue is a treatise in mixed prose and verse on prāyaścittas for the Mahāpātakas and Upapātakas. Several verses of Manu (such as III. 8, 11, 171) occur therein. It contains 139 verses. In Mitra's Notices (II. p. 4) there is a ms. called Karmavipāka in 87 chapters and 2376 verses, of which the work in Jivananda's collection seems to be a part or abridgment.

Aparārka in several places quotes the views of Śātātapa immediately followed by quotations from Vṛddha-Śātātapa or *vice versa* (e. g. on Yāj. I. 190, on III. 292 p. 1195 and p. 1201).

No. 205 of A. 1882-83 of the Deccan College Collection is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 64 verses on prāyaścittas for doing various things, on śrāddha, on washing the teeth. I. O. Cat. No. 1360 p. 398 is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa-smṛti in 97 verses on defilement and purifications. The Ānandāśrama collection contains a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 68 verses (pp. 232-235) on prāyacittas, purification from various defilements and other miscellaneous matters. There are two prose passages therein.

Hemādri mentions a Vṛddha-Śātātapa along with several other smṛtikāras (vide note 232 above). In the Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jimūtavāhana (p. 305) Vṛddha-Śātātapa is cited on the six kinds of *uttara* (defendant's reply).[246] This shows that Vṛddha-Śātātapa wrote on Vyavahāra also.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 290) cites a Bṛhat-Śātātapa.

Hemādri (III. 1. 801) speaks of a bhāṣyakāra of Vṛddha-Śātātapa.

29. Sumantu.

From Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka it follows that Sumantu composed a sūtra work on *dharma*, particularly on ācāra and prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Sumantu on upapātakas,[247]

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246 वृद्धशातातपवचनं तु बहुष्वजीर्णकृतनिबन्धेस्माभिर्दृष्टं न पुनर्भोजदेवे ।

247 एवं सुमन्तुः ' क्षीरजसगोस्तैन्यं गोश्च गमनं नाशकं भूम्यनृतं क्षत्रियवैश्यगोघ्नता परिवित्तितावकीर्णिता प्रतिरूपकवृत्तिश्चेत्युपपातकानि ' इति । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 229-236.

on prāyaścitta for Brāhmaṇa-murder (on Yāj. III. 237), for drinking wine (on Yāj. III. 250), for theft of gold (on Yāj. III 252), for incest (on Yāj. III. 253-54), for killing a cow and about ātatāyin (on Yāj. III. 261). In one quotation from Sumantu cited by Viśvarūpa the views of ācāryas and of Āṅgirasa are mentioned.[248] The prāyaścittas for Brāhmaṇa-murder and for killing a cow contained in Viśvarūpa occur in Haradatta (on Gaut. 22. 13 and 18). Most of the quotations cited by Viśvarūpa occur in Aparārka also. The Hāralatā (p. 68) quotes sūtras of Sumantu on āśauca. One well-known sūtra of Sumantu is ' no prāyaścitta (or blame) is incurred by killing an ātatāyin, except cows and brāhmaṇas'.[249] Aparārka quotes sūtras from Sumantu condemning marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter and recommending the abandonment of a young wife in certain circumstances.[250] In the Sarasvatīvilāsa a prose passage of Sumantu is cited on the seven constituents of rājya.[250a]

These quotations from Viśvarūpa and others establish that a prose work on dharma by Sumantu existed early enough. It appears however that the work was not a very ancient one. Neither Yājñavalkya nor Parāśara mentions Sumantu among the propounders of *dharma*. On the other hand the name of Sumantu is an ancient one. In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (XII. 6. 75 and 7. 1). Sumantu is said to have been a pupil of Jaimini and a promulgator of the Atharvaveda. Vide Śāntiparva 341. 19 for Sumantu and other pupils of Vyāsa. In the daily *tarpaṇa* the name of Sumantu occurs along with Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila.

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248 न ब्राह्मणस्य पतनमिच्छन्त्याचार्याः किल्बिष्युपगतः पातव्य इत्याङ्गिरसः—इति । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 237.

249 विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 262 quotes it as 'नाततायिवधे प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः,' while the मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 21 quotes it as ' नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात् '; the स्मृतिमञ्जरी of गोविन्दराज (I. O. ms. No 1736) has 'आततायिन्यदोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः'.

250 मातुलसुतां पैतृष्वसेयीं समानार्षगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत् परित्यज्यैनां बिभृयात् । अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 53; 'कन्या कुत्सितान्यजातिकर्मशीला व्याध्युपहता परिणीता यद्यक्षतयोनिः स्यात्परित्यक्तव्या' अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 65.

250a अतः सप्ताङ्गानि सर्वथा संरक्षणीयानीत्याह सुमन्तुः ' स्वाम्यमात्मना संरक्षेत् । अमात्यान् संमानेन । वर्णान् रञ्जनेन । जनान् वर्णधर्मरञ्जनेन । दुर्गं धनधान्यादिसमृद्ध्या । कोशमुचितव्ययेन । दण्डं स्वधर्मेण । मित्रं सत्यभाषणेन । इति ।' सरस्वती० p. 46.

Numerous verses on dharma are also cited from Sumantu by Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works. This may probably be a different work from the sūtra work of Sumantu. In one verse of Sumantu (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 223) occur the words ' Śaṅkhasya vacanaṁ yathā ' and in another (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 217-218) the Kanyā sign of the zodiac is referred to.

It is remarkable that the Mit. and Aparārka contain no verses of Sumantu on vyavahāra. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa is rich in quotations from Sumantu on vyavahāra. A compromise, exchange or partition, if fair, could be annulled up to the tenth day, but if unfair up to the 9th year (vide note 244 above). ' If even as much as a *māṣa* went from the buyer to the seller, that would support the sale of the land (sold) just as a small dose of poison permeates the whole body and when no purchase-money is paid or only a portion is paid, then the purchase is called *avakraya* and is liable to be set aside if the price is not paid in (good time). ' Sumantu prescribes a fine for selling and purchasing land without the consent of the neighbouring members of the family and says that in case of pre-emption, the neighbours on the east are preferred to all and those on the south come last. [252] Sumantu defines a mortgage by conditional sale (called ' uktalābhakraya ') and a sale for arrears of revenue by the king's orders (called ājñākraya).[253]

30. The Smṛtis

The word smṛti is used in two senses. It is applied to all ancient orthodox non-Vedic works such as Pāṇini's grammar, to the śrauta, gṛhya and dharma sūtras, to the Mahābhārata, to Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. In a narrower sense smṛti and dharma-

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251 माषमात्रमपि द्रव्यं क्रेतुर्विक्रेतार स्थितम् । व्याप्नोति सकलां भमिं कायमल्पं विषं यथा ॥ अर्धदत्तमदत्तं तु क्रयमाहुरवक्रयम् । अवक्रयो निवर्तेत यदि काले न दीयते ॥ सरस्वती॰ p. 321.

252 ज्ञात्यादीननुज्ञाप्य समीपस्थानतान्द्रिनाम् । क्रयविक्रयकर्तारौ तत्समं दण्डमर्हतः ॥ सरस्वती॰ p. 322; 'चतुःसामन्तसांनिध्ये प्राची दिग्बलवत्तरा । उदीची च प्रतीची च सर्वाभावे तु दक्षिणा ॥ p. 323.

253 किंचिच्च द्रव्यमादाय काले दास्यामि ते क्वचित् । नो चेन्मूलमिदं त्यक्तं केदारस्येति यः क्रयः ॥ स उक्तलाभ इत्युक्त उक्तकालेऽप्यनर्पणात् ॥ सरस्वती॰ p. 324; मूल्यस्य पादमर्धं वा मूल्यमाज्ञाक्रये स्थितम् । मूल्यं तदाप्तमखिलं दत्त्वा क्षेत्रं समाप्नुयात् ॥ आ त्रिभोगात् ततः क्रेतुः परतो दृढतामियात् । p. 323.

śāstra are synonyms, as Manu says.[254] The word smṛti occurs in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (I. 2). Gautama (Dh. S. I. 2) and Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. I. 4) speak of smṛti as one of the sources of dharma. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 25) employs the word smṛti and has in view Gautama's dharmasūtra according to Haradatta. In the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra the word smṛti occurs (vide VI. 8. 23 and XII. 4. 42).[255] In the Vedāntasūtras the word smṛti is employed in a wide sense, in one place as referring even to the sāṅkhya system.[256] In that work the word is used according to Śaṅkara with reference to the Mahābhārata or the Manusmṛti (Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14 and 21, IV. 2. 14).

In ancient times the number of smṛtis (i. e. works on dharmaśāstra) must have been very small. Gautama mentions by name no smṛtikāra except Manu, though he speaks of dharmaśāstras (XI. 19). Baudhāyana names seven (besides himself) authors on dharma, viz. Aupajaṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Prajāpati, Maudgalya and Hārīta. Vasiṣṭha names only five authors, Gautama, Prajāpati, Manu, Yama, and Hārīta. Āpastamba mentions a large number, viz. ten, some of whom like Eka, Kuṇika and Puṣkarasādi are no more than mere names to us. Manu speaks of only six (besides himself) viz. Atri, the son of Utathya, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Vaikhānasa (or rather Vikhanas) and Śaunaka. But in all these works the writers are mentioned only casually and there is no regular enumeration or list of writers on dharma in one place. Aparārka quotes (p. 7) a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed G. Dh. S.) in which sixteen authors of dharmaśāstras including himself are enumerated.[257] The same sūtra with slight variations is ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita in the Viramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa p. 16). Yājñavalkya is probably the earliest writer who enumerated in one place (I. 4-5) twenty expounders of dharma (including himself and counting Śaṅkha and Likhita as two distinct persons). It will be noticed that Yāj. omits Baudhāyana. Parāśara also gives a list of 19 expounders of dharma (excluding

254 श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः। मनु II. 10.

255 स्मृतेर्वा स्याद् ब्राह्मणानाम्। पू. मी. सू. XII. 4. 42 (refers to आर्त्विज्य).

256 स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्नान्यस्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गात्। वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 1.

257 अत्र गौतमः। स्मृतिर्धर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतारो मनुविष्णुदक्षाङ्गिरोत्रिबृहस्पत्युशन-आपस्तम्बगौतमसंवर्तात्रेयकात्यायनशङ्खलिखितपराशरव्यासशातातपप्रचेतोयाज्ञवल्क्यादयः।

himself), but his list differs slightly from that of Yāj. Parāśara omits Bṛhaspati, Yama, and Vyāsa and adds Kāśyapa, Gārgya and Pracetas. The Tantra-vārtika (p. 125) of Kumārila speaks of eighteen dharmasaṁhitās. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, who adds ten names to the list of Yājñavalkya (vide note 219 above), The Caturviṁśatimata is a work which professes to give the views of 24 sages on dharmaśāstra, viz. all those listed by Yāj. (except Kātyāyana and Likhita) and six more, viz. Gārgya Nārada, Baudhāyana, Vatsa, Viśvāmitra, Śaṅkha (Sāṅkhyāyana ?). Aṅgiras as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 1), Hemadri (Dānakhaṇḍa p. 528), the Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 13) and other works mention Upasmṛtis.[259] There is a smṛti called Ṣaṭtriṁśanmata quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and other works. Paiṭhīnasi as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works enumerates 36 smṛtis.[260] Aparārka says that the Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa speaks of 36 smṛtis and his enumeration of them is slightly different from that of Paiṭhīnasi.[261] The Vṛddhagautamasmṛti (Jivananda part II. pp. 498-499) gives a list of 57 dharma-śāstras. The Prayoga-pārijāta as quoted in the Vīramitrodaya enumerates 18

258 वक्तारो धर्मशास्त्राणां मनुर्विष्णुर्यमोऽङ्गिराः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवर्तशातातपपराशराः॥ आपस्तम्बोशनोव्यासाः कात्यायनबृहस्पती । गौतमः शङ्खलिखितौ हारीतोऽत्रिरहं तथा ॥ याज्ञ. I. 4-5 (Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. reads the two verses differently though the names are the same.

259 नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः । बौधायनो जातुकर्णो विश्वामित्रः पितामहः ॥ जाबालिर्नाचिकेतश्च स्कन्दो लौगाक्षिकश्यपौ । व्यासः सनत्कुमारश्च शन्तनुर्जनकस्तथा ॥ व्याघ्रः कात्यायनश्चैव जातूकर्ण्यः कपिञ्जलः बौधायनश्च काणादो विश्वामित्रस्तथैव च ॥ पैठीनसिर्गोभिलश्चेत्युपस्मृतिविधायकाः ॥ quoted as from प्रयोगपारिजात by वीरमित्रोदय (परिभाषाप्र. p. 18). The वीर. adds that these upasmṛtis were enumerated by the Madanaratna also.

260 तेषां मन्वङ्गिरोव्यासगौतमात्र्युशनोयमाः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवर्तशातातपपराशराः ॥ विष्ण्वापस्तम्बहारीताः शङ्खः कात्यायनो गुरुः । प्रचेता नारदो योगी बौधायनपितामहौ॥ सुमन्तुकाश्यपौ बभ्रुः पैठीनो व्याघ्र एव च ॥ सत्यव्रतो भरद्वाजो गार्ग्यः कार्ष्णाजिनिस्तथा ॥ जाबालिर्जमदग्निश्च लौगाक्षिर्ब्रह्मसंभवः । इति धर्मप्रणेतारः षट्त्रिंशदृषयः स्मृताः ॥ quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and संस्कारमयूख.

261 ताश्च मनुविष्णुयमदक्षाङ्गिरोत्रिबृहस्पत्युशनापस्तम्बवसिष्ठकात्यायनपराशरव्यासशङ्खलिखितसंवर्तगौतमशातातपहारीतयाज्ञवल्क्यप्रचेतोबुधदेवलसोमजमदग्निविश्वामित्रप्रजापतिनारदपैठीनसिपितामहबौधायनछागलेयजाबालिच्यवनमरीचिकश्यपा इति षट्त्रिंशदेव स्मृत्यन्तरे पठिताः । अपरार्क p. 7.

principal smṛtis, 18 upasmṛtis and 21 other smṛtikāras.[262] If all the smṛtis cited in the later *nibandhas* such as the Nirṇayasindhu, the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha and the Vīramitrodaya be taken into account, the number of smṛtis will be found to be about 100.

The smṛtis thus relied upon are the products of different and and widely separated ages. Some of them are entirely in prose or in mixed prose and verse, while the large majority are in verse. A few of them are very ancient and were composed centuries before the Christian era. Such are the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and the Manusmṛti. Some were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era such as the smṛtis of Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada. Most of the smṛtis other than the above fall between the period from 400 A. D. to 1000 A. D. The chronology of all these smṛtis presents perplexing problems. Some of the metrical smṛtis are remodellings of older sūtras as in the case of Śaṅkha. There are sometimes as many as two or three different smṛtis going under the same name, e. g. Śātātapa, Hārīta, Atri. Then the confusion is worse confounded by the fabrications of sectarian zeal, such as the Hārītasmṛti which is full of Vaiṣṇavaite teachings. There are several works going under the names of well-known smṛtikāras with the prefixes Vṛddha, Bṛhat, Laghu. In many cases the works going under these names are different from the smṛtis that are without these prefixes and this differentiation took place at a very early date in certain cases, for example, so early a writer as Viśvarūpa distinguishes between Yājñavalkya and Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, Gārgya and Vṛddha-Gārgya. Similarly Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. I. 69) Vṛddha-Manu and (on Yāj. I. 19) Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, which latter probably was different from the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, as the latter does not contain the details given

262 The 18 principal स्मृतिकारs according to the प्रयोगपारिजात are मनु, बृहस्पति, दक्ष, गौतम, यम, अङ्गिरस्, योगीश्वर, प्रचेतस्, शातातप, पराशर, संवर्त, उशनस्, शङ्ख, लिखित, अत्रि, विष्णु, आपस्तम्ब, हारीत. The उपस्मृतिs have been enumerated above (in n. 259). The other 21 smṛtis are : वसिष्ठो नारदश्चैव सुमन्तुश्च पितामहः । विष्णुः कार्ष्णाजिनिः सत्यव्रतो गार्ग्यश्च देवलः ॥ जमदग्निर्भरद्वाजः पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः । आत्रेयश्च गवेयश्च मरीचिर्वत्स एव च ॥ पारस्करश्चर्ष्यशृङ्गो वैजवापस्तथैव च । इत्येते स्मृतिकर्तार एकविंशतिरीरिताः॥ परि०, परिभाषाप्र० p. 18.

by Viśvarūpa.[263] In some cases the works designated **Vṛddha** or Bṛhat are larger and in all cases later than the works without those prefixes. For example, Parāśara and Bṛhat-Parāśara (Jivananda part II. pp. 55-310), Gautama and Vṛddha-Gautama (Jivananda part II. pp. 497-638). Some of the works with the prefix Vṛddha are versified compilations of prose works, e. g. Mit. on Yāj. III. 267 quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which is merely the versified equivalent of Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra chap. 50. 6, 12-14. It appears that sometimes the same work is cited with the prefix Vṛddha or Bṛhat, e. g. the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 quotes a passage from Bṛhad-viṣṇu which is the same as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 17. 4-7.

As most of the writers of digests quote from memory and had recourse to mss. and not to standard editions, even well known verses are ascribed to different authors in different works. The verses 'bhrātṛṇām-aprajāḥ' &c. which are quoted as Nārada's (Nārada 16.25-26) in the Vyavahāramayūkha are attributed to Śaṅkha in the Madanapārijāta (p. 680). The three verses about *bandhus* are ascribed to Baudhāyana by Mādhava and to Vṛddhaśātātapa by the Madanapārijāta (p. 674).

In spite of all these drawbacks, an attempt will be made in the following pages to arrange some of the leading versified smṛtis in chronological order beginning from the Manusmṛti.

All these smṛtis are not equal in authority. Most of them are obscure and are only rarely cited by ancient commentators. Exclusive of the dharmasūtras hardly a dozen smṛtis have found commentators. If we are to judge of the authority of a smṛti by the commentaries thereon, then the Manusṛti stands pre-eminent. Next to it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

31. The Manusmṛti

So many editions of this work have been published in India since 1813 (when the Manusmṛti was first published at Calcutta), that it is not possible to name them. In this work the Nirṇaya-sāgara edition with the commentary of Kullūka has been used throughout. Another edition of Manu well known on this side of India is that of the late V. N. Mandlik who published several com-

263 वृद्धवासिष्ठे त्वेवमेव मध्ये सौम्यमिति तु विशेषः. Vide वसिष्ठध. सू. III. 64-68 for the five तीर्थs on one's hand.

mentaries such as those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja and others. The Manusmṛti has been translated into English several times. The best known translation is that of Dr. Bühler in the S. B. E. series (vol. 25). Dr. Bühler also added an exhaustive and very scholarly introduction to his translation and dealt with numerous problems connected with the Manusmṛti.

In the Ṛgveda Manu is spoken of as the father of mankind (Ṛg. I. 80. 16, I. 114. 2, II. 33. 13) and a Vedic poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu.[264] Another Vedic bard says that Manu was the first to offer sacrifice (Ṛg. X. 63. 7). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa it is said ' whatever Manu said is medicine.'[265] Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (II. 1. 5. 6) also says that mankind is Manu's (Mānavyo hi prajāḥ). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (III. 1. 9. 4-5) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V. 14) we have the story of Manu dividing his wealth among his sons and of the exclusion of his son Nābhānediṣṭha. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 216) gives us the story of Manu and the deluge. In the Nirukta (chap. III) there is a discussion about the rights of sons and daughters. One of the views there propounded is that children of both sexes take their father's wealth and a *ṛk* and śloka are cited in support of that position.[266] The śloka refers to the opinion of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. It is noteworthy that that śloka is opposed to a *rik*, which means that the śloka is not Śruti but is Smṛti. So before Yāska wrote there were smṛti texts in verse in which Manu was spoken of as a lawgiver. We have seen how Gautama and Vasiṣṭha quote the views of Manu and how Āpastamba connects Manu with the promulgation of śrāddhas (II. 7. 16. 1). The Mahābharata in numerous places speaks of Manu, sometimes as Manu simply, sometimes as Svāyaṁbhuva Manu (Śānti 21. 12) and also as Prācetasa Manu (Śānti 57. 43). In the Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 336. 38-46) we are told how the supreme being composed a hundred thousand ślokas

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264 मा नः पथः पित्र्यान्मानवादधि दूरं नैष्ट परावतः । ऋग्वेद VIII. 30. 3.

265 यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम् । तै. सं. II. 2. 10. 2 ; 'मनुर्वै यत्किंचावदत्तद्भेषजं भेषजतायै' ताण्ड्य० 23. 16. 17.

266 अविशेषेण मिथुनाः पुत्रा दायादा इति । तदेतदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामुक्तम् । अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ इति । अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥

on *dharma*, how Manu Svāyambhuva promulgated those *dharmas* and how Uśanas and Bṛhaspati composed *śāstras* based on the work of Manu Svāyambhuva.[267] In another place the account is slightly different and Manu does not figure therein. Śānti-parva (chap. 59. 80-85) describes how the original work of Brahmā on the three, *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*, in 100000 chapters was successively reduced to 10000, 5000, 3000 and 1000 chap. respectively by Viśālākṣa, Indra, Bāhudantaka, Bṛhaspati and Kāvya (Uśanas). The prose introduction to the Nārada-smṛti says that Manu composed in 100000 ślokas, 1080 chap. and 24 *prakaraṇas* a Dharmaśāstra and imparted it to Nārada, who abridged it into 12000 verses and taught it to Mārkaṇḍeya, who in his turn compressed it into 8000 ślokas and passed it on to Sumati Bhārgava, who again reduced it to 4000 ślokas. The Nārada-smṛti then gives the first verse[268] of that work which is a combination of the extant Manu I. 5-6 and says that vyavahāra was the 9th prakaraṇa out of 24 in the original work of Manu. It will be noticed how this version differs from that of the Mahābhārata wherein Nārada is altogether ignored. The extant Manusmṛti (I. 32-33) narrates how from Brahmā sprang Virāj, who produced Manu, from whom were born the sages including Bhṛgu and Nārada, how Brahmā taught the śāstra to Manu, who in his turn imparted it to the ten sages (I. 58), how some great sages approached Manu and sought instruction in the *dharmas* of the *varṇas* and the intermediate castes and how Manu told them that his pupil Bhṛgu would impart to them the śāstra (I. 59-60). This appearance is kept up throughout the work. The sages interrupt Bhṛgu's discourse in several places (as in V. 1-2 and XII. 1-2). Manu is said to be omniscient (II. 7) and Manu is mentioned by name dozens of times in the work with the words "Manuraha" (IX. 158, X. 78 etc), or "Manur-abravīd" or "Manor-anuśāsanam".

267 ऋषीनुवाच तान्सर्वान्विस्मयः पुरुषोत्तमः। कृतं शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानामिदमुत्तमम् ॥ लोकतन्त्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य यस्माद्धर्मः प्रवर्तते। ... तस्मात्प्रवक्ष्यते धर्मान् मनुः स्वायंभुवः स्वयम्। ... स्वायंभुवेषु धर्मेषु शास्त्रे चौशनसे कृते। बृहस्पतिमते चैव लोकेषु प्रतिचारिते ॥

268 तत्रायमाद्यः श्लोकः। आसीदिदं तमोभूतं न प्राज्ञायत किंचन। ततः स्वयंभूर्भगवान्प्रादुरासीच्चतुर्मुखः ॥. **Manu I. 5 is quoted as the verse of a स्मृतिकार by कमलशील in his comment on शान्तरक्षित's तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3118) in the middle of the 8th century A. D.** ***Vide*** **सुरेश्वर's बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक p. 437.**

(VIII. 139, 279, IX. 239, etc). That the introductory words in the Nārada-smṛti are not spurious or a later addition follows from the remark of Medhātithi that, according to the Nāradasmṛti, Prajāpati composed a work in 100000 ślokas which was abridged by Manu and others.[269] No one should take very seriously these varying accounts even in the Mahābhārata and in the Nāradasmṛti, as they are intended to glorify some particular text or texts. According to the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as quoted in Hemādri, the Saṁskāra-mayūkha and other works, there were four versions of the Svāyaṁbhuva śāstra composed by Bhṛgu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Aṅgiras.[270] So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites verses from Manusmṛti as those of Svayaṁbhū (vide com. on Yāj. II. 73, 74, 83, 85, where Manu 8. 68, 70–71, 380 and 105–6 are respectively quoted as Svayaṁbhū's), while quotations from Bhṛgu cited by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 187 and 252) are not found in the Manusmṛti. In the same way most of the verses quoted from Bhṛgu by Aparārka are not found in the Manusmṛti. One verse which Aparārka quotes from Bhṛgu (on Yāj. II. 96) speaks of the view contained therein as that of Manu.[271]

It is almost impossible to say who composed the Manusmṛti. It goes without saying that the mythical Manu, progenitor of mankind even in the Ṛgveda, could not have composed it. What motives could have induced the unknown author to palm it off in the name of the mythical Manu and to suppress his identity it is difficult to say. One motive may have been to invest the work with a halo of antiquity and authoritativeness. Bühler following Max Müller says (SBE vol. 25 p. XVIII) that the Manusmṛti is based on or is a recast of an ancient dharmasūtra, viz. that of the Mānavacaraṇa. The question whether the Mānavadharmasūtra existed has been discussed above (sec. 13, pp. 79-85). Bühler himself candidly admits (SBE vol. 25, p. XXIII) that the recovery of the writings of the Mānavas has not only not furnished any facts in support of the alleged relation between the Mānavadharmasūtra and the

269 नारदश्च स्मरति । शतसाहस्रो ग्रन्थः प्रजापतिना कृतः स मन्वादिभिः क्रमेण संक्षिप्त इति । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 58.

270 भार्गवीया नारदीया च बार्हस्पत्याङ्गिरस्यपि । स्वायंभुवस्य शास्त्रस्य चतस्रः संहिता मताः ॥ चतुर्वर्ग०, दानखण्ड p. 528, संस्कारमयूख p. 2.

271 येषु पापेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिशुद्धानि यत्नतः । कारयेत्तज्जनैस्तानि नाभिशस्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क.

Manusmṛti, but on the contrary has raised difficulties as the doctrines of the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer) differ very considerably from those of the Manusmṛti. To take only a few examples, Mānava Gṛ. S. II. 12. 1-2 are opposed to Manu 3. 1; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 4. 7 to Manu 4. 95; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 20. 1 to Manu 2. 34; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 21. 1 to Manu 2. 35; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 22. 1 to Manu 2. 36; Mānava Gṛ. S. II. 12. 1-2 to Manu 3. 84-86. Besides there is nothing in our Manu corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti in the Mānavagṛhya (II. 14) nor to the tests for selecting a bride prescribed in Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 7. 9, which corresponds to Āśvalāyana Gṛ. S. I. 5. 5-6. Dr. Caland points out (R. und S. p. 17) that though single verses of the Manusmṛti tally with the Śrāddhakalpa of the Mānava School, yet the descriptions of funeral rites widely differ in the two works. There are no doubt some parallels as pointed out by Bradke (in ZDMG, vol. 36, pp. 417-477). There is one circumstance about the authorship of the Manusmṛti that deserves to be noted. The Mahābhārata seems to distinguish between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetasa Manu. The former is said to be the promulgator of dharmaśāstra and the latter of arthaśāstra (or politics). For example Śānti 21. 12 speaks of Svāyambhuva Manu and Śānti 57-43 and 58-2 speak of *Prācetasa* as an author on *rājaśāstra* or *rājadharma*. In some places Manu alone without any epithet is associated with *rājadharma* or *arthavidyā*. It is not unlikely that originally there were two distinct works, one on dharma and the other on arthaśāstra attributed to Manu. When the Kauṭilīya speaks of the Mānavas, he probably refers to the work on politics attributed to Prācetasa Manu. It is extremely doubtful whether Rājaśekhara, when he mentions the several views on the number of vidyās (including that of the Mānavas that they were three), had the Arthaśāstra of the Mānavas before him or only copied a passage from Kauṭilya (vide Kāvyamīmāṁsā p. 4). It is not unlikely that the work on *dharma* attributed to Manu may have contained general directions on the duties of kings. It is therefore (i. e. because there were two different works on dharma and arthaśāstra attributed to Manu) that the views ascribed to the Mānavas by the Kauṭilīya are not found word for word in the extant Manusmṛti. One may

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272 अश्रौषीस्त्वं राजधर्मान्यथा वै मनुरब्रवीत् । वनपर्व 35. 21; वेदं षडङ्गं वेदाहमर्थविद्यां च मानवीम् ॥ द्रोणपर्व 7. 1.

hazard the conjecture that the author of the Manusmṛti, whoever he might have been, combined in his work the information contained in the two works on *dharma* and *arthaśāstra* and supplanted both the earlier works and that this result had not been either accomplished at the time when the Kauṭilīya was composed or was then quite recent. In the extant Manusmṛti, the work is ascribed to Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and then six other Manus of whom Prācetasa is not one are enumerated (I. 62).

The extant Manusmṛti is divided into twelve *adhyāyas* and contains 2694 ślokas. Dr. Jolly's edition (published in 1895) prepared after collating numerous mss. and printed editions contains only one śloka more. The Manusmṛti is written in a simple and flowing style. It generally agrees with Pāṇini's system, though it contains some deviations from it as in the verse ' sākṣiṇaḥ santi metyuktvā ' (8. 57). The foregoing pages have sufficiently shown how it agrees closely with the doctrines contained in the Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba. We have also seen how numerous verses are common to the dharmasūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu and the Manusmṛti. The Kauṭilīya also exhibits remarkable agreement with the Manusmṛti in phraseology and doctrines.[273] What conclusions are to be drawn from this will be discussed later on. Some verses are repeated, e. g. V. 164-165 are the same as IX. 30 and 29. The contents of the Manusmṛti may be briefly summarised as follows :—(I) Sages approach Manu for instruction in the *dharmas* of the *varṇas* ; Manu describes the creation of the world from the self-existent God more or less in the Sāṅkhya manner ; the creation of Virāj, of Manu from Virāj, of ten sages from Manu ; creation of various beings, men, beasts, birds etc. ; Brahmā imparts dharmaśāstra to Manu, who teaches the sages ; Manu bids Bhṛgu to instruct the sages in *dharma* ; six other Manus sprang from Svāyaṁbhuva Manu; units of time from *nimeṣa* to year, the four *yugas* and

273 Compare अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च । कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 101 अलब्धमिच्छेद्दण्डेन लब्धं रक्षेदवेक्षया । रक्षितं वर्धयेद्वृध्या वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥ ; 'तस्माल्लोकयात्रार्थी नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्' कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 162 नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्; 'असंभाष्ये देशे साक्षिभिर्मिथः संभाषते ' कौटिल्य (III. 1) with मनु 8. 55 'असंभाष्ये साक्षिभिश्च देशे संभाषते मिथः ' ; 'साहसमन्वयवत्प्रसभकर्म' कौटिल्य (III. 17) with मनु 8. 332 स्यात्साहसं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत् कृतम्.

their twilights; one thousand *yugas* equal a day of Brahmā; extent of *Manvantara, pralaya*; successive decline of *dharma* in the four *yugas*; different dharmas and goals in the four *yugas*; the special privileges and duties of the four varṇas; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas and of the *śāstra* of Manu; ācāra is the highest dharma; table of contents of the whole śāstra; (II) definition of *dharma*, sources of *dharma* are Veda, smṛti, ācāra of the good, one's own satisfaction; who has *adhikāra* for this *śāstra*; limits of Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta; why saṁskāras are necessary; such *saṁskāras* as *jātakarma*, nāmadheya, chūḍākarma, upanayana; the proper time of upanayana for the *varṇas*, the proper girdle, sacred thread, staff and skin for the Brahmacārī of the three *varṇas*; duties of the Brahmacārī and his code of conduct; (III) Brahmacarya for 36, 18, 9 years; *samāvartana*; marriage; marriageable girl; brāhmaṇa could marry a girl of any of the four *varṇas*; eight forms of marriage defined; which form suited to which caste; duties of husband and wife; eulogy of women; the five daily yajñās; praise of the status of householder; honouring guests; madhuparka; śrāddhas; who should not be invited at śrāddhas; (IV) mode of life and means of subsistence for a house-holder, the code of conduct for a *snātaka*; occasions for cessation from study; rules about prohibited and permissible food and drink; (V) what vegetables and meat are allowed; period of impurity on death and birth; definition of *sapiṇḍa* and *samānodaka*; purification from contact with various substances in various ways; duties of wife and widow; (VI) when one should become a a forest hermit; his mode of life; parivrājaka and his duties; eulogy of *gṛhastha*; (VII) rājadharmas, eulogy of daṇḍa (the power to punish); the four *vidyās* for a king; the ten vices of kings due to *kāma* and eight due to *krodha*; constitution of council of ministers; qualities of a *dūta*; forts and capital; *purohita* and superintendents of various departments; code of war; the four expedients, *sāma, dāna, bheda,* and *daṇḍa*; hierarchy of officers from the village headman upwards; rules about taxation; the constitution of a circle of twelve kings; the six *guṇas*, peace, a state of war, march against an enemy, āsana, taking shelter and dvaidha; duties of victor; (VIII) king's duty to look to the administration of justice; the 18 titles of law; the king and judge; other persons as judges; constitution of *sabhā*, king's duty to look after minors, widows, helpless people; treasure trove; king's duty to restore stolen wealth; creditor's means of recovering his debt; grounds on which the claimant

may fail in his suit; qualifications of witnesses; who were not proper persons as witnesses; oaths; fines for false witnesses; methods of corporal punishment; Brāhmaṇa to be free from corporal punishment; weights and measures; lowest, middling and highest fines; rates of interest; pledges; adverse possession does not affect a pledge, boundary, minor's estate, deposit, king's estate etc.; rule of *damdupat*; sureties; what debts of the father the son was not liable to pay; fraud and force vitiated all transactions; sale by one not the owner; title and possession; partnership; resumption of gift; non-payment of wages; violation of conventions; rescission of sale; dispute between owner and herdsman; pastures round villages; boundary disputes; abuse, libel and slander; assault and battery and mischief; whipping only on the back; theft; *sāhasa* i. e. offences in which force and hurt are an element, such as robbery, homicide etc; right of private defence; when even a Brāhmaṇa may be killed; adultery and rape; no sentence of death, but of transportation for a Brāhmaṇa; parents, wife, children must not be forsaken; tolls and monopolies; seven kinds of *dāsas*; (IX) legal duties of husband and wife, censure of women; eulogy of chastity; to whom does the child belong, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten; niyoga described and condemned; supercession of the first wife when allowed; age of marriage; partition, its time, eldest son's special share; *putrikā*; daughter's son; adopted son; rights of Brāhmaṇa's son from a śūdra wife; twelve kinds of sonship; to whom piṇḍas are offered; nearest *sapiṇḍa* succeeds; *sakulya*, teacher and pupils as heirs; king ultimate heir except as to Brāhmaṇa's wealth; varieties of *strīdhana*; succession to *strīdhana*; grounds of exclusion from inheritance; property not liable to partition; gains of learning; reunion; mother and grandmother as heirs; impartible property; gambling and prize fighting must be suppressed by the king; the five great sins; *prāyaścittas* for them; open and secret thieves; jails; the seven *aṅgas* of a kingdom; duties of Vaiśya and Śūdra; (X) Brāhmaṇa alone to teach; mixed castes; *mlecchas*, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas; rules of conduct common to all; privileges and duties of the four *varṇas*; modes of subsistence for a Brhāmaṇa in adversity; what articles should not be sold by Brāhmaṇa; seven proper modes of acquisition and the means of livelihood; (XI) eulogy of gifts; different views about *prāyaścitta*; various seen results, diseases and bodily defects due to sins in former lives; five mortal sins and *prāyaścittas* for them; upapātakas and prāyaścittas

for them ; prāyaścittas like Sāntapana, Parāka, Cāndrāyaṇa ; holy *mantras* for removing sin ; (XII) disquistion on *karma* ; kṣetrajña, *bhūtātmā*, *jīva* ; tortures of hell ; the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* ; what brings about *niḥśreyasa* ; knowledge of the self is the highest means of bliss ; *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta karma* ; the latter is karma done without an eye to reward ; eulogy of Vedas ; place of *tarka* ; *śiṣṭas* and *pariṣad* ; reward of studying the Mānava śāstra.

The extent of the literature known to Manu was considerable. He mentions the three Vedas and the Atharvaveda is spoken of as the Atharvāṅgirasī Śruti (XI. 33). He refers to Āraṇyaka (IV. 123). The Vedāṅgas are said to be six (III. 185) and they are often referred to without stating the number (II. 141, IV. 98). He speaks of dharmaśāstra (II. 10) and also knew many dharmaśāstras (III. 232). By dharmapāṭhaka (XII. 111) he probably means one who has studied dharmaśāstras. He mentions several authors on dharmaśāstra, viz. Atri, the son of Utathya (i. e. Gautama according to commentators), Bhṛgu and Śaunaka (all these in III. 16), Vasiṣtha (on the rate of interest in VIII. 140 which agrees with Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra II. 50), Vaikhānasamata (in VI. 21). He mentions Akhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Khilas (III. 232). He speaks of *brahma* as described in the Vedānta (in VI. 83 and 94) and is probably thinking of the Upaniṣads. That he knew some generally accepted works opposed to the teaching of the Vedas is quite clear from his reference to 'Vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ' (XII. 95). He is probably referring to the writing of the Bauddhas, Jainas and others. He speaks of heretics and their guilds (IV. 30 and 61). He refers to atheism and calumny of the Vedas (IV. 163) and of various tongues spoken among men (IV. 332). He frequently refers to the views of others in the words "kecit", "apare", "anye" (as in III. 261, X. 70, IX. 32).

Numerous interesting and difficult problems are connected with the Manusmṛti. Bühler in his elaborate introduction (S B E vol. 25) exhaustively deals with these problems. It is not possible to go at great length into those questions here. A separate volume would be required to deal with the problems raised by Bühler and to examine the arguments of Bühler, Hopkins and others who have written on them. Only a brief discussion of some of these problems can be attempted.

Bühler takes considerable pains to refute the claims of Manu to be regarded as the first legislator (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XXIII-XXX). But no serious refutation of the claim is really needed. The very extent of the literature known to the Manusmṛti and the mention of several writers on dharmaśāstra by name are sufficient to negative that claim.

Bühler devotes a great deal of space to the consideration of the question as to what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding Mānava-dharmaśāstra for the manuals of the Vedic schools (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XLVI-LVI) and as to why the special law schools selected just the Mānavadharmasūtra among the large number of similar works for the basis of their studies (ibid. pp. LVII-LXV). Bühler then considers the question how the Mānavadharmasūtra was converted into the present Manusmṛti. Bühler concedes that the last is a problem of great difficulty and admits of an approximate solution only. The discussion of all these questions by Bühler is extremely thought-provoking and brilliant in many places, though it must be said with great respect that the arguments are often *à priori* and savour more or less of special pleading. As I question the very foundation of Bühler's edifice (viz. the actual existence of a Mānava-dharmasūtra), it would be futile for me to enter into a discussion of the problems referred to above.

I shall now address myself to the discussion of the age of the Manusmṛti from external and internal evidence. That question is bound up with other problems, viz. whether there are earlier and later strata in the extant Manusmṛti, whether the Manusmṛti was recast several times or once only, what relations exists between the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata.

First the external evidence may be taken up. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi is the earliest extant commentary on the Manusmṛti and was composed about 900 A. D. as will be shown later on (sec.36). The text commented upon by Medhātithi was the same (barring a few various readings) as the one we now possess. Therefore long before 900 A. D. the Manusmṛti was the same as now. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yāj. quotes over two hundred verses of the Manusmṛti either wholly or in part from all the twelve chapters beginning with the very first verse. The text that Viśvarūpa had before him was the same as the present Manusmṛti and the verses

were arranged in the same order as at present. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses (Manu XI. 108-115) from Manu (on Yāj. III. 262). Śaṅkarācārya in his Vedāntsūtra-bhāṣya quotes the Manusmṛti very frequently. For example, he quotes Manu I. 5 and 21 (on V. S. I. 3. 28), I. 27 (on V. S. IV. 2. 6), II. 87 (on V. S. III. 4. 38), X. 4 and 126 (on V. S. I. 3. 36), XII. 91 and 105-6 (on V. S. II. 1 and 11). In his bhāṣya on the Bṛ. U. he quotes Manu dozens of times and calls the Manusmṛti[274] 'Mānavam' (on Bṛ. U. I. 4. 17). He looks upon the Manusmṛti as one of the authorities on which the author of the Vedāntasūtra relies.[275] The Tantravārtika of Kumārila stands in a special relation to the Manusmṛti. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 98-100. He places Manu at the head of all smṛtis, even higher than the dharmasūtra of Gautama. He cites numerous quotations from the first chapter of the Manusmṛti to the last. He looks upon all parts of the extant Manusmṛti as equally authoritative and regards the Manusmṛti as the highest authority on matters of *dharma*. The Mṛcchakaṭika[276] (9. 39) refers to the ordinance of Manu that a Brāhmaṇa sinner was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dharasena dated in the year 252 of the Valabhi era (i. e. 571 A. D.) speaks of a king as one who obeyed the rules composed by Manu[277] (I. A. vol. 8. p. 303 = Gupta Inscriptions p. 165). *Vide* also I. A. vol. IV. p. 105 where the same words occur in an inscription from Valabhi dated 216 of the Valabhi era (i. e. 535 A. D.). Śabarasvāmin, the bhāṣyakāra of Jaimini's sūtras, who cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may be a few centuries earlier still, says " Manu and others have given

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274 मानवे च सर्वा प्रवृत्तिः कामहेतुक्येवेति. Vide मनु. II. 4.

275 On the sūtra स्मरन्ति च (वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1. 14) Śaṅkara adds 'मनुव्यासप्रभृतयः शिष्टाः '.

276 अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत् । राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥. Compare मनु 8. 380 न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्वपि स्थितम् । राष्ट्रादेनं बहिः कुर्यात्समग्रधनमक्षतम् ॥. The words राष्ट्र and अक्षत occurring in both may particularly be noted.

277 मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानकर्मा.

instruction[278] " and quotes a verse as a smṛti passage which is practically the same as Manu IX. 416 and similar to Udyoga-parva[279] 33. 64. Aparārka and Kullūka point out how the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa expounds passages of the Manusmṛti (vide Kullūka on Manu XI. 72, 73, 100 and Aparārka pp. 1071, 1076).[280] It will be shown below that Bṛhaspati must have composed his work before 500 A. D. Bṛhaspati says that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position because it correctly represents the sense of the Veda and that a smṛti which is in conflict with Manu is not esteemed.[281] Bṛhaspati in numerous places pointedly refers to the present text of the Manusmṛti. One such quotation about *niyoga* has been cited above (note 172). Bṛhaspati says " Manu has spoken of quantities (units of weights) beginning from the mote in the sun-beam to the kārṣāpaṇa.[282] " This is obviously a reference to Manu 8. 132-136. Bṛhaspati says " Manu enumerated thirteen sons and just as in the absence of clarified butter, oil is a substitute, so in the absence of an *aurasa* son or a *putrikā*, the eleven kinds of son are a substitute.[283] " This has in view Manu 9. 158-160, 180, 127-130, where Manu speaks of the twelve sons, out of whom eleven are substitutes and

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278 उपदिष्टवन्तश्च मन्वादयः on पूर्वमीमांसा I. 1. 2 (vol. I. p. 4).

279 एवं च स्मरति । भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥. Manu reads भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः, while उद्योग॰ reads त्रय एवाधना राजन्भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः .

280 On मनु XI. 73 कुल्लूक says ' मनुश्लोकमेव लिखित्वा यथा व्याख्याने (तं 1) भविष्यपुराणे '; on मनु XI. 100 'अत एव मन्वर्थव्याख्यानपरे भविष्यपुराणे '.

281 वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात्प्राधान्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ (quoted by अपरार्क on Yāj. II. 21 and by कुल्लूक on मनु I. 1, who adds one more verse from बृहस्पति ' तावच्छास्त्राणि शोभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च । धर्मार्थमोक्षोपदेष्टा मनुर्यावन्न दृश्यते ॥)'.

282 संख्या रश्मिरजोमूला मनुना समुदाहृता । कार्षापणान्ता सा दिव्ये नियोज्या विनये तथा ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 99 and by the स्मृतिच॰ (व्य. p. 211).

283 पुत्रास्त्रयोदश प्रोक्ता मनुना येन पूर्वशः । संतानकारणं तेषामौरसः पुत्रिका यथा ॥ आज्यं विना यथा तैलं सद्भिः प्रतिनिधिः स्मृतम् । तथैकादश पुत्रास्तु पुत्रिकौरसयोर्विना ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 128-132 and the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 39).

advocates that a sonless man should appoint a daughter (*putrikā*, who then is the 13th kind of son). In another place Bṛhaspati declares "Manu forbade gambling as it destroys truth, purity and wealth; but others allowed it provided a share was given to the king (in the gains of gambling[284])." This very aptly describes the attitude of Manu (9. 224) and of Yāj. (II. 201-203). Bṛhaspati says "If a man kills a cow with a weapon &c., he should perform the penance laid down by Manu, but if he kills a cow by forcible restraint, then he should perform the penance laid down by Aṅgiras or Āpastamba." The reference is to Manu XI. 108-115, Āpastamba Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 and Aṅgirasa verse 27 (Jivananda, part I p. 556). In one place Bṛhaspati seems to criticise Manu (9. 219) when he says "those who declared clothes and other things to be impartible have not considered the position that the wealth of the rich may consist of clothes and ornaments.[285]" In another place Bṛhaspati says "Bhṛgu spoke of sale without ownership after deposit; listen to it attentively, I shall speak of it with more details.[286]" This keeps in view Manu 8. 4 and clearly shows that Bṛhaspati was well aware of Bhṛgu's connection with the extant Manusmṛti. Aṅgiras as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 7) speaks of the dharmaśāstra of Manu. In the Vajrasūci of Aśvaghoṣa (ed. by Weber) several verses are quoted as from the 'Mānavadharma' which occur in the extant Manusmṛti,[287] though it must be admitted that there are others that

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284 द्यूतं निषिद्धं मनुना सस्य-(त्य ?)शौचधनापहम् । तत्प्रवर्तितमन्यैस्तु राजभागसमन्वितम् । सभिकाधिष्ठितं कार्यं तस्करज्ञानहेतुना ।. It is striking that याज्ञ. uses the word तस्करज्ञानकारणात् in II. 203.

285 वस्त्रादयोऽविभाज्या यैरुक्तं तैर्न विचारितम् । धनं भवेत्समृद्धानां वस्त्रालङ्कारसंश्रितम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 119 and by the व्यवहारमयूख.

286 निक्षेपानन्तरं प्रोक्तो भृगुणास्वामिविक्रयः । श्रूयतां तं प्रयत्नेन सविशेषं ब्रवीम्यहम् ॥ विवादरत्नाकर p. 100. The words of मनु are तेषामाद्यमृणादानं निक्षेपोस्वामिविक्रयः.

287 e. g. उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे—सद्यः पतति मांसेन लाक्षया लवणेन च । त्र्यहाच्छूद्रश्च भवति ब्राह्मणः क्षीरविक्रयात् ॥ (this is मनु X. 92); उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे 'वृषलीफेनपीतस्य निःश्वासोपहतस्य च । तत्रैव च प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्नोपलभ्यते ॥' (this is मनु III. 19); उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे 'अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपाङ्गेन तत्वतः । शूद्रात्प्रतिग्रहग्राही ब्राह्मणो जायते खरः ॥ खरो द्वादश जन्मानि षष्टिजन्मानि सूकरः । श्वानः सप्ततिजन्मानि इत्येवं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥' (this cannot be traced in the extant Manusmṛti); इह हि मानवधर्मेऽभिहितम् । अरणिगर्भ-

do not occur. In the Rāmāyaṇa also there are verses cited as from Manu which occur in the extant Manusmṛti; vide Kiṣkindhā 18.30-32 (Gujarati Press, 1915-1920) where two verses are quoted as 'sung by Manu' which correspond to Manusmṛti VIII. 318 and 316 respectively.

The foregoing discussion of the external evidence shows that writers from the 2nd century onwards (if not earlier) looked upon the extant Manusmṛti as the most authoritative smṛti. This position it could not have attained unless several centuries intervened between it and these writers. Therefore it must be presumed that the Manusmṛti had attained its present form at least before the 2nd century A. D. Even the Mahābhāṣya contains a verse which is Manu II. 120.[288] But as the verse occurs also in the Anuśāsana (104. 64-65) no chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom. The Pratimānāṭaka (after V. 8) speaks of "mānavīya-dharmaśāstra' and 'Prācetasa śrāddhakalpa,' but as it is in controversy whether that work can be ascribed to the ancient Bhāsa, this reference will serve no useful purpose.

The next question is whether the Manusmṛti contains earlier and later strata. There can be no doubt on this point. On numerous points the Manusmṛti contains conflicting doctrines. In Manu III. 12-13 a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to have a *śūdra* woman as wife, while in III. 14-19 it is emphatically asserted that a śūdra woman cannot be the wife of a Brāhmaṇa and heavy disabilities are prescribed for him who breaks the injunction. In III. 23-26 there are contradictory statements about the appropriate forms of marriage for the several castes. In one breath Manu seems to permit *niyoga* (9. 59-63) and immediately afterwards he strongly reprobates it (9. 64-69). The lengthy discussion on flesh-eating in Manu V. 27-56 discloses different mentalities. At several places the work seems even to recommend flesh-eating in sacrifice, *śrāddhas* and *madhuparka* (V. 31-32, 35, 39, 41), while elsewhere it recommends total abstinence from meat on all occasions whatever (V. 48-50). In

संभूतः कठो नाम महामुनिः । तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥ This is followed by several verses citing instances of व्यास, वसिष्ठ, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, विश्वामित्र, नारद and others who though born of women of low class became sages. These verses also are not found in the extant मनुस्मृति.

288 ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति । प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥ महाभाष्य vol. III, p. 58. This verse occurs also in the उद्योगपर्व (38. 1).

one śloka (Manu II. 145) the father is said to be equal to a hundred ācāryas, while in the next verse the ācārya is said to be superior to the father. In V. 1 Bhṛgu is said to have sprung from fire, while in I. 35 he is said to be one of the ten sons of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. Vide also IX. 32-56.

Bühler devotes considerable space to this question (S B E vol. 25. pp. LXVI-LXXIII). He arrives at the conclusion that the cosmological and philosophical portions in the first and 12th books, the philosophical disquisition in II. 89-100, the classifications of *pitaraḥ* in III. 193-201, the means of subsistence for Brāhmaṇa in IV. 1-24, verses 1-4 of the fifth book, the rules about mixed castes (X. 1-74) and the duties of castes that are repeated in X. 101-131 were put in when the work was versified from the Mānavadharmasūtra. Though one may not agree with all the details of Bühler's examination and with his theory about the versification of the Mānavadharmasūtra, it may be admitted that most of the passages pointed out by him have rather the flavour of comparative modernism about them. My own position is that the original Manusmṛti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in a line with the change in the general attitude of people on several points such as those of flesh-eating, *niyoga* &c. But all these additions must have been made long before the 3rd A. D., as the quotations from Bṛhaspati and others show.

Another problem is whether the Manusmṛti has undergone several recasts. This does not seem likely and the evidence adduced in support of the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts is quite inadequate for the purpose. The occurrence of several conflicting passages can as well be explained on the theory of a single recast and it has also to be borne in mind, as Bühler points out, that Sanskrit writers down to the most recent times are in the habit of placing side by side conflicting opinions without actually preferring a particular view to others. The tradition of the Nāradasmṛti that the śāstra of Manu was successively abridged by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava is, as has been observed above, not worth much, since it is merely intended to glorify Nārada's work. The other traditions given above either ignore Nārada altogether or assign him a secondary position. The present Manusmṛti is put into the mouth of Bhṛgu. Nārada's smṛti is clearly based upon Manu, though the former diverges from the latter on many points. Bṛhaspati

generally takes Manu as his text and amplifies the dicta of the Manusmṛti (as the verses quoted above in notes 281-86 show) and so his work may by analogy be regarded as a Vārtika on Manu, as Dr. Jolly puts it. Aṅgiras also looks upon Manusmṛti as most authoritative. It is therefore that the Pauranic account (note 270 above) regards Bhṛgu and other works as the redactions of the original Manusmṛti. The quotations cited from Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu do not establish that the original Manusmṛti underwent many recasts. Quotations cited under these names are later than the Manusmṛti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) quotes the views of Vṛddha-Manu on *niyoga*, who allows it only to śūdras. The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Manu about the widow of a sonless man being entitled to all her husband's wealth, while Manu is silent on that point.[289] The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Bṛhan-Manu also (on Yāj. III. 20). Mādhave quotes a verse from Bṛhan-Manu about *sapiṇḍa* and samānodaka relationship which are expansions of Manu[290] (V. 60). The fact that many quotations ascribed to Manu in several works are not found in the extant Manusmṛti is explicable in several ways and not only by the theory of several recasts. For one thing the authors quoting from memory may be found tripping. For example, in an inscription of the Badami Cālukyas of the 7th century two verses that occur in most grants of lands are ascribed to Manu, but are not found in the extant Manusmṛti.[291] No one can for a moment doubt that the extant Manusmṛti was an authoritative work in the 7th century. Therefore there is hardly any reliable evidence to support the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts.

Turning now to the internal evidence, the extant Manusmṛti seems to be much older than Yājñavalkya, since the rules of judicial procedure are incomplete and awkward in Manu as compared with Yāj., since there is no reference to documents as evidence in Manu,

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289 अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता । पत्न्येव दद्यात्तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च ॥ मिता on याज्ञ. II. 135.

290 तदुक्तं बृहन्मनुना—सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते । समानोदकभावस्तु निवर्तेताचतुर्दशात् । जन्मनामस्मृतेरेके तत्परं गोत्रमुच्यते ॥ पराशरमाधवीय vol. III, part 2, p. 528.

291 मनुगीतं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति—बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । and स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । &c. I. A. vol. VIII. p. 97.

as ordeals are not treated of in Manu, as legal definitions are almost absent in Manu, while frequent in Yāj. and as Manu is silent about the widow's rights, while Yāj. gives her the first place among the heirs of a sonless man. So the Manusmṛti will have to be placed some centuries earlier than the third century A. D., the latest date to which the Yājñavalkya smṛti can be assigned with any show of reason. In X. 44 Manu mentions the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cīnas[292] and in X. 48 Medas and Āndhras. This shows that the extant Manusmṛti could not be much earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The Yona, Kāmboja and Gāndhāra people are mentioned in the 5th rock edict of Aśoka. Manu forbids Brāhmaṇas to dwell in the kingdom of a Śūdra (IV. 61) and condemns the appointment of a śūdra as a judge (VIII. 20-21). The former is possibly a reference to the Mauryas, though one cannot be certain of it. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 15, p. CCC) goes too far in supposing that in the word ' senāpatya ' occurring in Manu (XII. 100) there is a reference to Senāpati Puṣyamitra. The extant Manusmṛti in its arrangement and doctrines is much in advance of the ancient dharmasūtras, such as those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. Taking all these things into consideration Bühler (S B E vol. 25 p. CXVII) was certainly right in saying that the extant Manusmṛti was composed between the second century B. C and 2nd century A. D. But the question of the date when the original Manusmṛti to which additions were made between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. was composed presents very great difficulties. That question is largely bound up with the relation of the Mahābhārata to the Manusmṛti.

This question is an extremely intricate one. The late V. N. Mandlik (Intro. to the Vyavahāramayūkha XLVII) held that the Manusmṛti borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Bühler after an elaborate examination of the question (S B E vol 25, pp. LXXIV-XCVIII) came to the conclusion that it was indisputable that the 12th and 13th *parvans* of the Mahābhārata knew a Mānavadharmaśāstra which was closely connected with but not identical with the present Manusmṛti. Bühler expresses himself very cautiously and it seems to me that the great scholar was unduly prepossessed

292 पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥

in favour of the Mahābhārata as against the Manusmṛti. Bühler somewhat contradicts himself when he says that the author of the epic only knew the dharmasūtras (S B E vol. 25, p. XCVIII). Hopkins (Great Epic of India p. 21-22) seems inclined to hold that the 13th book which alone, according to him, recognises the śāstra declared by Manu, knew the present Manusmṛti, though the earlier books cannot be held to have known a śāstra of Manu even when they employ such expressions as " Manu said. " He thinks that there was a floating mass of verses containing philosophical and other lore attributed to the mythical Manu on which the earlier books of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti both drew and that the matter that is common to both works was not borrowed from any systematic treatise. Bühler accepts this view with the slight modification that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu (S B E vol. 25 p. XC). Before giving my individual views on this vexed question as against the array of such eminent scholars as Bühler and Hopkins some facts must be clearly set forth. The Mahābhārata is nowhere mentioned by name in the Manusmṛti though the word " itihāsa " (in the plural) occurs in Manu (III. 232). The Manusmṛti mentions many historical and legendary personages, about most of whom the Mahābhārata contains similar stories. The following are the persons so mentioned in the Manusmṛti. Āṅgirasa (in II. 151-152, addressing his elders as ' putrakāh '), Agastya (V 22, in connection with sacrificing animals), Vena, Nahuṣa, Sudās Paijavana and Nimi (all in VII. 41, coming to grief through insolence), Pṛthu, Manu, Kubera and the son of Gādhi (VII. 42, benefiting by their good conduct), Vasiṣṭha (in VIII. 110, taking an oath before king Paijavana), Vatsa (in VIII. 116, undergoing fire ordeal), Akṣamā and Sāraṅgi (in IX. 23, though of low birth respectively were united to Vasiṣṭha and Mandapāla), Dakṣa (in IX. 128-129, gave his daughters to Dharma, Kāśyapa and Soma), Ajīgarta (in X, 105, who was ready to sacrifice his own son), Vāmadeva (in X, 106, desired dog's flesh to save his life), Bharadvāja (in X. 107. who accepted the gift of many cows), Viśvāmitra (in X. 108, who took from a cāṇḍāla's hand a dog's leg). Pṛthu is also mentioned (in IX. 44) as the husband of the earth and in IX. 314 Brāhmaṇas are credited with having made fire all-devourer, the ocean undrinkable and the waning (pthisical) moon to wax. Most of the names mentioned here go far back into Vedic antiquities.

For example, Vasiṣṭha's oath occurs in Ṛgveda (VII. 104. 15[293]) and the Bṛhaddevatā (VI. 32-34), Ajīgarta figures in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 16) and Āṅgirasa's story occurs in the Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa (13. 3. 24). Besides the Manusmṛti does not say that the stories are taken from the great epic. The Mahābhārata also was not the first to originate these stories but is only a storehouse and encyclopaedia of the numerous popular traditions that were current in ancient India. When our Manu (9. 227) says that gambling was seen to have produced in former ages deep-rooted enmities, it is unnecessary to suppose that there is a reference to the Mahābhārata, for from Vedic times the evil effects of gambling were known (vide Ṛgveda X. 34) and even the Mahābhārata contains the same verse (Udyoga 37. 19), though this fact was not noticed by Bühler. On the other hand there are numerous passages in the Mahābhārata scattered over almost all the *parvans*, where occur such expressions as, ' Manur-abravīd, ' ' the rājadharmas of Manu, ' ' the *śāstra* of Manu ' etc. Some of these passages agree with the extant Manusmṛti, while some do not. Besides there are hundreds of verses in the Mahābhārata that are identical with the verses of the Manusmṛti, though they are not expressly attributed to Manu. Dr. Bühler says that in the Vana, Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* alone he could identify either wholly or partly 260 verses with those of our Manu. What then is the conclusion ? *Prima facie* it should be, on account of all these abovementioned facts, against the Mahābhārata and in favour of the Manusmṛti being the earlier of the two. Hopkins at all events holds that the Anuśāsana-parva knew a Manusmṛti essentially the same as we have now. Bühler expresses himself more cautiously and says that the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* knew a Mānava-dharmaśāstra closely connected with the extant one, though not identical. Both are agreed that the earlier books when they speak of Manu are either referring to the Mānava-dharmasūtra or to the floating mass of popular verses, but not to our Manu.

We must now closely examine the data. The Anuśāsana-parva distinctly speaks of 'a śāstra declared by Manu.'[294] In the Śāntiparva

293 अद्या मुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि &c.

294 मनुनाभिहितं शास्त्रं यच्चापि कुरुनन्दन । अनु. 47.35.

are quoted two ślokas 'sung by Manu in his own dharmas,' one of which is identical with Manu[295] (9. 321). In another place the Śāntiparva speaks of the 'rājadharmas of Prācetasa Manu' and quotes two verses therefrom.[296] In the Droṇaparva (7. 1) 'Mānavī arthavidyā' is referred to (vide note 272 above) and in Vanaparva the rājadharmas as proclaimed by Manu are referred to (vide note 272 above). In another places, the words 'Manu Svāyaṁbhuva said' occur (e. g. Śānti 21. 12, Anuśāsana 114. 12, Vanaparva 180. 34-35, Ādiparva 73. 9, 120. 32-36, Udyoga 37. 1-6). In most cases the words 'Manu said occur' without the appellation 'Svāyaṁbhuva' or 'Prācetasa' (e. g. Śānti 78. 31, 88. 14-16, 121. 10-12, 152. 14, 152. 30, 266. 5; Anuśāsana 44. 18 and 23, 65. 1 and 3, 67. 19, 68. 31, 88. 4, 115. 52-53; Vanaparva 32. 39, Udyogaparva 40. 9-10, Ādiparva 41. 31, 74. 39). The words 'Manor-anuśāsanam' occur in a few cases as in Anuśāsana 61. 34-35. Hopkins says that the words 'the śāstra of Manu' occur only in the Anuśāsana-parva and so only that *parvan* knew the Manusmṛti, while in the other *parvans* we have the expression 'Manu said,' and therefore these other books did not know the Manusmṛti but are only referring to floating verses attributed to the mythical Manu. This, however, is not a reasonable conclusion. The words 'śāstra of Manu' occur only once even in the Anuśāsana, while in about ten places in the same *parvan* we come across only the words 'Manu said'. If the words 'Manu said' in the Anuśāsana indicate in the Anuśāsana a reference to the extant Manusmṛti, there is no cogent reason why the same words in other *parvans* should not be regarded as referring to the Manusmṛti. Besides in the Śāntiparva also we meet with the words 'Dharmas or rājadharmas of Manu' and in Ādiparva the word 'dharma-darśane' (120. 32). That is obviously a reference to some work of Manu. Hopkins further says (Great Epic of India, p. 21) that all the

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295 मनुना चैव राजेन्द्र गीतौ श्लोकौ महात्मना । धर्मेषु स्वेषु कौरव्य हृदि तौ कर्तुमर्हसि ॥ अद्भ्योऽग्निर्ब्रह्मतः क्षत्रमश्मनो लोहमुत्थितम् । तेषां सर्वत्रगं तेजः स्वासु योनिषु शाम्यति ॥ अयो हन्ति यदाश्मानमग्निना वारि हन्यते । ब्रह्म च क्षत्रियो द्वेष्टि तदा सीदन्ति ते त्रयः ॥ शान्ति॰ 56. 23-25.

296 प्राचेतसेन मनुना श्लोकौ चेमावुदाहृतौ । राजधर्मेषु राजेन्द्र ताविहैकमनाः शृणु ॥ षडेतान्पुरुषो जह्याद्भिन्नां नावमिवाम्भसि । अप्रवक्तारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥ अरक्षितारं राजानं भार्यां चाप्रियवादिनीम् । ग्रामकामं च गोपालं वनकामं च नापितम् ॥ शान्ति, 57. 43-45.

express citations of Manu in the Anuśāsana, except one, agree very closely with our Manu, while in the other *parvans* the citations agree only up to one-third or one-half. In the first place I demur to the latter statement. The agreements of the citations in the other books are as close and almost as frequent as in the Anuśāsana, e. g. excepting Śānti 21. 12 and 57. 43-45 all citations of Manu therein, referred to above, agree closely with Manu 7. 89, 9. 225-26, 9. 17-19 and 27, 6. 33 and 81, 11. 259-60, 5. 43 and 45 and 48-49. The same is the case with the few citations of Manu in the Vanaparva. Bühler says that the Mahābhārata knew only of the dharmasūtras. But there is positively not one express citation attributed by name to the well-known writers of dharmasūtras, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha or Śaṅkha-Likhita. That the Mahābhārata knew several dharmaśāstras is clear from over a dozen references to dharmaśāstras, often in the plural (e. g. Śānti 167. 4, 298. 40, 341. 74 ; Anuśāsana 19. 89, 45. 17-20, Vanaparva 207. 83, 293. 35, 313. 105 ; Ādiparva 3. 32 and 77 etc.). The only place where a sūtrakāra is cited on matters of *dharma* is Anu. 19. 6 ; but no name is mentioned.[297] Hastisūtra, Aśvasūtra are mentioned in Sabhā 5. 20, but no dharmasūtra or Nītisūtra occurs any where. On the other hand Bühler is not prepared to admit that the views expressly attributed to Manu in the Mahābhārata are taken from a treatise and refers them to a floating mass of verses the authorship of which was unknown and was fathered upon the mythical Manu. Distrust of ancient Indian authors could go no further. Bühler's assumptions are, to say the least, gratuitous and are prompted by his unwillingness to assign an early date to a versified smṛti of Manu. Not only are there identical verses in Manu and the Mahābhārata, but some verses of the latter (e.g. Udyoga 35. 31 and Śānti 111. 66) occur in the Nāradasmṛti (pp. 103 and 26 respectively). In my humble opinion the following seems to be the relation of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. I must state frankly that it is a mere theory, a conjecture which may be taken for what it is worth. Long before the 4th century B. C., there was a work on Dharmaśāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyambhuva Manu. This work was most probably in verse. There was also another work on Rājadharma attributed to Prācetasa Manu, which also was prior to the

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297 अनृताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्यति । अनु० 19.6 ; compare मनु 9. 18 निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोनृतमिति स्थितिः ।

4th century B. C. It is not unlikely that instead of there being two works there was one comprehensive work embodying rules on *dharma* as well as politics. There is one circumstance that points in this direction. The Mahābhārata quotes a saying (vacana) of Prācetasa which is almost the same as our Manu[298] (3. 54). It is to these works (or work) that Yāska, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Kauṭilya refer whenever they cite the opinions of Manu or the Mānavas. The Mahābhārata also (particularly in the earlier portions) probably refers to the same. This work was the original kernel of the present Manusmṛti. Then between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. the Manusmṛti was finally recast, probably by Bhṛgu. That work must have compressed the older works in some cases and expanded it in others. This hypothesis would explain why some of the verses and views quoted as Manu's occur in the extant Manusmṛti and why some do not.[299] In my opinion the extant Mahābhārata is later than the extant Manusmṛti. When Nārada mentions the tradition that Sumati Bhārgava compressed the vast work of Manu into 4000 verses, he is somewhat obscurely hinting at the truth. The extant Manusmṛti contains only about 2700 verses. Nārada probably arrives at the larger figure by including the verses attributed to Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu. The influence of the Manusmṛti spread even beyond the confines of India. In A. Bergaigne's 'Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge' (p. 423) we have an inscription in which occur verses,[299a] one of which is identical with Manu (II. 136) and the other is a summary of Manu (III. 77-80).

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298 प्राचेतसस्य वचनं कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः । यस्याः किंचिन्नाददते ज्ञातयो न स विक्रयः । अर्हणं तत्कुमारीणामानृशंस्यतमं हि तत् ॥ अनुशासन. 46. 1-2.

299 It is to be noted that so early a writer as शान्तरक्षित in his तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3584, G. O. S.) expressly attributes the verse (पुराणं मानवो धर्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सितम् । आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः) to मनु which was not commented upon by मेधातिथि and later commentators. शान्तरक्षित flourished about 750 A. D. i. e. a century earlier than मेधातिथि.

299a आचार्यवद् गृहस्थोपि माननीयो बहुश्रुतः । अभ्यागतगुणानां च परा विद्येति मानवम् ॥ वित्तं बन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी । एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो यद्यदुत्तरम् ॥. The latter is मनु II. 136 and the former summarises मनु III. 77-80.

The Burmese are governed in modern times by the *dhammathats* which are based on Manu. Vide Dr. Forchhammer's essay on the sources and development of Burmese Law (1885, Rangoon). Dr. E. C. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885) wrote a dissertation on an old Javanese lawbook compared with Indian sources of law like the Manusmṛti (which is still used as a lawbook in the island of Bali).

Manu had numerous commentators. As to Medhātithi, Govindarāja and Kullūka, vide below sections 63, 76, 88. Besides these Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra also wrote commentaries on Manu. Mr. Mandlik published all these commentaries. Dr. Jolly published (in 1885 for Bengal Asiatic Society) extracts from all these commentaries (except Kullūka's and Rāmacandra's) and from an anonymous Kashmirian commentary on the first three chapters. Asahāya seems to have written a commentary on Manu (vide below section 58). The Vivādaratnākara quotes a commentary on Manu by Udayakara (pp. 455, 560, 583, 590). The same work seems to suggest that Bhāguri wrote a commentary on Manu.[300] For the predecessors of Medhātithi vide sec. 63. Kullūka on Manu 8. 184 tells us that Bhojadeva arranged the four verses of Manu 8. 181-184 in a particular manner and therefore suggests that Bhojadeva probably commented on Manu. He also names a commentator Dharaṇīdhara on Manu 2. 83 and says that he was later than Medhātithi. He is also referred to elsewhere by Kullūka (on Manu 4. 50).

The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṁśatimata (vide p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A ms. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A. D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in 1431 A. D. (Jolly in R. und. S. p. 31). He is later than Govindarāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. Rāghavānanda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa, and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A. D. When Nandana flourished it is difficult to say. But he is a late writer. There are several other commentators

300 On मनु 8. 198 the विवादरत्नाकर (p. 104) remarks कल्पतरुकारस्तु अपसरत्वनेन स्वामिनः सकाशाद्धनामिति प्रतिग्रहादिर्धनोपायः अपसरः स न विद्यते यस्य तथा । एतच्च भागुरिमेधातिथिवृत्तिकाराणामनुमतमित्याह ।

mentioned in the catalogues of mss. who may be passed over for want of space.

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69), the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, the Parāśaramādhavīya and other works quote dozens of verses from Vṛddha-Manu on *āhnika*, *vyavahāra*, and *prāyaścitta*. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 20) and other works cite a few verses from Bṛhan-Manu. No independent works going under these names have yet been unearthed. Those works, if they ever existed independently, appear to have been later than our Manu. For example, our Manu is silent about the widow's right to inherit to her husband, but Vṛddha-Manu recognises the right of a chaste widow to take the entire wealth of her husband (Mit. on Yāj. II. 136); similarly Bṛhan-Manu (according to the Mit.) seems to refer to Manu's view about the meaning of 'samānodaka' (Manu 5. 60) and modifies it. It is not unlikely that those verses which were not recognised as Manu's by ancient commentators like Medhātithi and were yet found in the mss. of the Manusmṛti were regarded as Vṛddha- or Bṛhan-Manu.

32. The Two Epics

The two epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, contain in numerous places passages bearing on dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authoritative Smṛtis in later works. The Mahābhārata is styled a dharmaśāstra in the Ādiparva (2. 83).

The Rāmāyaṇa is pre-eminently a kāvya; yet on account of its noble ideals it was almost as popular as the Mahābhārata and is relied upon as a source of *dharma* in the *nibandhas* though much less frequently than the other great epic. The Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (canto 100) and the Āraṇya-kāṇḍa (33) contain disquisitions on politics and state administration. The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 57) quotes the well-known verse of the Rāmāyaṇa (Sundara 59. 31) about cessation of study on the first day of a month.[301] The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 193 and III. p. 416) quotes two verses on *tarpaṇa* and *śrāddha* from the Rāmāyaṇa.[302] The Hāralatā (pp. 64 and 152) quotes

301 सा प्रकृत्यैव तन्वङ्गी तद्वियोगाच्च कर्शिता । प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तनुतां गता ॥

302 पादशौचमनभ्यङ्गं तिलहीनं च तर्पणम् । सर्वं तत्र जले तुभ्यं यच्च श्राद्धमदक्षिणम् ॥
इङ्गुदैर्बदरैर्बिल्वै रामस्तर्पयते पितॄन् । यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥
The second verse is almost the same as Ayodhyā 103. 30 and Ayodhyā 104. 15 calls it लौकिकी श्रुति.

verses from the Rāmāyaṇa. Aparārka on Yāj. III. 8-10 quotes four verses from the Rāmāyaṇa on sorrow for the dead.

For considerations of space it is impossible to enter into any discussion as to the age of these two epics, as to the earlier and later strata in them and other allied questions. These questions are passed over here as more appropriate to separate treatises on the epics. The following works will give some idea of the problems connected with these two great heirlooms of Indian antiquity :— Das Mahābhārata seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form, by Oldenberg (Göttingen, 1922) ; Das Mahābhārāta als Epos und Rechtsbuch, by Dahlmann (Berlin 1895) ; Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata by Holtzmann (Kiel, 1892-94) ; Mahābhārata, a criticism by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1903); das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt, by Dr. Jacobi (Bonn 1893) ; The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1906, Bombay).

In these pages the Bombay oblong edition of the Mahābhārata with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha has been used.

In the following table an attempt is made, though not exhaustive, to indicate where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata.

Abhiṣeka (coronation)—Śānti 40.
Arājaka (evils of anarchy)—Śānti 67.
Ahiṁsā—Śānti 264 and 266.
Āśrama-dharmas Śānti 61, 243-246.
Ācāra—Anuśāsana 104. Āśvamedhika 45.
Āpad-dharma Śānti 131 ff.
Upavāsa—Anu. 106-107.
Gostuti—Anu. 51 and 73.
Tīrthas—Vanaparva 82 ff, Anuśāsana 25-26, Śalya. 35-54.
Daṇḍastuti—Śānti 15, 121, 268, 295.
Dāna—Vanaparva 186, Śānti 235, Anu. 57-99.
Dāyabhāga—Anu. 45 and 47.
Putras (of several kinds)—Anu. 48-49.
Prāyaścitta—Śānti 34-35, 165 (33ff).
Brāhmaṇa's means of subsistence-Śānti 76-78.
Bhakṣyābhakṣya—Śānti 36, 78.
Rājanīti—Sabhā 5, Vana 150, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 59-130 and 298, Āśramavāsika 5-7.
Varṇadharma—Śānti 60 and 297, mixed castes—Śānti 65, 297 and Anu. 48-49.
Vivāha—Anu. 44-46.
Śrāddha—Strīparva 26-27, Anu. 87-95.

The following table will give some idea of the topics of dharmaśāstra that are dwelt upon in the Rāmāyaṇa, though briefly. The Gujarati Press Edition (1915–20) is referred to—

Abhiṣeka—Ayodhyā 15,	,, 40 (10-14)
Yuddha 128.	,, 41 (1-6)
Arājaka—Ayodhyā 67.	Yuddha 17-18 and
Pātakas—Kiṣkindhā 17 (36-37),	,, 63.
18 (22-23) &c.	*Śrāddha*—Ayodhyā 77
Rājadharma—Bāla 7,	,, 103
Ayodhyā 100,	,, 111 (104-120)
Araṇya* 6 (11-14)	*Satyapraśaṁsā*—Ayodhyā 109.
,, 9 (2-9)	*Strīdharma*—Ayodhyā 24, 26-27,
,, 33	29, 39, 117-18.

33. The Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas as a class of literature existed from very ancient times. Tai. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of "Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Nārāśaṁsī gāthās."[303] In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII. 1. 2 and 4) "itihāsa-purāṇa" is spoken of as the fifth Veda and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (IV. 1. 2) speaks of "Itihāsa and Purāṇa." The Gautama Dh. S. (8. 6 and 11. 19) refers to "itihāsa" and "Purāṇa." It is not unlikely that there was originally a single work called Purāṇa. The words of the Matsya that in former ages there was a single Purāṇa probably embody a tradition that has a substratum[304] of truth. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (vol. I. page 9) speaks of Purāṇa in the singular. The Āp. Dh. S. quotes the views of a Purāṇa, twice cites two verses from a Purāṇa, and summarizes the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.[305] The quotations show that the Purāṇa or

303 ब्राह्मणानीतिहासान् पुराणानि कल्पान्गाथा नाराशंसीः &c.

304 पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ । मत्स्यपुराण chap. 53 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

305 यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं स्पृशति न तस्मिन् दोष इति पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7 ; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । उद्यतामाहृतां भिक्षां पुरस्तादप्रवेदिताम् । भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥ न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दश वर्षाणि पञ्च च । न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्यस्तामभ्यवमन्यते ॥ इति । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 13; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीषुरृषयः । दक्षिणेनार्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥ अष्टाशी... प्रजां नेषुरृषयः । उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 23. 3; पुनः सर्गे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यत्पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 24. 6.

Purāṇas contained verses and were composed in a somewhat archaic language. The extant Purāṇas are recasts made of the ancient Purāṇas during the first centuries of the Christian era, when there was a revival and restatement of the ancient Brahmanical religion, philosophy and literature after the onslaughts of Buddhism and Jainism had abated in their strength and fury. The Mahābhārata (Vana. 191. 16) speaks of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu (i. e. the Vāyupurāṇa). Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita refers to the recitation of the Vāyupurāṇa. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika (vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1925, p. 122) refers to the subjects dealt with by many of the extant purāṇas and quotes passages that occur in the Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇas. Thus it is clear that at any rate some of the extant purāṇas, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A. D.

The orthodox number of the principal purāṇas is 18 and there are 18 Upapurāṇas also. There is considerable divergence about the names of the 18 principal purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 53) enumerates them as follows :—Brāhma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuda and Brahmāṇḍa. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3. 6) on the other hand omits Vāyu from the above list and adds Śaiva. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 14) follows the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. Vide Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 13. 4-8 and commentary thereon for the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas.

Among comparatively early commentators and writers of digests, it is Aparārka, Ballālasena and Hemādri that quote most profusely from the purāṇas as sources of dharma. We saw above (p. 146) that Kullūka describes passages of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as glosses on Manu. The Matsya-purāṇa is pre-eminently a work containing much dharmaśāstra material. For example, chapters 16-22 deal with śrāddha, chapters 55-57 and 59-82 with vratas, chap. 54, 83, 278 with gifts, chap. 93 with śāntis, chap. 102 with tīrthas. Similarly in chapters 216-243 the Matsya speaks of rājadharma. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (in III, chap. 8-16) contains a good deal of information on the duties of the varṇas and āśramas, nitya and naimittika acts, good manners for a householder, the five great yajñas, Jātakarma and other saṁskāras, impurity on death, śrāddha &c. Viṣṇudharmottara (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press) in the 2nd khaṇḍa contains several chapters dealing with matters of

dharma, e. g. chap. 24 gives the qualifications of state officers, chap. 65-72 speak of rājadharma, expedients of policy, punishments, 73-74 deal with prāyaścittas, 75 with impurity on death and birth, 79 with purification of dravyas, 80-81 with the four varṇas and mixed castes, 60 with various purely legal matters. The Agnipurāṇa also in chapters 220-225, 227, 233-242 contains a disquisition on rājadharma. Almost the whole of the vyavahāra section in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti occurs in chapters 253-258 of the Agnipurāṇa (Ānandāśrama edition) and many verses in chap. 253 are identical with verses of the Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93-106) contains about 400 verses that are taken from the first and third sections of Yājñavalkya though not in the same order.

The chronology of the purāṇas is, like that of the epics, a subject full of perplexing problems and is hence passed over here.

The annexed table will give an idea as to what topics of dharmaśāstra are dealt with in the principal purāṇas.

The constitution of the original text of the purāṇas is a Herculean task which has not yet been attempted. Not only is there difference of opinion among the purāṇas about the names of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas, but there is divergence as regards the extent of the several purāṇas. For example, the commentator Viṣṇucitta of the Viṣṇupurāṇa says (on III. 6. 20-22) that the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is variously given at 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, but that he comments on a text of 6000 ślokas only. The Agnipurāṇa (272. 10-11) says that it contains 12000 ślokas, while the Bhāgavata (XII. 13), the Brahmavaivarta, the Padma (ādi. 62) say that it contains 15400 ślokas and the Skanda (V. 3) and the Matsya 53 give the extent of the Agni as 16000. The Kūrma, according to the Bhāgavata contains 17000, according to the Matsya 18000 and only 8000 according to the Agni (272. 19). Though there is a remarkable continuity in India as to religious thoughts and practices, yet the popular religion of modern Hindus is pre-eminently paurāṇic. The purāṇas contain thousands of ślokas on dharmaśāstra matters, they are a rich mine awaiting exploration by careful students of social and religious questions and shed a flood of light on the development of religious beliefs and practices in medieval and modern India. Therefore the re-constitution of the text of the purāṇas is a problem that will have to be tackled in the near future. Besides the several Mahā-

purāṇas, eighteen Upapurāṇas also are enumerated in some of the Purāṇas. Vide Garuḍa (223. 17 ff), Skanda (V. 3. chap. I. 45-62 and VII. I. chap. 2), Padma (Pātāla-khaṇḍa chap. 111. 95-98) and Matsya (53. 59 ff) for Upapurāṇas.[305a] Besides the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas, there are other works of the purāṇa class such as Gaṇeśa, Maudgala, Devī, Kalki &c. The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa chap. 263) divides the 18 purāṇas into three groups, *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*, and says that the Viṣṇu, Nāradīya, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varāha are *sāttvika*. The Matsya (53) also speaks of this division. The Liṅgapurāṇa (39. 63-66) speaks of the twenty expounders of dharma just as Yājñavalkya does and quotes the two verses in the form in which the Mit. presents them (and not Viśvarūpa), while the Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa 263. 86-89) divides the eighteen smṛtis into three groups of *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*.[305b] It would be quite clear to any reader of the purāṇas and the smṛtis that most of the former in their extant form are later than the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada &c.

The following table will give some idea as to how the eighteen principal purāṇas are rich in dharmaśāstra material. Besides the eighteen principal purāṇas, the Kālikā-purāṇa (Veṅkateśvara press ed.) and the Saura-purāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.) have been drawn upon. The Ānandāśrama edition of the Agni and Padma, the Nirṇayasāgara edition (1905) of the Bhāgavata, the Poona edition (1870 Jagaddhitecchu Press) of the Matsya have been referred to here and the Veṅkateśvara editions of all the other purāṇas.

305a अन्यान्युपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु । आद्यं सनत्कुमारोक्तं नारसिंहमथापरम् ॥ तृतीयं स्कान्द-(नान्द ?)मुद्दिष्टं कुमारेण तु भाषितम् । चतुर्थं शिवधर्माख्यं स्यान्नन्दीश्वरभाषितम ॥ दुर्वाससोक्तमाश्चर्यं नारदोक्तमतः परम् । कापिलं वामनं चैव तथैवोशनसेरितम ॥ ब्रह्माण्डं वारुणं चाथ कालिकाह्वयमेव च । माहेश्वरं तथा साम्बं सौरं सर्वार्थसंचयम् । पराशरोक्तमपरं मारीचं भार्गवाह्वयम ॥ गरुड. 223. 17-20.

305b वासिष्ठं चैवं हारीतं व्यासं पाराशरं तथा । भारद्वाजं काश्यपं च सात्त्विका मुक्तिदाः शुभाः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यं तथात्रेयं तैत्तिरं दाक्षमेव च । कात्यायनं वैष्णवं च राजसाः स्वर्गदाः शुभाः ॥ गौतमं बार्हस्पत्यं च सांवर्तं च यमं स्मृतम् । शाङ्खं चौशनसं देवि तामसा निरयप्रदाः ॥.

Ācāra—Brahma 113 ; Garuḍa 50; Kālikā 88 ; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 13 ; Liṅga (pūrvārdha) 89 ; Mārkaṇḍeya 31 ; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 26 ; Padma (Ādi 52-56, pātālakhaṇḍa 9, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 46) ; Skanda I (Kaumārikā 41), III. (dharmāraṇya 6), IV. I (pūrvārdha 38, 40) ; Śiva (kailāsasaṁhitā) chap. 18-20 (on ācāra of yati, making of a disciple ; yogapaṭṭa) ; Vāyu 16 ; Viṣṇu III. 11-12.

Āhnika—Agni 155 ; Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa) 26 ; Garuḍa 50 and 213-217 ; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 18-19 ; Liṅga 26 ; Mārkaṇḍeya 27 ; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 27 ; Padma (sṛṣṭi 46, uttara 233); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 35 and III. 2 (dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa) chap. 5.

Āśauca—Agni 157-158 (both kinds, on death and birth) ; Brahma 113 (on birth) ; Garuḍa (preta-khaṇḍa) chap. 5, Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 23); Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89).

Āśramadharmas—Agni 160-161 ; Bhāgavata VII. 12 and 13, XI. 17 ; Brahma 114 ; Garuḍa 49 ; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 14-16 (brahmacārin and gṛhastha) and 27-28 (vānaprastha and yati); Mārkaṇḍeya 25-26; Nārada (pūrvārdha 27 and 43); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 58-60 for vānaprastha and yati, bhūmikhaṇḍa 59 for gṛhastha, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 15); Saura 17, 20 (vānaprastha and saṁnyāsin); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 41 (vānaprastha and yati); Viṣṇu III. 9.

Bhakṣyābhakṣya—Brahmavaivarta (brahmakhaṇḍa 27, 4th khaṇḍa, uttarārdha chap. 85); Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 17); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 56).

Brāhmaṇa—*vide* under *varṇadharmas* ;

greatness of -Padma (brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 14 and sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa chap. 45) ;

duties of -Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 12 and 19) ; Saura 18 ;

who is a worthy-Padma (sṛṣṭi 15) ; means of livelihood for -Kūrma (uttarārdha 25), Padma (sṛṣṭi 45).

Dāna *vide* under *pratiṣṭhā* and *utsarga*.

Agni 209-213 (mahādānas) ; Bhaviṣya IV. 150 ff ; Brahma 109 (specially annadāna); Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 27) ; Garuḍa 51 ; Kūrma, uttarārdha 26 (4 kinds, nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vimala) ; Liṅga, uttarārdha 28 (16 *mahādānas*); Matsya 81-91, 205-206, 274-289 (16 *mahādānas*); Nārada (pūrvārdha 13 and 31, uttarārdha 41-42); Padma (ādi 57, bhūmikhaṇḍa 39-40 and 94, brahmakhaṇḍa

24, sṛṣṭi 45 on godāna and 75, uttara 27 on *annadāna*, 28 and 33); Saura 9-10; Śiva (Umāsaṁhitā chap. 11 and 14); Skanda I (Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa 2 for names of famous donors), III. 2 (dharmāraṇya 34), VII. I. 5 and 208; Varāha 99-111.

Dravyaśuddhi—Agni 156; Bhāgavata XI. 21; Brahma 113; Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89); Mārkaṇḍeya 32.

Gotra and *Pravara*—Matsya 194-201; Skanda III. 2 (dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa) 9.

Kalisvarūpa—vide under *Yugadharmas*.

Brahma 122-123; Brahmāṇḍa (anuṣaṅgapāda chap. 31); Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 7); Kūrma 30; Liṅga 40; Nāradīya (pūrvārdha 41); Skanda I (Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa chap. 40 and 218-248), II (puruṣottamamāhātmya chap. 39), VI. 272; Vāyu I. 58.

Kalivarjya—Nārada (pūrvārdha chap. 24).

Karmavipāka—Brahma 108; Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 26 and 28 and 4th khaṇḍa uttarārdha 85); Mārkaṇḍeya 15; Padma (Brahma-khaṇḍa 5, pātālakhaṇḍa 48); Vāmana 12.

Narakas—*vide* under *pātakas*. Agni 203 and 371; Brahma 20 (25 names given), 105 (22 names); Brahmavaivarta, prakṛtikhaṇḍa 29 (for names of 86 narakakuṇḍas) and 33; Padma (uttara, chap. 227 for names of 140); Śiva (umāsaṁhitā chap. 8 for 28 narakas and chap. 16); Skanda I (kaumārikā-khaṇḍa 39), VI. 226-227, Viṣṇu I. 6. and II. 6.

Nīti—*vide* under *rājadharma*. Garuḍa 108-114 (summary of Bṛhaspati-nīti) and 115 (summary of Śaunaka).

Pātakas—*vide* under prāyaścitta Agni 168 (mahāpātakas and lesser sins); Brahma 20 and 105-106; Mārkaṇḍeya 12-14; Nārada (pūrvārdha 15); Śiva (umāsaṁhitā 5 for mahāpātakas and 6 for upapātakas).

Pratiṣṭhā Agni 38-106 (building and consecration of temples, idols of Viṣṇu &c); Garuḍa 45-48, Padma (uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 122 and 127 for Śālagrāma); Matsya 258-270; Śiva I (vidyeśvara-saṁhitā chap. 11).

Prāyaścitta—Agni 170-174; Brahmāṇḍa (upasaṁhārapāda chap. 8); Garuḍa 52 (specially for *mahāpātakas*) and 222; Kūrma, uttarārdha 30-34; Liṅga 90 (for lapses of *yatis*); Nārada, pūrvārdha 14 and 30; Padma (brahma-khaṇḍa 18-19); Saura 52; Varāha 68

(for *agamyāgamana*), 131-136 (for various lapses), 179; Vāyu (pūrvārdha 18 for lapses of yati).

Rājadharma—Agni 220-242; Kālikā 87; Mārkaṇḍeya 24; Matsya 216-227, 240

Saṁskāra—*vide* under *Vivāha* also.

Agni 153-154 and 166; Bhaviṣya I (Brāhmaparva chap. 3-4 and 7); Nārada, pūrvārdha 25-26; Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha 36 and 38); Viṣṇu III. 10.

Śānti—Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-268, 290-91, 320-324; Bhaviṣya IV chap. 141 ff; Brahmavaivarta IV (uttarārdha chap. 82); Matsya 92-93 and 228-239

Śrāddhas—Agni 117 (according to Kātyāyana) and 163; Brahma 110-113, Brahmāṇḍa (upodghātapāda 9-20); Kūrma, uttarārdha 20-22; Mārkaṇḍeya 27-30; Liṅga, uttarārdha 45 (jīvat-śrāddha); Matsya 16-22; Nārada, pūrvārdha 128; Padma (pātālakhaṇḍa 101, sṛṣṭi 9-11 and 47); Śiva (kailāsasasaṁhita 21-23) (about after-death rites of *yati*); Saura 19; Skanda VI. 215-225 and VII. I. chap. 205-207; Varāha 13-14 and 187-188; Vāyu (uttarārdha chap. 10-21); Viṣṇu III. 13-16.

Strīdharma—Bhāgavata VII. 11; Bhaviṣya I chap. 11-15; Brahmavaivarta (brahmakhaṇḍa 9 about greatness of *pati*, 4th khaṇḍa, uttarārdha 83 (about *pativratā*); Padma (bhūmikhaṇḍa 41, pātāla 102, sṛṣṭi 47 and 49, uttara 234 (duties of wife and co-wives); Śiva (rudrasaṁhitā, Pārvatīkhaṇḍa 54); Skanda III. 2. (dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa 7).

Tīrtha—Agni 109-116; Bhāgavata VII. 14; Brahma 23, 26 (Koṇārka in Orissa), 39 (Ekāmra), 40-48 (Jagannātha), 54 (Mahākāla at Ujjayini); Garuḍa 81-86; Kūrma, pūrvārdha 31-35 (Benares), 36-38 (Prayāga), uttarārdha 35-44; Liṅga, pūrvārdha 92; Matsya 179-183 and 188-193; Nāradīya, uttarārdha 39-40 (Gaṅgāsnāna), 45-47 (Gayā), 48-49 (Benares), 50 (Śivaliṅgas), 52-61 (Jagannātha), 62-81 (numerous tīrthas); Padma I. 13-49, Padma, bhūmikhaṇḍa 90 and 92, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 14-15 and 18-19, 60, uttarakhaṇḍa 2, 20-25, 113, 129 (numerous tīrthas named), 130-169, 195; Saura 67; Śiva I. 12 (koṭirudrasaṁhitā 1-2, 8-33); Skanda I. (aruṇācala-māhātmya, uttarārdha 2), II (puruṣottama-

māhātmya 1-49); II. Badarikā-māhātmya 1-8; III. 1; III 2. 31; V. 3 (Revākhaṇḍa is full of tīrthas in 232 chapters) and also VI and VII; Vāmana 33-42 and 50; Varāha 141-176 ; Vāyu, uttarārdha 43-50 (Gayā).

Tithi vide under *vratas* also. Brahma 120 (ekādaśī); Nārada, pūrvārdha 29 (what tithi should be taken, *paraviddhā* or purvaviddhā); Nārada, uttarārdha 2; Padma, brahmakhaṇḍa 13 (janmāṣṭamī), 15 (ekādaśī); Saura 51; Varāha 23-35 (all tithis from 1st to amāvāsyā).

Utsarga--(works of public utility such as tanks and wells, parks, prapās &c.)--*vide* under *dana* and *pratiṣṭha*.
Bhaviṣya II ; Nārada, pūrvārdha 13 ; Padma, sṛṣṭi 54-56, uttara 28 ; Śiva (Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā 11).

Varṇadharmas--Agni 151 ; Bhāgavata VII. 11. and XI. 17; Brahma 114-115 ; Garuḍa 49; Mārkaṇḍeya 25 ; Nārada, pūrvārdha 24, 43, 59, 70; Skanda VI. 242; Viṣṇu III. 8. mixed castes-Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa 10).

Vivāha—*vide* under *saṁskāra*. Padma, uttara 223 and 232 ; Skanda IV, pūrvārdha 38.

Vrata--Agni 175-200, 204 (upavāsa); Bhaviṣya I. 17 ff, IV (several hundred vratas); Brahma 27 (upavāsa) ; Brahmavaivarta (4th khaṇḍa, pūrvārdha 8 and 26); Garuḍa 116-137, Liṅga, pūrvārdha 83-84 ; Nārada, pūrvārdha 17-22, 110-124 ; Matsya 54-80, 94-100; Padma (bhūmi 87, brahmakhaṇḍa 3-4, 7, 11, 13, 15-16, 21-23, pātālakhaṇḍa 86-96, 108, sṛṣṭi 20-24, 31, 76, 79-82, uttara 26, 31-32, 35-65, 66-71, 78, 85, 97, 125, 170, 240-41, 262 ; Skanda I. (kedāra 33), II. 4. 1-36, II. 5 and 7, V. I. 60-61, VI. 232-241 ; Śiva (Koṭirudrasaṁhitā 38-40, Umāsaṁhitā 51): Varāha 39-65.

Vyavahara--Agni 253--258 ; Skanda I. (Kaumārikākhaṇḍa) 44(eight ordeals described).

Yugadharmas--*vide* also under *Kalisvarūpa*.

Garuḍa 223 ; Liṅga 39 ; Matsya 141-143, 164 ; Nārada, pūrvārdha 41; Skanda VI. 272; Vāyu I. 32 and 58.

34. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti

This Smṛti has been published dozens of times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition edited by Śāstri Moghe (1892 A. D.) has been used and the Trivandrum edition when speaking of Viśvarūpa.

The name of Yājñavalkya is one of the most illustrious among Vedic sages. He is credited with having promulgated the White Yajurveda. In the Śāntiparva (chap. 312) we are told that there was a rupture between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya and that by worshipping the Sun the latter received the revelation of the White Yajurveda, the Śatapatha &c. The accounts in the Viṣṇu (3. 5), the Bhāgavata (XII. 6. 61--74) and other purāṇas differ somewhat from the one in the Mahābhārata, but all agree on the fact of the strained relations between Yājñavalkya and his teacher. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in several places alludes to the dialogues of Yājñavalkya and king Janaka of Videha on agnihotra (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 46). Vide Śatapatha (ed. by Weber) XI. 6. 2. At the end of the Śatapatha we are told that Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya promulgated the bright Yajus formulæ from the Sun.[306] In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya appears as a great philosopher teaching the recondite doctrines of Brahma and immortality to one of his two wives, the philosophically minded Maitreyī (II. 4 and IV. 5). In the same Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya is represented as carrying away the one thousand cows set apart by Janaka for the most learned Brāhmaṇa (III. 1. 1-2) and Yājñavalkya is said to have imparted to Janaka the knowledge of the destiny of the soul after it is released from the bonds of flesh and worldly affections. Kātyāyana in his Vārtika on Pāṇini (IV. 3. 105)[307] speaks of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and very heated controversies have raged round the correct interpretation of the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya thereon (*vide* Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 360, Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 132 ff and S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. xxxv-xxxviii). It is to be noted that in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti itself[308] (III. 110) the

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306 आदित्यानीमानि शुक्लानि यजूंषि वाजसनेयेन याज्ञवल्क्येनाख्यायन्ते । शतपथ XIV. 9. 4. 33.

307 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । पा. III. 3. 105.

308 ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सता ॥ याज्ञ. III. 110.

author, whoever he may be, claims the authorship of the Āraṇyaka that he received from the Sun and the Yogaśāstra composed by him. This is simply put in to glorify the Yājñavalkya-smṛti as the work of a great and ancient sage, philosopher and yogin. From the style and the doctrines of the smṛti it is impossible to believe that it was the work of the same hand that gave to the world the Upaniṣad containing the boldest philosophical speculation couched in the simplest yet the most effective language. Even orthodox Indian opinion was not prepared to admit the unity of authorship in the case of the smṛti and the Āraṇyaka. The Mitākṣarā says at the beginning that a certain pupil of Yāj. abridged the dharmaśāstra in the form of a dialogue.[309] It will be shown later on that, though the sage who promulgated the Āraṇyaka and the author of the smṛti cannot be identical, yet the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much more closely connected with the White Yajurveda and the literature particularly belonging to it than with any other Veda.

The Yājñavalkyasmṛti contains (in the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of 1892) 1010 verses, while the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Viśvarūpa contains 1003 verses and Aparārka gives 1006 (Ānandāśrama edition). The difference in the number is mostly due to the fact that Viśvarūpa in the first section on ācāra omits five verses that occur in the Mitākṣarā.[310] As regards one of them (the verse 'rathyākardamatoyāni' I. 197 according to the Mit.) Viśvarūpa notices it and says that some read it after the verse "mukhajā vipruṣā" and that it adds nothing to what precedes. Apararka explains that verse. In the second section on vyavahāra Viśvarūpa reads verses[311] which do not exist in the Mitākṣarā nor in Aparārka. On the other hand Viśvarūpa seems to doubt the authenticity of the well-known verse on re-union and reads it also

309 याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कश्चित्प्रश्नोत्तररूपं याज्ञवल्क्यप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षिप्य कथयामास ।

310 Viz. the verses आज्ञासंपादिनीं (I. 76), रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि (I. 197), यावद्वत्सस्य पादौ (I. 207), two half verses तथाच्छादनदानं च (I. 232) and अपहृता इति तिलान् (I. 234), दृष्यन्नं (I. 289).

311 For example, the verse आगमेन विशुद्धेन भोगो याति प्रमाणताम् । अविशुद्धागमो भोगः प्रामाण्यं नाधिगच्छति । (Tri. ed. II. 29) and कुलानि जातयः श्रेण्यो गणान् जनपदानपि । स्वधर्माच्चलितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत्पथि ॥ (Tri. ed. II. 24) do not occur in the Mit. The first is नारद (ऋणादान 85) and also occurs in the अग्निपुराण 253. 56–57.

differently[312] (anyodaryasya saṁsṛṣṭi). Not only this but in some cases the arrangement of verses is not the same in both Viśvarūpa and the Mit. For example, verses 14–29 of the prāyaścitta section present very different sequences in both. What is verse 29 in the Trivandrum edition is verse 19 in the Mit. Besides the Mit. reads one verse (III. 23 ā dantajanmanaḥ &c.) which is wanting in Viśvarūpa and is also not commented upon by Aparārka. Viśvarūpa adds two half verses,[313] which do not occur in the Mit. and Aparārka. There is further a good deal of variance in the readings adopted by Viśvarūpa and the Mit., though the meaning is not often affected. For example, the two verses enumerating the names of writers on dharma are differently worded in both.[314] But Medhātithi favours the reading of Viśvarūpa.[315] Viśvarupa reads "asvattaṁ lokavidviṣṭam" (I. 155) and notices a reading "asvantam", while the Mit. reads "asvargyam loka·&c.". Both the Mit. and Aparārka read "pitā pitamaho bhrātā &c." (I. 63), while Viśvarupa reads "pitā matāmaho bhrātā", remarks that "mātāmaha" is put in earlier as a guardian for marriage for metrical reasons and then notices "pitā pitāmaho bhrātā" as a various reading. Even in the days of Viśvarupa there were various readings in Yaj. (*Vide* com. on I. 1, 2, 51, II. 119, 179 etc.).

The Agnipurāṇa affords an excellent check for the consideration of the text of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. A good-sized monograph will be required to deal exhaustively with the questions raised by the comparison of the vyavahāra portion of the Agnipurāṇa with Yājñavalkya's vyavahāra-kāṇḍa. I shall only briefly examine the materials and state the conclusions at which I have arrived. We know that Viśvarūpa, the first extant commentator of Yaj., flourished about 800-825 A. D. The author of the Mitākṣarā flourished about 250 years later. Interesting results follow by a comparison of the text that these two commentators had before them with the

312 अत्रापरे पूर्वश्लोकविवरणस्थानीयमिमं श्लोकं पठन्ति अन्योदर्यस्य संसृष्टी &c. (II. 143).

313 The two half verses are ब्राह्मणस्य दशाहं तु भवति प्रेतसूतकम् । (19 a) and प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निविषाद्यैरिच्छतां स्वयं (24 b) in Tri. ed.

314 Vide note 258 above.

315 अतः स्मर्तृपरिगणना मनुर्विष्णुर्यमोऽङ्गिरा इति निर्मूला तथा हि पैठीनसि–बौधायन-प्रचेतःप्रभृतयः शिष्टैर्वेदरूपाः स्मर्यन्ते । न च परिगणनायामन्तर्भाविताः । मेधा० on मनु II. 6.

Agnipurāṇa. I shall select chap. 256 of the Agnipurāṇa for a detailed examination. It contains 36 verses which all occur in Yāj. II. (verses 118-153 of Tri. ed. and verses 114-149 of the Mit.). It is found that the Agnipurāṇa agrees with the text of 12 verses word for word as contained in Viśvarūpa and 19 verses as contained in the Mit. Viśvarūpa puts three verses between the two verses 'pitṛdravyāvināśena &c' and 'kramadabhyāgataṁ dravyaṁ', while the Mit. brings the two verses together. Agnipurāṇa agrees with Viś. In several cases the readings of the Agnipurāṇa agree with Viśvarūpa's text and not with that of the Mit. For example, Agni. reads 'kāryāḥ patnyaḥ samāṁśikāḥ' with Viś. (119), reads 'bhūryā . . . dravyam-eva vā . . . putrasya cobhayoḥ' with Viś. (124), reads 'pitṛdravyāvināśena' (and not '°vyāvirodhena' as Mit. does) with Viś. (122), reads 'dadyāt-cāpaharec-cāṁśaṁ' with Viś. (142 b), reads 'patitas-tatsutaḥ klībaḥ' with Viś. (144 a), reads 'aprajāyāmatītāyām' with Viś. (148). The Agnipurāṇa however in a far larger number of cases agrees with the readings of the Mit. Agni (256. 9) reads with the Mit. (122) 'vibhaktesu suto jātaḥ savarṇāyāṁ vibhāgabhāk,' Agni. (256. 10) reads 'mātāpyaṁśaṁ samaṁ haret' with the Mit. (123), while Viś. (127) reads 'mātāpyaṁśaṁ samāpnuyāt.' Viśvarūpa's reading leaves it undecided as to what the share of the mother is to be, while the Mit. makes it definite by stating that it is equal (to that of a son). Agni (256. 12) reads 'catus-tri-dvyeka-bhāgāḥ syuḥ' and 'vidjāstu dvyekabhāginaḥ' with the Mit. (125) ; Agni. (256. 21) reads '-rdhabhāgikaṁ' with the Mit. (134). Agni. (256. 27) reads 'andho'cikitsyarogādyā' with the Mit. (140), while Viś. (144) reads 'rogī ca.' The reading of the Mit. makes provision by the word 'ādya' for other persons like deaf-mutes mentioned in other smṛtis as not entitled to inherit, while Viś. has to put a forced interpretation on 'ca' as including such persons. The Agni (256.33) reads 'vyayaṁ dadyāc-ca sodayam' with the Mit. (146), while Viś. (150) reads 'dāpyaś-ca sodayam'. Agni (256. 36) reads 'vibhāgabhāvanā jñeyā gṛha-kṣetraiś-ca yautakaiḥ' with the Mit. (149), while Viś. (153) reads '°bhāvanādeyagṛha-kṣetrakayautakaiḥ'. Here the former reading is easy and gives a complete sentence. With Viś. we have to separate '°bhāvanā' and 'ādeya &c.'. Besides no predicate (like jñeyā or kāryā) is expressly mentioned in the verse if we take the reading of Viś. and the 'ka' in 'kṣetraka' is a redundancy. We find that the tendency of the readings of the Mit. is to smooth down

harsh or involved constructions and that the Agnipurāṇa presents most of the changes in the text found in the Mit. but not found in Viś. In the same direction points the fact that Agni (256. 35) reads 'na dattaṁ strīdhanaṁ yasyai' with the Mit. (148) and not 'yasyā' as Viś. (152) does, as 'yasyai' is grammatically more regular than 'yasyāḥ' with the form 'dattaṁ'. But as against this we may note that both Viś. and Agni read 'aprajāyāmatītāyām', while the Mit. reads 'atītāyāmaprajasi'. The reading 'aprajasi' is correct according to Pāṇini (V. 4. 122) and not 'aprajāyām'. Therefore the conclusion that follows is that the text of Yāj. preserved in the Agnipurāṇa is intermediate between the text of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. As Viśvarupa flourished about 800-825 A. D., the Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current somewhat later i. e. about 900 A. D. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (pp. III-V) I established, from the fact that the extant Agnipurāṇa quotes Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and knew the theory of *dhvani*, that it was composed about 900 A. D. That date is strikingly corroborated by the evidence derived from the chapters on vyavahāra discussed above. It is no doubt true that the Agni presents some readings that are found neither in Viś. nor in the Mit. For example, it reads (256. 4) 'tābhya ṛte 'rpayet ', while both Viś. and Mit. read 'tābhya ṛte'nvyaḥ'. It is probable that this is an error of the copyists or the reading may be due to the difficulty of understanding the meaning of 'anvayaḥ' there. Agni reads (256. 5) 'svayam - arjayet' for 'svayam - arjitam' (of Viś. and Mit.), and 'jātopi dāsyāṁ śūdrasya' (256. 20) for '"śūdreṇa' (of Viś. and Mit.). A detailed examination of the other chapters on vyavāhara will yield the same results. But it cannot be undertaken here. A few examples may however be cited. Viś. (II. 167) reads 'pālo yeṣām ca te mocyā daiva- rājapariplutaḥ', Agni (257. 14) 'pālo yeṣām tu te mocyā daivarājapariplutāḥ', while Mit. (163) reads 'pālo yeṣām na te . . . tāḥ'. Similarly Viś. (II. 179) and Agni (257. 26) read 'svakuṭumbāvirodhena deyam' while the Mit. (175) reads 'svam kuṭumbāvirodhena'. Viś. (II. 203) reads 'galat - sabhikavṛddhistu', while both Agni (257. 49) and Mit. (199) read 'glahe śatikavṛddhestu', which certainly is an easier reading. Agni 258. 45 occurs in Mit. (255), but is wanting in Viśvarūpa. Yāj. II. 228 in Viś. becomes in the Mit. verse 263, Agni. following the order of Viśvarūpa.

The total number of verses on vyavahāra in Agnipurāṇa, chap. 253-258, is 315. Out of this the first 31 are not taken from Yāj. All of them except the first half verse and verse 31 (chap. 253) occur in Nārada. Of the remaining 284 verses, only 4½ (Agni 253. 35, 255. 43a, 255. 49b and 50, 258. 83) do not occur in Yāj. (in both Viś. and Mit.). There are also a few verses that occur in the Agnipurāṇa and in Viśvarūpa, but not in the Mit. and also a few verses that are common to the Mit. and Agni but are not found in Viś. The first three verses of Yāj. II are compressed by the Agnipurāṇa into 1½ verses.

The Garuḍapurāṇa affords, like the Agnipurāṇa, material help towards examining the authoritativeness of the text of the first and third sections of Yāj. The Agnipurāṇa does not expressly say that it drew upon Yāj., but the Garuḍapurāṇa is explicit on the point. In chap. 93. 1. it is expressly said that the *dharma* formerly promulgated by Yājñāvalkya is being narrated 'Yājñavalkyena yat (yaḥ ?) pūrvaṁ dharmaṁ (dharmaḥ ?) proktaṁ (°taḥ ?) kathaṁ Hare । tan me kathaya keśighna yathā tattvena Mādhava ॥'. Chapters 93-106 contain dharmaśāstra material more or less taken from the Yājñavalkysmṛti. There are 376 verses in these chapters. Considerations of space forbid any detailed examination of this material. A few salient facts only are brought out here. Chapters 93-102 deal with the several topics (prakaraṇas) of the first kāṇḍa in the same order, the only exception being the topic of rājadharma (I. 309-368), which is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa. Chapters 102-106 treat of topics that occur in the third kāṇḍa of Yāj. and contain 121 verses only. In these chapters the order of the prakaraṇas in Yāj. is not observed at all, but Garuḍa speaks of them in the following order, vānaprastha-prakaraṇa, yati, karmavipāka, prāyaścitta, āśauca and āpaddharma (the last two being the first two prakaraṇas in Yāj.). A feature which strikes one as regards the Garuḍapurāṇa (particularly chap. 102-106) is that a few verses only of Yāj. are repeated word for word, that very often the Garuḍapurāṇa gives only a summary by omitting and transposing the words and phrases of the original and that sometimes it adds verses of its own. This may be illustrated by what the Garuḍa says on vānaprastha and yati (chap. 102-103, 12 verses in all). Chap. 102 begins 'vānaprasthāśramaṁ vakṣye tac-chṛṇvantu maharṣayaḥ । putreṣu bhāryāṁ nikṣipya vanaṁ gacchet sahaiva vā ॥.' The latter

half is a paraphrase of Yāj. III. 45a. Then III. 45b-46 (Mit.)= Garuḍa 102. 2-3a (with slight variations), III. 47 = Garuḍa 102-4 b-5a ; III. 48 = 3b-4a ; III. 49-50 = Garuḍa 5b (' pakṣe māsetha vāśnīyād-dantolūkhaliko bhavet, which summarises and retains some words of the original), III. 71 = Garuḍa 102. 6a (cāndrāyaṇī svapedbhumau karma kuryāt phalādinā, which includes a few words of III. 49b also), III. 52 = Garuḍa 6b-7a (the last pāda in Garuḍa is ' yogābhyāsāt dinam nayet ', while in Yāj. it is ' śaktyā vāpi tapaś caret '), III. 53 = Garuḍa 102. 7. Chap. 203 contains only five verses. III. 56, 58-59 = Garuḍa 103. 1b-4a (with variants) and then Garuḍa adds 1½ verses which are not found in Yāj. (viz. 'bhavet-paramahaṁso vā ekadaṇḍī yamāditaḥ ॥ siddhayogas-tyajan deham-amṛtatvam-ihāpnuyāt । dātātithipriyo jñānī gṛhī śrāddhepi mucyate ॥'). The mere fact that a prakaraṇa is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa should cast no doubt on the existence of that prakaraṇa in the original Yāj. We do not know on what principles the borrowing took place. Besides we find that such prakaraṇas as Vināyakaśānti and grahaśānti are included in the Garuḍa (chap. 100-101), while rājadharma-prakaraṇa is omitted. We know that 'rājadharma' figures in the sūtras and Manu, but none of the ancient dharmasūtras, nor the Manusmṛti speaks of Vināyaka. Hence conclusions must be drawn only from what positively occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and not from the absence of any topic in it. The Garuḍapurāṇa sometimes follows the arrangement and form of the verses presented in Viś., sometimes it agrees with the Mit. and sometimes it is independent. For example, the two verses enumerating the authors of dharmaśāstras (Yāj. 1. 4-5 = Garuḍa 93. 4-5) follow the readings of Viś., but not those of the Mit. In the 3rd kāṇḍa, verses 14-19 of the Mit. are differently arranged by Viś., and Viś. omits (as does Aparārka also) one verse found in the Mit. (III. 23) as said above, while the Mit. omits two half verses that are found in Viś. (vide note 313). The verse 'ā danta &c.' occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and the two half verses in Viś. omitted by the Mit. are also omitted in Garuḍa. So far the Gāruḍapurāṇa agrees with the arrangement preserved in the Mit. But it does not agree entirely with the Mit. The verse 'ādanta &c' is III. 23 in the Mit. and occurs before 'ahastvadatta° ' but in the Garuḍa it occurs before 'trirātram daśarātram vā' (which is III. 18 in the Mit.). Besides verse 22 of the Mit. is read differently in the Garuḍa (daśa dvādaśa varṇā-

nām tathā pañcadaśaiva ca । trimśad dināni ca tathā bhavati preta-sūtakam). It must therefore be said that the Garuḍapurāṇa represents an intermediate stage of readings between Viś. and the Mit. As the Garuḍapurāṇa was a popular work read by and recited for the benefit of slightly educated or illiterate people, it often introduces changes to suit their understanding. For example, the Mit. (I. 296) reads (as also Viś.) 'sūryaḥ somo mahīputraḥ soma-putro bṛhaspatiḥ', while Garuḍa reads (chap. 101. 2) 'sūryaḥ somo *maṅgalaś* ca *budhaś* caiva bṛhaspatiḥ,' thus substituting the well-known words Maṅgala and Budha for mahīputra and somaputra. The verse 'kṛtāgnikāryo bhuñjīta' (I. 31 in the Mit.) is placed by Viś. after 'ekadeśam - upādhyāya,' while the Mit. places it three verses earlier. The Garuḍapurāṇa here agrees with the Mit. In some cases Garuḍa strikes an independent path. For example, in Yāj. I. 11 Viś. reads 'māse'to jātakarma ca,' the Mit. reads 'māsyete jātakarma ca' while Garuḍa (chap. 93. 11) gives the easy reading 'prasave jātakarma ca'. Mit. reads (Yāj. I. 76 b) 'tyajan dāpyas-tṛtīyāṁśam--adravyo bharaṇaṁ striyāḥ'; Viś. omits the whole verse, while Garuḍa omits I. 76a (of Mit.) and reads the other half as 'śuddhāṁ tyajaṁstṛtīyāṁśam dadyādābharaṇaṁ striyāḥ' (95. 23b). Verses I. 91-92 of the Mit. on the offspring of mixed marriages are differently read by Viś. (I. 90-91), while the Garuḍa (96. 1b) has the same half verse as the Mit. I. 91a and the same half verse (96. 3a) as Viś. (91b) and reads the two half verses between them as 'jāto'mbaṣṭhastu śūdrāyāṁ niṣādaḥ parvatopi vā ॥ māhiṣyaḥ kṣatriyājjāto vaiśyāyāṁ mlecchasaṁjñitaḥ'.

The foregoing makes it clear that the text that the Garuḍapurāṇa had before it could not have been older than that commented upon by Viśvarūpa and that it represents a stage intermediate between Viś. and the Mit.

The above gives rise to an important question whether one can detect several strata in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. From the fact that the sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita cites Yājñavalkya among the promulgators of dharmaśāstras (vide note 137), while Yāj. himself includes Śaṅkha-Likhita among the propounders of dharma (note 258), it may be plausibly said that Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to an earlier Yājñavalkyasmṛti than the extant one. Beyond this there is no evidence to establish that there was an earlier version of the present smṛti. A comparison of the readings of Viśvarūpa and the Mit.

with those in the Agni and Garuḍa purāṇas has established that the text of the smṛti no doubt underwent slight verbal changes between 800 and 1100 A. D. and that a few verses were added and also omitted during these centuries. But the text remained in the main the same from 700 A. D. What the original smṛti contained, whether it was in prose or verse or both and whether it dealt with only ācāra and prāyaścitta sections are questions on which conjectures may be advanced, but there are no substantial materials for arriving at even tolerably certain conclusions.

Yājñavalkya's work is more systematic than that of Manu. He divides the work into three sections and relegates all topics to their proper positions and avoids repetition. He treats of almost all subjects that we find in Manu, but his treatment is always concise and he makes very great and successful efforts at brevity. The result is that for the 2700 verses of Manu, he requires only a little over a thousand. He often compresses two verses of Manu into one, e. g. Manu II. 243, 247-248 are equal to Yāj. I. 49, Manu III, 46-48 and 50 are concisely put in one verse by Yāj. (I. 79); vide also Manu IV. 7-8 and Yāj. I. 128 (contain almost same words also), Manu IV. 84-85 and Yāj. I. 141. In a few cases Manu and Yāj. convey the same meaning in one verse without compression, *e. g.* Manu III. 70 and Yāj. I. 102, Manu III. 119 and Yāj. I. 110, Manu VII. 171 and Yāj. I. 348, Manu VII. 205 and Yāj. I. 349. The correspondence of Yājñavalkya's words with the text of Manu is in most cases very close, so much so that one cannot help feeling that Yāj. had the Manusmṛti before him and purposely made an attempt to abridge the somewhat loose expressions of Manu. The passages set forth above as examples of compression will also serve as illustrations of this fact. The word Kāya (from Ka) is used by both in the sense of 'prājāpatya form of marriage' (Manu III. 38 and Yāj. I. 60) ; vide also Manu II. 109 and Yāj. I. 28, Manu III. 43-44 and Yāj. I. 62, Manu V. 26-27 and Yāj. I. 178-179, Manu VII. 56 and Yāj. I. 312 for further close agreement in phraseology. Yāj. adds some subjects which have either no counterpart in our Manu or which are only noticed in passing by Manu. The Manusmṛti contains nothing corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti of Yāj. (I. 271-308). Yāj. gives a detailed treatment of five kinds of ordeals (II. 95-113), while Manu makes only a cursory reference to the ordeals of fire and water (VIII. 114). Yāj.

contains considerable anatomical and medical matter (III. 75-108), which is wanting in Manu. On the other hand there are some subjects on which Yāj. is silent though they are dealt with in detail by Manu. This is the case with the account of the origin of the world.

The whole of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is written in the classical Anuṣṭubh metre. Though the author's great aim has been to be concise, his verses are hardly ever obscure. The style is flowing and direct. There are not many un-Pāṇinian expressions, though he employs 'pūjya' in I. 293 and 'dūṣya' in II. 296. In the latter case both Viśvarūpa and Aparārka avoid the fault by reading differently. The verse 'kulāni jātayaḥ śreṇyo' is ungrammatical (Tri. ed. II. 34), as 'jāti', and 'śreṇi' must be in the accusative case. According to the Mit. Yājñavalkya addressed his words to Sāmaśravas and other sages (vide com. on I. 1. 178 and 330-333). In this the Mit. is probably drawing upon the Bṛ. Up. (III. 1. 2) where Yāj. asks Sāmaśravas to take away the 1000 cows. The sages interpose (vide III. 118, 129) as in Manu, while the great teacher is passing in review one topic after another. The teacher himself addresses his auditors (as in I. 178 'śruṇudhvam').

It is said that the sages approached Yājñavalkya in Mithilā and requested him to impart to them the dharmas of the varṇas, āśramas and others. The contents of the work may be briefly summarised as follows :— Kāṇḍa I. fourteen *vidyās* ; twenty expounders of dharma, sources of dharma ; constitution of a *pariṣad*, the *saṁskāras* from Garbhādhāna to marriage, upanayana, its time and other details, every day duties of brahmacārī, persons fit to be taught, what things and actions a brahmacārī was to avoid, period of studenthood ; marriage, qualifications of girl to be married, limits of *sapiṇḍa* relationship, intercaste marriages ; the eight forms of marriage and the spiritual benefits therefrom, guardians for marriage, Kṣetraja son, grounds of supercession of wife, duties of wife ; principal and intermediate castes, duties of householder and keeping sacred domestic fire, the five great daily yajñas ; honouring a guest, madhuparka, grounds of precedence, rule of the road, privileges and duties of the four varṇas, ten principles of conduct common to all, means of subsistence of a householder, and solemn vedic sacrifices ; duties of *snātaka*, days of cessation from study ; rules

about prohibited and allowed food and drink ; rules about flesh-eating ; purifications of various materials, such as metal or wooden vessels ; gifts, who is fittest to accept them, who should accept gifts, rewards of gifts, gift of cow, rewards of other gifts, highest gift is knowledge ; śrāddha, proper time for it, proper persons to be invited at it, unfit persons, the number of Brāhmaṇas to be invited, procedure of śrāddha, various śrāddhas such as pārvaṇa, vṛddhi, ekoddiṣṭa ; sapiṇḍīkaraṇa ; what flesh to be offered at śrāddha, reward of offering śrāddhas ; propitiatory ceremonies as regards Vināyaka and the nine grahas ; rājadharma, king's qualifications, ministers, *purohita*, royal edicts, king's duties of protection, administration of justice, taxation and expenditure, allotment of the day to various duties, constitution of maṇḍala, the four expedients, the six guṇas, fate and human effort, impartiality in punishment ; units of measure and weight, grades of fine ; Kāṇḍa II. members of hall of justice, judge, definition of vyavahārapada, rules of procedure, plaint, reply, taking security, indicia of a false party or witness, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra ; means of proof, documents, witnesses, possession ; title and possession, gradation of courts, force, fraud, minority and other grounds of invalidity, finding of goods ; treasure trove ; debts, rates of interest, debts of joint family, what debts of father son need not pay ; devolution of debts ; suretyship of three kinds, pledge ; deposit ; witnesses, their qualifications and disqualifications ; administering oaths, punishment for perjury ; documents ; ordeals of balance, water, fire, poison and holy water ; partition, time of it, wife's share on partition, partition after father's death, property not liable to partition, joint ownership of father and son ; twelve kinds of sons ; illegitimate son of śūdra, succession to a sonless man, re-union, exclusion ; husband's power over wife's *strīdhana* ; boundary disputes ; dispute between master and herdsman ; sale without ownership ; invalidity of gift, rescission of sale ; breach of contract of service ; slavery by force ; violation of conventions ; non-payment of wages ; gambling and prize fighting ; abuse, defamation and slander ; assault, hurt etc. ; sāhasa ; partnership ; theft ; adultery ; miscellaneous wrongs ; review of judgment ; Kāṇḍa III. cremation and burial ; offering of water to various deceased persons ; for whom no mourning was to be observed and no water to be offered ; periods of mourning for various persons ; rules for mourners ; impurity on birth ; instances of immediate purification on death or birth ; means of purification, such as time, fire, ritual,

mud etc; rules of conduct and livelihood in distress; rules for forest hermit; rules for a *yati*; how the individual soul is clothed in a body; various stages of the fœtus, number of bones in the body, the various organs such as liver, spleen etc.; the number of arteries and veins; reflection over ātman, use of music in the path of *mokṣa*; how the originally pure ātman is born among impure surroundings; how some sinners are born as various kinds of animals or inanimate things; how *yogin* attains immortality; three kinds of actions due to *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*; means of *ātmajñāna*; the two paths, one to immortality and the other to heaven; the various diseases from which sinners suffer; purpose of prāyaścittas; names of 21 hells; the five mortal sins, and other acts similar to them; upapātakas; prāyaścittas for Brāhmaṇa murder or for killing other persons; prāyaścittas for drinking wine, for other mortal and venial sins and for killing animals of various sorts; greater or lesser expiation according to time, place, age, ability; ostracising the non-conformist sinner; secret expiations; ten *yamas* and *niyamas*; Sāntapana, mahāsāntapana, taptakṛcchra, parāka, cāndrāyaṇa and other expiations; rewards of reading this smṛti.

Besides the four vedas, Yāj. refers to the Vedāṅgas as six and enumerates fourteen vidyās (four Vedas, six aṅgas, purāṇa, nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, dharmaśāstra). He refers to the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra composed by himself. Āraṇyakas in general are spoken of in I. 145 and Śukriya Āraṇyaka in III. 309. The Upaniṣads are mentioned in III. 189, where purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Itihāsas, Purāṇa, Vākovākya, and Nārāśaṁsī gāthās are mentioned in I. 45 (also I. 101 for purāṇa and itihāsa). He enumerates at the commencement nineteen authors on *dharma* besides himself. But it is remarkable that in the body of the work not one individual author of a dharma-śāstra is mentioned by name. He speaks of Ānvīkṣikī (Metaphysics) and Daṇḍanīti (I. 311). He lays down the dictum that where dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra conflict, the former shall prevail (II. 21). He speaks of smṛtis in general (II. 5 and I. 154). In III. 189 he speaks of sūtras and bhāṣyas. What works are intended it is most difficult to say; the only extant bhāṣya which can be said with certainty to be older than the extant Yāj. smṛti is that of Patañjali. He refers to other writers on dharma in the word 'eke' (I. 36). The view referred to there occurs in Baud. Dh. S. 1. 2. 4.

Yājñavalkya agrees very closely with the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. What conclusions are to be drawn therefrom has been discussed above (see sec. 10). Similarly there is close correspondence between the Kauṭilīya and Yāj. If there is any borrowing at all, it must follow from the date above assigned to the Kauṭilīya that it is Yāj. who borrows. There are numerous passages in Yāj. that show remarkable agreement with the text of Manu. But there are several points on which Yāj. differs from Manu and shows in general a more advanced state of thought and feeling than the Manusmṛti. The following are the principal points wherein Yāj. differs from Manu. Manu seems to allow a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra girl (III. 13), while Yāj. emphatically states it as his opinion that this is wrong (I. 59); Manu first describes the practice of *niyoga* and then severely condemns it (9. 59-68), while Yāj. does not condemn it (I. 68–69). Manu enumerates eighteen vyavahārapadas; Yāj. does not expressly enumerate them in one place, though he defines vyavahārapada and adds verses of a miscellaneous character (prakīrṇaka) in his section on vyavahāra. Manu is silent about the rights of inheritance of the widow of a sonless man and gives only a vaguely expressed order of succession, while Yāj. places the widow at the head of all heirs and enumerates several classes of heirs in a regular order. Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 224-226), while Yāj. brought it under state control and made it a source of revenue to the king (II. 200–203). There are several other matters which Yāj. treats at much greater length and more systematically than Manu, e. g. ordeals (as indicated above), means of proof in courts (Manu altogether ignoring documentary evidence, though he knew documents 8. 51–52), rules of procedure in courts (compare Manu 8. 53-56 with Yāj. II. 5-11 and 16–21), the doctrine of possession and prescription (Yāj. II. 24–29 and Manu 9. 44 and 54). All these points tend to show that the Yājñavalkya smṛti is much later than the extant Manusmṛti.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti seems to have taken the section on Vināyakaśānti from the Mānavagṛhya-sūtra (II. 14); verses 281-283 of Yāj. (I) occur in the Mānavagṛhya II. 14, but in a different order.[316] The Mānavagṛhya takes the Vināyakas to be four, while Yāj. says that there is a single Vināyaka, whose appellations are Mita. &c.

316 अथातो विनायकान् व्याख्यास्यामः । शालकटङ्कटश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चोस्मितश्च (पुनश्च मितश्च !) देवयजनश्चेति । मानवगृह्य II. 14. 1-8 ; विनायकः कर्मविघ्नसिद्ध्यर्थं विनियोजितः ।

The details of information about Vināyaka in Yāj. (I. 272-276) appear to be versified from the prose[317] of the M. Gṛ. S. The details of worship also and the *mantra* (Yāj. I. 291) are taken from the same work (*vide* M. Gṛ. S. II. 14. 30 for the *mantra*). At one time the section on Vināyakaśānti was thought to be a sure indication of the late date of Yāj. But since the discovery of the Mānavagṛhya that position had to be given up. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 21) we have Vināyaka and his several appellations (in the *tarpaṇa*). Aparārka on Yāj. I. 275 quotes a long passage from the Baijavāpa gṛhya which bears a very close correspondence in phraseology to the passage from the M. Gṛ. S. quoted above and which gives the names of the four Vināyakas as Mita, Saṁmita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍa-rājaputra.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti stands in a very intimate relation to the white Yajurveda and the literature that clusters round it. Most of the *mantras* quoted (in part) or referred to by Yāj. occur in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā (e. g. in Yāj. I. 22, 24, 229, 230, 238, 239, 247). But there are a few *mantras* that do not occur in the Ṛgveda, but only in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā or other saṁhitās (e. g. 'yavosi' in Yāj. I. 230, which is Vāj. S. 5. 26, 'ye samānā in Yāj. I. 254 which is Vaj. S. 19. 45, 'imam deva' and 'udbudhyasva' in Yāj. I. 300 which are Vaj. S. 9. 40 and 15. 54, 'annāt pariśrutaḥ' and 'kāṇḍāt' in Yāj. I. 301 which are Vāj. S. 19. 75 and 13. 20). Verses (Yāj. III. 191-197) are a paraphrase of certain passages of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, so much so that the very words of the latter are used throughout in the former, as the

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...मितश्च संमितश्चैव तथा सालकटङ्कटौ । कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्च जपेत् स्वाहासमन्वितान् । नामभिर्बलिमन्त्रैश्च नमस्कारसमन्वितैः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 267. 281-82 (Tri. ed.). The Mit. seems to have read: '०कटङ्कटौ । कूष्माण्डो राजपुत्रश्च.'

317 एतैरधिगतानामिमानि रूपाणि भवन्ति । लोष्टं मृद्नाति । तृणानि छिनत्ति । अङ्गेषु लेखान् लिखति । अपः स्वप्नं पश्यति । मुण्डान् पश्यति । जटिलान् पश्यति । काषायवाससः पश्यति । उष्ट्रान् सूकरान् गर्दभान् दिवाकीर्त्यादीनन्यांश्चाप्रयतान् स्वप्नान् पश्यति । अन्तरिक्षं क्रामति । अध्वानं व्रजन्मन्यते पृष्ठतो मे कश्चिदनुव्रजति । एतैः खलु विनायकैराविष्टा राजपुत्रा लक्षणवन्तो राज्यं न लभन्ते । कन्याः पतिकामा लक्षणवत्यो भर्तॄन्न लभन्ते । ... कृषिकराणां कृषिरल्पफला भवति । मानवगृह्य II. 14. 3-21 (ed. by Knauer)

quotations given below will show.[318] Then again Yāj. very closely agrees with the Pāraskaragṛhyasutra as was pointed out by Dr. Stenzler in his introduction to the edition of Yāj. (1849, Berlin) and in the journal of the German Oriental Society (VII. 527). Viśvarūpa points out that Yāj. I. 142-143 are based upon Pāraskara. The *mantra* 'ayam me vajraḥ' in Yāj. I. 135 (Trivandrum ed.) is given in Pāraskara-gṛhya II. 7. 7. In the following also there is close verbal correspondence[320] between Yāj. and the P. Gr. S; Yāj. III. 1-2 and P.Gr. S. III. 10. 1, 5, 8-9 and 12; Yāj. III. 3 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 16 and 19-20; Yāj. III. 4 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 46-47; Yāj. III. 16 and P. Gr. S. III. 10. 26-27. Similarly the verses of Yāj. on śrāddha (I. 217-270) offer many points of contact with the śrāddha-kalpa of Kātyāyana edited by Dr. Caland (pp. 127-130 of his work 'Ahnencult &c.' From these facts Dr. Jolly concludes that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasutra of the White Yajurveda (R. u. S. p. 21). In another place Dr. Jolly hazards another conjecture based on the close correspondence between Yāj. and the Viṣṇudharmasutra that he probably belonged to the Kāṭhaka school of the Black Yajurveda (Journal of Indian History, 1924, p. 7). Yāj. also shows great similarity to the Kautilīya and borrows the Vināyaka-śānti from

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318 स ह्याश्रमैर्विजिज्ञास्यः समस्तैरेवमेव तु । द्रष्टव्यस्त्वथ मन्तव्यः श्रोतव्यश्च द्विजातिभिः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 191; compare बृहदारण्यक II. 4. 5. and IV. 5. 6 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यः &c.'; य एनमेवं विन्दन्ति ये चारण्यकमाश्रिताः । उपासते द्विजाः सत्यं श्रद्धया परया युताः ॥ क्रमात्ते संभवन्त्यर्चिरहः शुक्लं तथोत्तरम् । अयनं देवलोकं च सवितारं सवैद्युतम् ॥ ततस्तान् पुरुषोऽभ्येत्य मानसो ब्रह्मलौकिकान् । &c. याज्ञ. III. 192-194; compare बृहदारण्यक VI. 2. 15 'ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्ये चामी अरण्ये श्रद्धां सत्यमुपासते तेऽर्चिरभिसंभवन्ति ... तान् वैद्युतान्पुरुषो मानस एत्य ब्रह्मलोकान् गमयति.' The next three verses of Yāj. summarise बृहदारण्यक VI. 2. 15 using the last words of the latter 'कीटाः पतङ्गा यदिदं दन्दशूकम्'.

319 पौषमासस्य रोहिण्यामष्टकायामथापि वा । जलान्ते छन्दसां कुर्यादुत्सर्गं विधिवद् द्विजः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 142; compare पारस्कर II. 12. 1-2. (Venkateśvara press ed.) 'पौषस्य रोहिण्यां मध्यमायां वाष्टकायामध्यायानुत्सृजेरन् । उदकान्तं गत्वा &c.'

320 e. g. सप्तमाद् दशमाद्वापि ज्ञातयोऽभ्युपयन्त्यपः । अप नः शोशुचदघमनेन पितृदिङ्मुखाः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 3: 'सर्वे ज्ञातयोऽपोऽभ्यवयन्त्यासप्तमात्पुरुषाद्दशमाद्वा । ... सव्यस्यानामिकयापनोद्याप नः शोशुचदघमिति दक्षिणामुखा निमज्जन्ति ।' पारस्कर III. 10. 16 and 19–20.

the Mānavagṛhyasūtra. From these facts one may argue at least with as much logic and force as underlies Dr. Jolly's guess-work that Yāj. probably belonged to the Mānava school of the Black Yajurveda or to the school of Kauṭilya. If Yāj. knew his business as a writer on Dharmaśāstra, he must have consulted the works of his predecessors and his work is bound to show traces of that fact. One may conclude at the most that the author of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti may have possibly been a student of the White Yājurveda and so the *mantras* of the White Yājurveda and the Gṛhyasutra of Pāraskara were far more familiar to him than the other Vedas, sūtras, smṛtis, and other works. No such conclusions that there was a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda and that the Yājñavalkyasmṛti was based thereon are warranted by the facts so far discovered.

For settling the date of Yāj. we need not consider the evidence after the 9th century. For in the first quarter of that century (as we shall see later on) Viśvarūpa wrote his extensive commentary on Yāj. That he was separated from Yāj. by many centuries follows from several considerations. Not only had numerous various readings arisen in the text of Yāj. when he wrote, but various interpretations of the same words and verses of Yāj. had arisen. For example, he gives several meanings of the words 'putronanyāśritadravyaḥ' (in Yāj. II. 17), 'samudrāḥ' (II. 41); he gives different interpretations of I. 265, II. 160, II. 173 &c. He refers to the interpretations of his predecessors in several places by the word 'anye' (I. 3, 25, 155, 169; II. 21, 119, 121; III. 201, 209, 246 &c.). In several places he appears to be referring to two other interpretations than his own (vide on III. 250, the words 'kecittu' and 'anye tu' and the same words on III. 261 and 264). That Viśvarupa had before him actual commentaries on Yāj. and was not merely giving scholastic interpretations started by himself is made very clear in several cases by his actually citing certain portions from those works. On I. 252 Viśvarupa says 'others take from somewhere the following śloka (then the śloka is quoted), but this śloka is of no help, as its origin is not known '.[321] Similar words occur in the

321 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिदागमस्यमं श्लोकं पठन्ति–'यः सपिण्डीकृतं प्रेतं पृथक्पिण्डेन योजयेत् । विधिघ्नस्तेन भवति पितृहा चोपजायते ॥ इति । अयं त्वस्पष्टमूलत्वादकिंचित्करः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 252.

comment[322] on Yāj. III. 222. On II. 193 he styles some predecessor as 'paṇḍitaṁmanya' and on III. 257 he ridicules a predecessor who regards the verse of Manu IV. 222 as an arthavāda by saying that that commentator wanted to show off that he knew the technical term arthavāda.[323] It is not unlikely that Viśvarūpa in this last passage refers to some ancient commentator of Manu such as Asahāya. In the Prāyaścittamayūkha,[324] Nīlakaṇṭha (Benares edition of 1879) says that Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra (III. 4. 43) explained the application of Yāj. III. 226. Unfortunately in the printed editions of Śaṅkara I could not find this. But from the Bhāmatī where Yāj. III. 226 is explained, it is clear that the passage must have occurred in the text of Śaṅkara used by the Bhāmatī. Dr. Jolly lays great emphasis in assigning a late date to Yāj. on the fact that Kumārila, who cites Manu, Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana frequently, ignores the Yājñavalkya-smṛti altogether. But this silence of the great mīmāṁsaka can only mean that he did not assign the same pre-eminent and venerable position to Yāj. that he assigned to Manu, Gautama and others. Dr. Jolly himself is prepared to place Yāj. three or four centuries earlier than Kumārila. It will be shown hereafter that Nārada and Bṛhaspati cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may have flourished two or three centuries earlier still. On a comparison of their doctrines with those of Yāj. it will have to be conceded that they represent a far greater advance in juristic principles and exactitude than Yāj. So the latter cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A. D. As Yāj. is shown above to have followed the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭilīya his smṛti cannot be placed earlier than the first century B. C. We shall not be therefore far from the truth if we place his smṛti somewhere between the first century B. C. and the third century of the Christian era. In the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (ed. by B. Nanjio, 1923,

322 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिदागमस्येमं श्लोकं पठन्ति--रागाद् द्वेषात् प्रमादाद्वा स्वतः परत एव वा । यो हन्याद् ब्राह्मणं कश्चित् स सर्वो ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ इति । तस्याविज्ञातमूलत्वाद् विचार्यम् । विश्वरूप on या. III. 222.

323 अन्ये तु भुक्त्वातोऽन्यनमस्यान्नमित्येवमादीन्यर्थवादत्वेन व्याचक्षते । ... न चात्र किंचिदर्थवादसारूप्यमस्य स्यात् । अतोऽर्थवादो नाम वाक्यप्रकारोऽस्ति तमप्यहं जानामीत्येतावानेवाभिप्रायः । इत्युपेक्षणीयम् । विश्व० on याज्ञ. III. 257.

324 श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु कामतोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु इत्यकारप्रश्लेषेणेदं याज्ञवल्क्यवचो बहिस्तूभयथापि स्मृतेराचाराच्चेति सूत्रे कृतप्रायश्चित्तस्यैहिकव्यवहार्यत्वादिपरम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्तम. p. 7.

Kyoto) gāthas 814-816 are 'Kātyāyanaḥ sūtrakartā yajñavalkastathaiva ca ... Valmīko Masurākṣaśca Kauṭilya Āśvalāyanaḥ I ... '. From the context it appears that the author of the smṛti is referred to as Yajñavalka.

Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 21) following Dr. Jacobi (Z D M G 30, p. 306) thinks that Yāj. shows an acquaintance with Greek astrology. Dr. Jacobi's position amounts to this that the naming of the week days after the planets was established among the Greeks towards the end of the 2nd century A. D. and as the names of the week days and the arrangement of the planets in correspondence with them was borrowed by the Indians from the Greeks, no Indian work which enumerates the week days or arranges the planets in the well-known sequence (of Sun, Moon, Mars &c.) could have been composed before the third century after the Christ. As is very often the case with Western Sanskrit scholars in matters of Indian chronology, this grand generalisation is based upon very slender data. The premises are mere assumptions without hardly any evidence worth the name to support them. No one knows exactly when the week-days were named and who were the people that first employed the current names of the week-days. It is well-known that as far back as the days of Herodotus the Egyptians had a presiding deity for each day and that in the times of Julius Caesar there were days of Saturn (*vide* I. A. vol. 14, p. 1, General Cunningham's article for the Indian origin of week-days). At least from the third century B. C., as vouched for by the 13th edict of Aśoka, India was in close touch with Syria and Egypt, where Buddhist missionaries had been sent by Aśoka while Antiochus and Ptolemy ruled in the two countries respectively. Therefore, if Indians at all borrowed the week-days and the arrangement of planets from foreigners, there is nothing to prevent us from holding that they borrowed them from the Egyptians. The earliest dated Indian record wherein a week-day is mentioned is the Eraṇ Inscription of 484 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 89) where we have " Suraguror divase. " It is to be noticed that Yāj. does not mention the week-days. In I. 296 he mentions the nine *grahas* in order as the Sun, the Moon, Mars (the son of the earth), Mercury (the son of Soma), Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, Ketu. No one can gainsay that at least the Sun, the Moon, Bṛhaspati and Venus were known to the Ṛgvedic India. Bṛhaspati in the highest heaven is

spoken of in the Ṛgveda[325] and the conjunction of Jupiter and Tiṣya (constellation of Puṣya) is spoken of in the Tai. Brāhmaṇa.[326] We know so very little of the ancient astronomical science in ancient India that one must think twice before dogmatising. Yāj. nowhere mentions the zodiacal signs (rāśis) and probably did not know them. Not only so, in his day the *nakṣatras* were still arranged from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī as was the case in the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. Vide Yāj. I. 268 (Kṛttikādi bharaṇyantam). We know from Varāhamihira that in the 5th century A. D. the signs of the zodiac and the arrangement of *Nakṣatras* from Aśvini to Revatī were established facts in all parts of India. Therefore Yāj. who uses the ancient arrangement of Nakṣatras cannot be placed so late as the 4th century A. D. When Yāj. (I. 80) speaks of "susthe indau" we should not, following such commentaries as the Mit., connect the words with the signs of the zodiac or the houses of the horoscope. Viśvarūpa does not speak of *rāśis* in this connection, but of Nakṣatras only. From very ancient times certain Nakṣatras had come to be regarded as auspicious or suitable for particular acts. The Tai. [327]Br. directs that one should not finish a thing or begin to sacrifice on a nakṣatra with an evil name. The same Brāhmaṇa says that ploughing was to be begun on the Maitra asterism (Anurādhā) and consecration of fire on the Āditya nakṣatra. Even the Ṛgveda speaks of auspicious days[329] and the Tai. Br. speaks of Deva-nakṣatras and Puṇyāhas, and says that a daughter should be given away in marriage on the Svāti nakṣatra if she was desired to be her husband's favourite.[330] Vide Baudhāyana Gṛhya (I. 1) for the marriage nakṣatras; also Āp. Gr. S. II. 15. 12-14, Gobhila Gṛhya 4. 4. 28 and 2. 1. 1. Therefore, when Yāj. speaks of planets being badly placed (I. 307), or of Vyatipata, Gajacchaya and the passing

325 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परमे व्योमन् । ऋग्वेद 4. 50. 4.

326 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानस्तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभिसंबभूव । तै. ब्रा. 3. 1. 1. 5.

327 तस्मादश्लीलनामंश्चित्रे नावस्येन्न यजेत यथा पापाहे कुरुते तादृगेव तत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 6.

328 मैत्रेण कृषन्ते ... आदित्येन आदधते । तै. ब्रा. 1. 8. 4. 2.

329 स्तोतारं विप्रः सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । ऋग्वेद VII. 88. 4.

330 यान्येव देवनक्षत्राणि तेषु कुर्वीत यत्कारी स्यात् पुण्याह एव कुरुते । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 9; यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्ट्यायां दद्यात् । तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 3.

(saṁkrama) of the Sun (I. 218), we have no right to connect this with the *rāśis*. In III. 171 and 172 he speaks of only the conjunction of planets and of the passage (of them) through *tārās* and *nakṣatras*. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 23 speaks of the nine *grahas* in the same order as that of Yāj. Therefore there is hardly any evidence to show that Yāj. knew more astrology than was current in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and the Gṛhyasūtras. Yāj. (in II. 240-241) speaks of the fine to be imposed on those who counterfeited "nāṇakas" (coins) and on those examiners of "nāṇakas" who falsely declared a good coin to be counterfeited and *vice versa*. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 17, p. CLIX) says that nāṇaka is the gold coin of the Kushans bearing the picture of the Goddess Nanaia and that the Kushans did not rise to importance before 78 A. D. This would place Yāj. after 100 A. D. But it must be remembered that this connection between the Goddess Nanaia and the word "nāṇaka" is quite conjectural and that the chronology of the Kushans is far from being settled.

Yāj. speaks of the sight of yellow-robed people as an evil omen (I. 273), which is probably a reference to the Buddhists; though it has to be remembered that he prescribes old yellow (kāṣāya) robes for his seeker after *mokṣa* (III. 157). He speaks of the founding of monasteries of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas (II. 185). The philosophical doctrines contained in the third section (verses 64-205) approach that phase of the Vedānta that was taught by Śaṅkara. *Vide* particularly III. 67, 69, 109, 119, 125, 140. He employs in elucidating the philosophy of ātman the well known examples of ghaṭākāśa and of the reflection of the Sun in water (III. 144), of the various ornaments made from gold, of the spider spinning webs out of his own body (both in III. 147), of the actor representing various parts (III. 162). All these illustrations frequently occur in Śaṅkara's Śārīrakabhāṣya (e. g. ghaṭākāśa on II. 1. 14, spider on II. 1. 25). All these points, however, are of very little use in arriving at a definite age for the smṛti of Yāj. The foregoing discussion has established that Dr. Jolly's date (viz. 4th century A. D. in R. u. S., p. 21) is much later than the data warrant. There is nothing to prevent us from holding that the extant smṛti was composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier.

Besides the Yājñavalkyasmṛti we have to reckon with three other works connected with the name of Yājñavalkya, viz. Vṛddha Yāj., Yoga-Yāj., and Bṛhad-Yāj. All these three works are comparatively ancient. Viśvarūpa quotes (vide note 219 above) two verses of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya saying that many writers on dharma have been born and will be born and enumerating ten such writers. The Mit. and Aparārka quote Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya frequently. One quotation cited from Vṛddha-Yāj. by Mādhava refers to the means of proof in case of doubt whether there was a partition.[331] So Vṛddha-Yāj. wrote also on Vyavahāra. Most of the quotations occur in the prāyaścitta section. It is interesting to note that one of these quotations in Aparārka[332] regards the touch of Pārasikas as on the same level with that of Cāṇḍālas, Mlecchas and Bhillas. The Dāyabhāga[333] says that Jitendriya cited the words of Bṛhad-Yājñavalkya (viz. "sodaro nānyamātṛjaḥ"). The Mit. cites Bṛhad-Yājñavalkya on prāyaścitta. So this also is a work that must be held to be earlier than 1000 A. D. Yāj. himself is styled Yogīśvara by the Mit. and other works, but Yoga-Yājñavalkya is a different work from the Yāj. smṛti and existed probably prior to the latter work. Yāj. (in III. 110) claims the Yogaśāstra to be his own work. So either Yāj. the author of the smṛti composed such a work or the author of the smṛti in order to glorify it claimed that he was the same as the author of a well-known Yogaśāstra ascribed to a Yājñavalkya. At all events Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed certainly much earlier than 800 A. D. Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya.[334] Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (of the Vikram era) i. e. 841-42 A. D. Aparārka quotes profusely from Yoga-Yājñavalkya. One of the quotations (on III. 198-201) is an Āryā

331 विभागधर्मसन्देहे बन्धुसाक्ष्यभिलेखितैः । विभागभावना कार्या न भवेद् दैविकी क्रिया ॥ पराशरमाधवीय III, part 2, p. 571 ; compare याज्ञ. II. 149.

332 चण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारसिकादिकम् । महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचैलकम् ॥ on याज्ञ. III. 29-30.

333 संसृष्टपदमेव वा सोदरमभिधत्ते । अत एव बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं सोदरो नान्यमातृज इति जितेन्द्रियेण लिखितम् । दायभाग p. 298 (ed. of 1829).

334 ननु हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नान्यः पुरातनः — इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेः कथं पतञ्जलेर्योगशास्त्रकर्तृत्वमित्याशङ्क्य &c. The words हिरण्यगर्भो &c. occur in the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5.

(on the duration of a mātrā[335]). The quotations refer to prāṇāyāma, Gāyatrī, bathing, tarpaṇa and jñāna. His position is that even a householder becomes *mukta* by performing his duties, by contemplating on *ātman* and by knowledge of the Vedānta, that the highest goal is reached by a combination of jñāna and *karma* and that the view that *mokṣa* results from knowledge alone is a sign of indolence.[336] The Parāśaramādhavīya quotes a verse from Yogi-Yāj. saying that only the Brāhmaṇas can pass through the four āśramas, the Kṣatriya through three (excluding the last), the Vaiśya through two and the Śūdra only through one (viz. that of householder).[337] Kullūka on Manu (3. 1) quotes the view of Yogi-Yāj. that Brahmacarya extended to twelve years or five for each of the four Vedas.[338]

In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of Yogi-Yājñavalkya (Nos. 91 and 388 of 1899-1915) in twelve chapters and about 495 verses. The colophon at the end of the first chapter in the latter ms. describes it in the style of the Bhagavadgītā.[339] Yājñavalkya is said to have learnt Yogaśāstra from Brahmā and expounds it to his wife Gārgī. The whole work deals with the eight aṅgas of *yoga*, their divisions and subdivisions. Out of the several quotations cited above from Yoga-Yāj. only one was found in this work. It contains a verse (I. 68 aṣṭau grāsā muneḥ proktāḥ &c) which is practically the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 7.

335 अङ्गुलिमोक्षत्रितयं जान्वोः परिमार्जनं बापि । तालत्रयमपि तज्ज्ञा मात्रासंज्ञं प्रशंसन्ति ॥ अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 198-201. This is उपगीति, a variety of आर्या. It occurs in the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञ० VIII. 12, where we read जानूर्वोः परिमार्जनमथापि । तत्कालत्रयमपि &c.

336 स्वकर्मणामनुष्ठानात्सम्यगात्मनिदर्शनात् । वेदान्तानां परिज्ञानाद् गृहस्थोपि विमुच्यते ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 57. This occurs in बृहद्योगियाज्ञ० (ms.) XI. 47; परिज्ञानाद्भवेन्मुक्तिरेतदालस्यलक्षणम् । कायक्लेशभयाच्चैव कर्म नेच्छन्ति पण्डिताः । ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगात्परमाप्नोति पूरुषः । एकाभ्यां न सिध्येत उभे तस्मात् समाश्रयेत् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 205; these two are बृहद्योगि. IX. 34 and 28.

337 चत्वारो ब्राह्मणस्योक्ता आश्रमाः श्रुतिचोदिताः । क्षत्रियस्य त्रयः प्रोक्ता द्वावेको वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥ quoted in परा. मा vol. I., part 2, p. 153. This is योगयाज्ञवल्क्य I. 30.

338 यदाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः 'प्रतिवेदं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशाब्दानि पञ्च वा'.

339 इति श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यगीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे याज्ञवल्क्यगार्गीसंवादे प्रथमोऽध्यायः.

22 and another verse (X. 19) which is a quotation from the Bhagavatgītā.[340] There is another ms. (No. 354 of 1875-76) in the same collection called Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti in twelve chapters and about 930 verses. Yājñavalkya in Mithilā is asked by Janaka and the sages and then expounds the following subjects:— how *mantras* are to be studied in connection with metre, deity, sage and viniyoga, about *oṁkāra* or praṇava ; seven Vyāhṛtis ; Gāyatrī ; nyāsa of Gāyatrī ; sandhyopāsana ; snāna ; Japa ; prāṇāyāma ; dhyāna ; sūryopasthāna ; eulogy of *yoga* ; eulogy of Vedaśāstra.

From the above it is clear that Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-yogi-Yājñavalkya are entirely different works and that the latter is comparatively an early work, as quotations from it are cited by Vācaspatimiśra (9th century) and Aparārka. The latter work contains numerous quotations from the Bhagavadgītā and the Manusmṛti and a few from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (the verse about the 14 vidyāsthānas is the same in both). So it must have been composed between 200 and 700 A. D.

There are many commentaries on the Yāj. smṛti. Out of these those of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi are the most famous. For these see sections 60, 70, 79 and 95 below. On account of the paramount importance of the Mit. in modern Hindu Law as administered by British Courts in the whole of India, the smṛti of Yāj. has indirectly become the guiding work for the whole of India and this position it richly deserves by its concise but clear statement of principles, its breadth of vision and its comparative impartiality towards the claims of both sexes and the different varṇas.

35. The Parāśara Smṛti

This work has been published several times, but the edition of Jivananda (part II. pp. 1-52) and that in the Bombay Sanskrit Series with the voluminous gloss of the great Mādhava are the best known. In the following pages Jivananda's edition has been used.

The smṛti of Parāśara must have been an ancient one as Yāj. (I. 4) mentions him among the ancient writers on dharma. But it is doubtful whether we possess the ancient smṛti of Parāśara. The extant smṛti is probably a recast of it as it mentions Yāj. in the first

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340 यं यं वापि स्मरन्भावं &c. योगयाज्ञवल्क्य X. 19.

chap. (p. 2). The Garuḍapurāṇa in chap. 107 gives a summary in 39 verses of the Parāśara-smṛti. In doing so it takes parts of the latter and pieces them together. For example, verses 2-4 in the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) are 'śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāro yaḥ kaścid vedakartṛkaḥ । vedāḥ smṛtāḥ brahmaṇādau dharmā Manvādibhiḥ sadā ॥ dānam kaliyuge dharmaḥ kartāram ca kalau tyajet । pāpa-kṛtyaṁ tu tatraiva śāpam phalati varṣataḥ ॥ ācārāt prāpnuyāt sarvaṁ ṣaṭ karmāṇi dine dine । sandhyā snānam japo homo devātithyādi-pūjanam ॥'. These are taken *verbatim* or with slight changes from the Pārāśara-smṛti ; compare na kaścid vedakartā ca vedasmartā catur-mukhaḥ । śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācārā nirṇetavyāś ca sarvadā । tathaiva dharmaṁ smarati Manuḥ kalpāntarāntare । tapaḥ paraṁ . . dānam-ekaṁ kalau yuge ॥ . . . tyajet-deśam kṛtayuge . . . kartāraṁ ca kalau yuge । . . . kṛte tu tatkṣaṇāt śāpaḥ . . . kalau saṁvatsareṇa tu ॥ chap. I. verses 20-21, 23, 25, 27 and vide 39 for verse 4 of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. This establishes that the Garuḍa regarded the Parā-śara-smṛti authoritative and ancient. There is another problem to be considered. Kauṭilya mentions six times the views of Pārāśara or the Pārāśaras on various aspects of politics and state administration. Therefore it appears that there was a work of Pārāśara on politics, in which it is possible that vyavāhara also was dealt with.

The extant Pārāśarasmṛti is divided into twelve chapters and contains according to the last verse but one 592 verses. It deals only with ācāra and prāyaścitta. Mādhava introduced his disquisition on vyavahāra, which forms about a fourth of his extensive gloss, in an indirect way by regarding vyavahara as a part of the duties of Kṣatriyas on which the Parāśarasmṛti has something to say.[341]

The name Parāśara is an ancient one. In the Tai. Araṇyaka (I. 1. 3. 37) we have a Vyāsa Pārāśarya. In the Vaṁśa that occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka we have a Pārāśarya. The Nirukta

341 क्षत्रियो हि प्रजा रक्षन् शस्त्रपाणिः प्रचण्डवत्। विजित्य परसैन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ पराशर chap. I. p. 6. (B. S. Series); 'अत एवाचारकाण्डे व्यवहाराणामन्तर्भावमभिप्रेत्य पराशरः पृथग्व्यवहारकाण्डमकृत्वा क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेदिति सूचनमात्रं व्यवहाराणां कृतवान् । परा. मा. p. 8.

gives an etymology of Pārāśara.[342] Pāṇini attributes a bhikṣusūtra to Pārāśarya.[343]

The introductory verses of the smṛti say that sages went to Vyāsa and requested him to instruct them in the dharmas and conduct beneficial to mankind in the Kali age and that the great Vyāsa took them to his father Pārāśara, son of Śakti, in the Badarikaśrama, who then propounded the dharmas of the four *varṇas*. The first chaptar recites the smṛtis then known (19 in all) and lays down that in the four ages of Kṛta, Treta, Dvāpara, and Kali, the dharmas proclaimed by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were respectively to be the guiding ones. The following are briefly the contents of the Parāśara smṛti :

I. Introductory verses ; Pārāśara imparts to the sages knowledge of dharma ; the dharmas of the four *yugas* ; differentiation of the four *yugas* from various points of view ; six daily duties, viz. sandhyā, bath, *japa*, *homa*, Vedic study, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests, eulogy of honouring guests, the proper means of livelihood for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra ; II. duties of householder ; agriculture ; the five unconscious acts of injury to animal life ; III. purification from impurity due to birth and death ; IV. concerning suicide ; punishment for wife deserting her husband though poor, foolish or diseased ; definition and rules about Kuṇḍa, Golaka, Parivitti, and Parivitta ; remarriage of women ; rewards for chaste widows ; V. expiation for minor things (such as dog-bite) ; about a Brāhmaṇa who has consecrated fires dying on a journey or committing suicide ; VI. Expiation for killing various beasts and birds, for killing Śūdras, artisans, women, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas, sinful Brāhmaṇas ; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas ; VII. purifications of various articles (such as vessels of wood, metal &c) ; about a woman in her menses ; VIII. Expiations for killing cows and oxen unwittingly in various ways ; approaching a pariṣad for expiation, constitution of a pariṣad ; praise of learned Brāhmaṇas ; IX. proper thickness of sticks for beating cows and bulls ; expiations for using thicker sticks and injuries to them ; X. other expiations such as cāndrāyaṇa for intercourse with women with whom intercourse is forbidden ; the expiation called Sāntapana ; XI. expiation for partaking food from

342 पराशीर्णस्य वसिष्ठस्य जज्ञे । निरुक्त VI. 30.

343 पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । पा. IV. 3. 110.

Cāṇḍālas &c.; rules as to whose food may be taken and whose not; purification of wells &c. when animals fall in them; XII. bath prescribed after evil dreams, vomitting, shaving &c.; expiations for drinking wine and nasty things through ignorance; five kinds of bath; when bath at night allowed; what things should always be kept in the house or seen; definition of the unit of ground called gocarma; expiations for the deadly sins of Brahmahatyā, drinking liquor, theft of gold &c.

Parāśara contains several peculiar views. He speaks of only four sons (aurasa, kṣetraja, datta and kṛtrima) though he does not expressly negative a larger number (chap. 4 p. 14). He eulogises the practice of *Sati* (last two verses of chap. 4). The well-known verse of Nārada (Strīpuṁsa-yoga 97) "naṣṭe mṛte &c." is read at the end as "patir-anyo na vidyate" (p. 15). There are a few verses in the Indravajrā metre (e. g. on pp. 11-12 and 36). The Parāśarasmṛti quotes the views of several writers on dharma. Manu is frequently cited in the words "Manur-abravīd." In the 7th chapter alone those words occur four times.[344] None of them corresponds exactly with any verse of the Manusmṛti. Yet Manu V. 133 may be compared with the first two. Besides these, in the 9th chapter Manu's view is quoted that on killing an animal the guilty party should restore a similar one to the owner or its price.[345] In the 10th he says that according to Manu uncooked food, milk or oil brought from a Śūdra's house and used in cooking in a Brāhmin's house could be eaten by a Brahmaṇa. This is similar to Manu IV. 223.[346] In the 12th chapter Parāśara cites the view of Manu that a Brāhmaṇa fed on food (cooked) from śudras would become a vulture for twelve births, a pig for ten and a dog for seven.

344 मार्जारमक्षिकाकीटपतङ्गकृमिदर्दुराः । मेध्यामेध्यं स्पृशन्त्येव नोच्छिष्टान्मनुरब्रवीत् ॥. There are two more ending with नोच्छिष्टं ... ब्रवीत्. प्रभासादीनि तीर्थानि गङ्गाद्याः सरितस्तथा । विप्रस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे सांनिध्यं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ पराशर chap. 7; compare बौ. ध. सू. I. 4. 2. for the last.

345 प्रमापणे प्राणभृतां दद्यात्तत्प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यानुरूपं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ पराशर 9th chap.

346 शुष्कान्नं गोरसं स्नेहं शूद्रवेश्मन आगतम् । पक्वं विप्रगृहे पूतं भोज्यं तन्मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ पराशर 10th chap.; नाद्याच्छूद्रस्य पक्वान्नं विद्वानश्राद्धिनो द्विजः । आददीताममेवास्मादवृत्तावेकरात्रिकम् ॥ मनु. IV .223.

There is nothing corresponding to this in Manu. In the 9th Manu is spoken of as one who knows all śāstras.[347] The first verse of the 6th chapter says that Manu deals at length with expiation for killing animals.[348] This is probably a reference to Manu XI. 131-141. Numerous verses in the Parāśara-smṛti are word for word the same as those of the Manusmṛti. For example, Manu I. 85-86 occur in the first chapter of Parāśara, Manu V. 160 (about a widow remaining chaste) occurs with slight variations in the 4th; Manu XII. 114-115 (about *pariṣad*) occur in the 8th chap. (p. 29); Manu XI. 212 (about the definition of Sāntapana) is the same as Parāśara (10th chap. p. 40). Several verses are common to Baudhāyana and Parāśara, e. g. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 8, 11, 14 occur in the eighth chapter of Parāśara (pp. 29, 30). The verse "na nārikelair na ca śāṇabālair" occurring in Parāśara (9th chap. p. 35) is quoted as Vasiṣṭha's by Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18). Parāśara is mentioned by name several times (chap. III. 2, p. 8, chap. VI. 1. p. 18 and p. 23, chap. VII. 1. p. 24, chap. X. 12. p. 38). Uśanas is cited on p. 49 (chap. 12), Prajāpati (in IV. 3. p. 13), Śaṅkha (chap. 4 p. 15). Veda, Vedāṅgas, dharmaśāstras and smṛtis are spoken of on p. 23 (6th chap.). In the 11th chap. Parāśara refers to several Vedic *mantras*, most of which occur in the Ṛgveda, but two of them, "tejosi śukram" and "devasya tvā" are not found in the Ṛgveda, but in the Vāj. S. (22. 1 and 1. 24 respectively). Parāśara appears to have been a practical man. He exhorts his readers to save their bodies first in invasions, journeys, diseases, calamities and then care for dharma. He recommends the non-observance of rules of purity in times of difficulty and adherence to the strict rules of dharma when one is at ease.[349]

The Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri and other later works quote Parāśara very frequently. Most of these are found in the extant Parāśarasmṛti. For example, vide pp. 1169, 1177, 1180, 1191 &c. of Aparārka, all of which are traced in Parāśara pp. 42, 43, 42 and 16 respectively. Viśvarupa quotes Parāśara several times

347 मनुना चैवमेकेन सर्वशास्त्राणि जानता । पराशर 9th.

348 अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राणिहत्यासु निष्कृतिम् । पराशरेण पूर्वोक्तां मन्वर्थेऽपि च विस्तृताम् ॥

349 देशभङ्गे प्रवासे वा व्याधिषु व्यसनेष्वपि । रक्षेदेव स्वदेहादि पश्चाद्धर्मं समाचरेत् ॥; आपत्काले तु संप्राप्ते शौचाचारं न चिन्तयेत् । स्वयं समुद्धरेत् पश्चात् स्वस्थो धर्मं समाचरेत् ॥ 7th chap., last three verses.

and these quotations can be verified ; e. g. on Yāj. III. 16 the verse " anātham " ascribed to Parāśara is found in Parāśara chap. III p. 10 ; on Yāj. III. 257 ten verses are cited by Viśvarūpa from Parāśara which occur in Parāśara with considerable variations (chap. VII. pp. 20-21) ; on Yāj. III. 262 the verse "gavāṁ bandhana" is cited from Parāśara, which is the first verse of the 8th chapter. Therefore it is quite clear that in the first half of the 9th century the Parāśarasmṛti that we have now was considered to be authoritative and the work of an ancient sage. It seems to have known a work of Manu, as seen above. Therefore it must be assignad to some period between the first and the 5th century of our era. In the same direction points the fact that the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) seems to have known the introductory verses of Parāśara and as shown above (p. 191) combines passages of Parāśara in a summary of its teachings.[350] The Viṣṇu-dharmottara which is frequently quoted by Aparārka and other later works cites verses that are borrowed from Parāśara. For example, chap. 75. 1 of the former is the same as a verse of Parāśara.[351]

There is an extensive work called Bṛhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā (published by Jivananda, part II. pp. 53-309). It is divided into 12 chapters and the last verse says that it contains 3300 verses and that Suvrata proclaimed the śāstra imparted by Parāśara. The introductory verses contain the same story as that in the Parāśara-smṛti and many of the verses in the first chapter of the two works (such as those about the 19 writers on dharma &c.) are almost the same in both. The total of verses in the printed work comes to about 3000 and not 3300. It appears that the work is a recast of the Parāśarasmṛti made by Suvrata. The subjects of the twelve chapters are :—I. Introductory, the proper sphere of Āryas ; summary of contents ; II. Disquisition on the 6 daily *karmas*, sandhyā, bath, *japa*, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests ; Gāyatrī ; the dharmas of the *Varṇas* ; III. duties and manners of a householder ; agriculture, honour to cows ; IV. forms of marriage ; duties of wives ; Jātakarma and other rites ; gifts ; proper persons to

350 पराशरोऽब्रवीद् व्यासं धर्मं वर्णाश्रमादिकम् । कल्पे कल्पे क्षयोत्पत्त्या क्षीयन्ते तु प्रजादयः ॥ गरुडपुराण 107. 1. (Venkoteśvar Press ed.).

351 अनाथं ब्राह्मणं प्रेतं ये वहन्ति द्विजातयः । पदे पदे यज्ञफलमानुपूर्व्याल्लभन्ति ते ॥ पराशर chap. 3. p. 12.

receive gifts; V. concerning śrāddhas; VI. impurity on birth and death; prāyaścittas for various acts; VII. cāndrāyaṇa and other penances; VIII. gifts; IX. rites for propitiating Gaṇeśa and the planets, Rudra &c; X Rājadharma; dharmas of forest hermit and *yati*; XI. the different varieties of Brahmacārin, householder, forest hermit and yati; XII. prāṇayāma and other aṅgas of *yoga*.

This Bṛhat-Parāśara contains a considerable number of verses mostly in the Indravajrā metre and a few in tha Vasantatilakā (e. g. p. 134).

The Bṛhat-Parāśara appears to be a late work. It is a recast of the Parāśara-smṛti. It contains the Vināyakaśānti as elaborated by Yājñavalkya, since it speaks of only one Vināyaka (9th chap. p. 247) and not of four as in M. Gr. S. On p. 249 it quotes Yāj. I. 285 (about the names of Vināyaka) with the readings found in the Mit. It speaks of the rāśis (p. 244). It is not quoted by Viśvarūpa, the Mit. or Aparārka. It is mentioned in Bhaṭṭoji's comment on the Caturviṁśatimata (p. 138) and by Nandapaṇḍita in the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā, which quotes a verse (Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 153).[352]

A Vṛddha-Parāśara is quoted by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 318) immediately after Parāśara and as holding a different view. Mādhava also quotes a Vṛddha-Parāśara (Parāśara-Mādhavīya vol. I, part I, p. 230). This seems to be a different work from the Parāśara-smṛti and the Bṛhat-Parāśara. Hemādri (Carturvarga. vol. III, part 2, p. 48) and Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on Caturviṁśa-timata (p. 138) quote a Jyotiḥ-Parāśara.

36. The Nārada-smṛti

There are two versions of Nārada on Vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one. The smaller version was translated by Dr. Jolly in 1876 (Trübner & Co., London). The text of the longer version was published by the same scholar in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1885) and was translated by him in the Sacred Books of the East Series (vol. 33). The edition of the text is accompanied up to verse 21 of the 5th title 'abhyupetyāśusrūṣā' by extracts from the commentary of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, who was encouraged in the task of revision by Keśavabhaṭṭa.

352 अपुत्रस्य पितृव्यस्य तत्पुत्रो भ्रातृजो भवेत् । स एव तस्य कुर्वीत श्राद्धं पिण्डोदक-
क्रियाम् ॥ दत्तकमीमांसा p. 36.

From verse 22 of the same title the printed text is the same as the smaller version. A verse quoted as Nārada's by Kṣīrasvāmin is not found in the larger version but is found in the smaller version.[353] An ancient Ms. of Nārada from Nepal dated 1407 A. D. contains two additional chapters on theft and ordeals. Dr. Jolly includes the first as an appendix and omits that on ordeals on the ground that it is not authentic. One of the colophons of the Nepalese Ms. describes it as 'iti Mānava-dharmaśāstre Nāradaproktāyāṁ saṁhitāyām &c.' This corroborates what was said above (pp. 149, 156) as to the close connection between Manu and Nārada.

Nārada is not mentioned by Yājñavalkya in the list of ancient writers on dharma, nor does Parāśara mention him. Viśvarūpa however quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya (on Yāj. I. 4-5), where Nārada is the first among ten expounders of dharma enumerated therein (vide note 219).

The printed Nārada contains three introductory chapters on the principles of judicial procedure (Vyavahāra-mātṛka) and on the judicial assembly (sabhā). Then the following titles of law are dealt with one after another :—ṛṇādāna (recovery of debts), upanidhi (deposit, lending, bailment), saṁbhūya-samutthāna (partnership), dattāpradānika (gifts and resumption thereof), abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā (breach of contract of service), vetanasya-anapākarma (non-payment of wages), asvāmivikraya (sale without ownership), vikrīyāsaṁpradāna (non-delivery after sale), krītānuśaya (rescission of purchase), samayasyānapākarma (violation of conventions of corporations, guilds &c.), sīmābandha (settlement of boundaries); strīpuṁsayoga (marital relation); dāyabhāga (partition and inheritance); sāhasa (offences in which force is the principal element) such as homicide, robbery, rape &c.; vākpāruṣya (defamation and abuse) and daṇḍapāruṣya (hurt of various kinds); prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous wrongs). The appendix deals with theft, though a few remarks are made on that topic under the title of 'sāhasa.'

It will be noticed that Nārada follows the Manusmṛti to a considerable extent in the nomenclature and the arrangement of the

353 क्षीरस्वामी on the word वृषल in अमरकोश quotes the verse वृषो हि भगवान्धर्म-स्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम् । which is मनु 8. 16 and शान्तिपर्व 9. 15.

eighteen titles. Some of the titles are differently named by Nārada, e. g. he speaks of upanidhi, while Manu employs the word nikṣepa. Nārada seems to have included the svāmipālavivāda of Manu in vetanasya-anapākarma. He makes one title of dyūta and samāhvaya. Nārada includes strīsaṁgrahaṇa under sāhasa and adds three titles, viz. abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā, vikriyāsampradāna and prakīrṇaka. The smṛticandrikā expressly[354] says that it follows the work of Nārada in preference to that of Manu as regards the nomenclature and sequence of the titles of law. Nārada follows Manu in speaking of witnesses in the section on ṛṇādāna and in treating of theft after the eighteen titles have been dealt with (vide Manu IX. 256 ff.).

The printed Nārada contains 1028 verses (including 61 on theft in the appendix). About seven hundred of these verses occur in various *nibandhas* as quotations. Up to the 21st verse of the section 'abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā' the commentary of Asahāya furnishes a valuable check for the authenticity of the text. For the remaining portion, there are important data as to its authenticity, sequence and readings. Viśvarūpa, who belongs to the first half of the 9th century, quotes about fifty verses of Nārada (generally by name). The text that he had before him was essentially the same as that of the printed edition, except in a very few cases. Out of the seven verses of Nārada on 'samayasya-anapākarma' Viśvarūpa quotes five (on Yāj. II. 190 and 196) and expressly states that Nārada wound up his chapter on that topic with the verse 'doṣavat karaṇaṁ &c'. as the printed text does. On Yāj. II. 226 Viśvarūpa distinctly says that the verse 'yameva hyativarteran' &c. is followed immediately by 'malā hyete manuṣyeṣu'. This is the case with the printed text also (dyūtasamāhvaya verses 13-14). On Yāj. III. 252 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse af Nārada about the three kinds of wealth, śukla, śabala and kṛṣṇa, which does not occur in that form in Nārada, though the latter contains similar dicta.[355] Viśvarūpa contains no quotation from Nārada on the topics of ācāra or prāyaścitta. The same is the case with Medhātithi and the Mitākṣarā. Medhātithi somewhat inaccurately summarises the

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354 नारदीयदेशक्रमानुसारिणश्च वयमित्यनयोरिहाभिधानम् ।

355 शुक्लं च शबलं चैव कृष्णं च त्रिविधं धनम् । शुक्लं न्यायार्जितं धर्म्यमितरद् व्यवहारिकम् ॥ ; तत्पुनस्त्रिविधं ज्ञेयं शुक्लं शबलमेव च । कृष्णं च तस्य विज्ञेयाः प्रभेदाः सप्तधा पृथक् ॥ (नारद, ऋणादान 44).

the introductory words (in prose) of Nārada (vide note 269 above). Medhātithi frequently quotes Nārada particularly from the sections on ṛṇādāna (vide on Manu 8. 47, 155, 149) and dāyabhāga (on Manu 8, 28, 29, and 207, 209, and 143). On Manu 8, 349 he quotes Nārada on partnership (verse 10), on 8. 216 he quotes Nārada (vetanasya-anapākarma verse 5). In some cases Medhātithi cites Nārada's verses without naming him e. g. on Manu 9. 76 he quotes the well-known verse 'nashte mṛte pravrajite &c.' (Nārada on marital relation, verse 97) as 'smṛtyantara'. It was shown above (p. 172) that the vyavahāra section of the Agnipurāṇa dates from about 900 A. D. Chap. 253 of the Agnipurāṇa contains thirty verses of the extant Nāradasmṛti, viz. Agni 253. 1b--9a = Nārada (vyavahāra-mātṛkā chap. I. 8-15); Agni 253. 9b—12 = Nārada (vyavahāra-mātṛkā chap. I. 26-29a); Agni 253. 13--30 are the verses defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādāna to prakīrṇaka contained in Nārada and occur in the same order in both. The readings preserved in the Agnipurāṇa deserve some discussion. Agni (253. 3-4) reads 'dharmaś ca vyavahāraś ca ... uttaraḥ purvasādhakaḥ', while Nārada has 'purvabādhakaḥ'. Agni reads 'caritraṁ saṁgrahe pūṁsāṁ rajājñayaṁ tu sādhanam' (253. 5), while Nārada has 'caritraṁ pustakaraṇe rājājñāyāṁ tu śāsanam'. Agni (253. 15) reads 'dattvādravyaṁ ca samyag-yaḥ', while Nārada (dattapradānika 1) reads 'dattvā dravyamasamyag-yaḥ'. The Agni (253. 11) reads 'Śaṅkā sadbhistu saṁsargāt tattvaṁ sodhābhidarśanāt' and avoids the rare word 'hoḍhābhi-' in Nārada 'Śaṅkāsatāṁ tu saṁsargāt tattvaṁ hoḍhābhidarśanāt' (Vyavahāramātṛkā I. 27). For Nārada's 'akṣabradhnaśalākādyair &c.' (dyutasamāhvaya I) Agni reads 'Akṣavajra &c.' (253. 29). The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 199) and Vīr. (p. 718) follow printed Nārada in the last case and also in the other cases. In the Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri, Parāśaramādhavīya and other later *nibandhas* numerous verses of Nārada are quoted on topics of ācāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta. For example, Hemādri (caturvarga vol. III. part 2, pp. 159, 183, 185, 223, 235) quotes several verses of Nārada on Ekādaśī and a verse of Nārada about the astrological *yoga* called padmaka. The Smṛticandrikā (I. pp. 198-199) quotes 26 verses on the worship of Nārāyaṇa, the last of which is the well known verse 'dhyeyaḥ sadā savitṛmaṇḍala-madhyavarti &c.' and the same work (on śrāddha p. 354) quotes a verse of Nārada in which Sunday and Saṁkrānti are mentioned. The question arises whether

these quotations of Nārada on ācāra and prāyaścitta and allied topics are the work of the same Nārada that wrote on Vyayahāra. From the fact that early writers like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara do not contain a single quotation of Nārada on topics other than that of vyavahāra, it appears probable that the quotations on ācāra and prāyaścitta belong to a later date than the Nāradasmṛti on vyavahāra and either did not exist in the days of Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi or had not attained canonical authority in those days. There is in the India Office Library a ms. of Nāradasmṛti in three chapters and 322 verses dealing exclusively with ācāra and prāyaścitta (vide Jolly's Introduction p. 5 to edition of text).

The Nāradasmṛti, excluding the introductory passage in prose about the successive abridgments of the original work of Manu by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava, is written in the śloka metre except in the case of two verses (verse 38 of the 2nd chap. of vyavahāra-mātṛkā and the last verse of the chapter on sabhā). Nārada himself is mentioned by name in connection with the ordeals (ṛṇādāna verse 253).[355a] The first person also occurs in 'ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi' (ṛṇādāna 343). Ācāryas are cited in 'dattāpradānika' (verse 5). Dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra are mentioned (vyavahāramātṛkā, chap. I, 37 and 39) and Nārada lays down the rule as in Yāj. (II. 21) that in a conflict between the two the former should furnish the rule of conduct.[356] Nārada refers to Vasiṣṭha's rule about interest (ṛṇādāna 99). Two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa.[357] Manu is named in several places (ṛṇādāna verses 250, 251, 326).[358] The first passage about Manu is quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (II. 98) and corresponds closely with the teaching of Manu (8. 113). But the other passages

355a सन्दिग्धेर्थेऽभियुक्तानां विशुद्ध्यर्थं दुरात्मनाम् । प्रोक्तानि नारदेनेह सत्यानृतविशुद्धये ॥

356 यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

357 पुराणोक्तौ द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः । यः परार्थे प्रहिणुयात्स्वां वाचं पुरुषाधमः । आत्मार्थे किं न कुर्यात्स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥ वाच्यर्था नियताः सर्वे वाङ्मूला वाग्विनिःसृताः । यो हि तां स्तेनयेद्वाचं स सर्वस्तेयकृन्नरः ॥ नारद (ऋणादान 227-228).

358 सत्यं वाहनशस्त्राणि गोबीजकनकादि च । ...इत्येते शपथाः प्रोक्ता मनुना स्वल्पकारणे । ऋणादान 248, 250; दैवं पञ्चविधं ज्ञेयमित्याह भगवान्मनुः । ऋणादान 251, छायानिवेशितो रश्मो दिनशेषमभोजनः । विषवेगक्रमातीतः शुद्धोऽसौ मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ ऋणादान 326.

crediting Manu with dividing ordeals into five kinds and giving his view about poison ordeal have no corresponding passage in the extant Manu. Therefore Nārada had a version of Manu before him that was somewhat different in certain respects from our Manu or Nārada may be referring to Vṛddha or Bṛhat Manu. Besides this there is one remarkable fact to be noted about the relation of Manu and Nārada. There are about 50 verses that are common to Manu and Nārada. Manu 8. 12-14 and 18-19 are Nārada (sabhā, verses 8-10 and 12-13 in a different order), Manu 8. 140-141 = N. (ṛṇādāna 99-100), Manu 8. 148-149 = N. (ṛṇādāna 80-81), M. 8. 143 = N. (ṛ. 129, M. 8. 64 = N. (ṛ. 177), M. 8. 72 = N. (ṛ. 189), M. 8. 93 and 113 = N. (ṛ. 199, 201), M. 98-99 = N. (ṛ. 208, 209 and Udyogaparva 35.33-34), M. 8. 89 = N. (ṛ. 225), M. 8. 186-187, 189, 191 = N. (upanidhi 10-13), M. 8. 232-233, 235 = N. (vetanasya-anapākarma 14-16 in a different order), M. 9. 47 = N. (marital relation, verse 28), M. 8. 224-225 = N. (marital relation, 33-34), M. 9. 357-358 = N. (marital relation, 65-66 in reverse order), M. 9. 3 = N. (dāyabhāga 31), M. 9. 216 = N. (dāyabhāga 44), M. 8. 267-269 = N. (vākpāruṣya 15-17), M. 9. 270-272 = N. (vākpāruṣya 22-24), M. 8. 281-284 = N. (daṇḍa-pāruṣya 26-29), M. 4. 87 = N. (prakīrṇaka 44).

Nārada (ṛṇādāna 158) 'śrotriyās-tāpasā vṛddhā ye ca pravrajitā narāḥ | asākṣiṇas-te vacanān nātra heturudāhṛtaḥ' has probably Manu 8. 65 in view where we read 'na sākṣī . . . na śrotriyo na liṅgastho na saṅgebhyo vinirgataḥ'.

Besides these there are several cases where Nārada closely agrees with Manu though the verses are not identical, e. g. Nārada (sāhasa 19) may be compared with Manu 9. 271 and Nārada (appendix on theft, verses 1-4) may be compared with Manu (9. 256-260). These facts establish that Nārada is based on a version of Manu that was essentially the same as the extant text of Manu, though there was some difference here and there. Nārada contains several verses that occur in the Mahābhārata. For example, Śānti 111. 66 = N. (vyavahāra-mātṛkā 72),[359] Udyoga 35. 58 = N. (sabhā, verse 18), Udyoga 35. 31-32 = N. (ṛ. 202-203). There are several cases where the text of Kauṭilya agrees with

359 तलवद् दृश्यते व्योम खद्योतो हव्यवाडिव । न तलं विद्यते व्योम्नि न खद्योते हुताशनः ॥
N. p. 26.

Nārada.[360] In some of these cases the agreement is almost word for word.[361]

Though Nārada is based on Manu, he differs in several essential matters from Manu. We have seen the difference between them in the nomenclature of the titles of law. Manu only casually mentions the ordeals of fire and water (8. 114), while Nārada enumerates five kinds of ordeals, describes them at length and adds two more viz. *taṇḍula-bhakṣaṇa* and *taptamāṣa* (ṛṇādāna, verses 259-348). He allows *Niyoga* (marital relation, verses 80-88), while Manu strongly condemns it. He allows remarriage of women (Nārada, marital relation, 97), while Manu is against it. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves (8. 415), while Nārada raises their number to fifteen (abhupetyāśusrūṣā, verses 26-28); Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 221-228), while Nārada allows it under state control and as a source of revenue ; Nārada is further far more systematic than Manu and is full of divisions and subdivisions. For example, he divides property into three kinds, each of which is again subdivided into seven varieties (ṛṇadāna 44-47); Nārada divides the law of gift into four sections, which are further subdivided into 32 ; he subdivides the eighteen titles into 132 (vyavahāra-mātṛkā I. 25).

There are a few points which are almost peculiar to Nārada, such as the fourteen kinds of impotent persons (strīpuṁsayoga 11-13), the three kinds of *punarbhūs* and four kinds of svairiṇīs (ibid. verses 45-52).

Nārada is probably later than Yājñavalkya. Yāj. knows only five kinds of ordeals, while Nārada knows seven and the former's treatment of them is not so exhaustive as Nārada's. The rules of judicial procedure in Nārada are more systematic and exhaustive than those of Yāj. Nārada contains more definitions than Yāj. In some respects however Nārada is more conservative than Yāj. For example, Nārada nowhere recognises the rights of the widow to

360 Compare कौटिल्य, धर्मस्थीय, chap. I, verses at the end with नारद, व्यवहारमातृका 1st chap., verses 2, 10-11, 39-40.

361 धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्वसाधकः ॥ तत्र सत्ये स्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु । चरित्रं पुस्तकरणे राजाज्ञायां तु शासनम् ॥ नारद, व्यवहारमातृका I. 10-11 ; the first half in each verse is the same in कौटिल्य.

succeed to her deceased husband as Yāj. does; Nārada gives no rules about the succession of *gotrajas* and *bandhus* as Yāj. does. In a few respects Nārada agrees with the views of Manu instead of with Yāj., such as allowing a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra woman. Nārada regards sexual intercourse with a pravrajitā (female ascetic) as a mortal sin (strīpuṁsayoga 74-75), while both Manu (8. 363) and Yāj. (II. 293) treat it lightly. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Nārada flourished nearly at the same time as or somewhat later than Yāj.

Nārada contains several rare words such as " hoḍha " (in vyavahāramātṛkā I. 27, meaning 'one's property when lost or stolen'). He gives expression to certain principles of law and politics, such as that a man is master of his own house, in other words, a man's house is his castle ;[362] he highly eulogises the office of king, almost assigning it a divine origin and exhorts the people to obey and honour even a weak and undeserving king.[363] Mr. Jayasval sees in this and in the fact that Nārada speaks of dīnāra while the Mṛcchakaṭika speaks of nāṇaka indications that Nārada belongs to the fourth century, is later than the drama, is propping up the authority of a new dynasty and flourished under the Imperial Guptas (C. W. N. vol. 17, p. CCLXXXV). He regards a person as minor till the sixteenth year.[364] This limit was probably first fixed by Nārada. Nārada further boldly says that in case of conflict between *dharmaśāstra* and usages, the latter have to be followed, as they are directly observed.[365]

As Nārada's is regarded as an authoritative smṛti by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other later writers and as Asahāya, who is mentioned by name in the commentary of Viśvarūpa, wrote a comment on

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362 त्रयः स्वतन्त्रा लोकेऽस्मिन्राजाचार्यस्तथैव च । प्रतिवर्णं च सर्वेषां वर्णानां स्वे गृहे गृही ॥ ऋणादान 32. This idea occurs in शान्तिपर्व 321. 147 'सर्वः स्वे स्वे गृही राजा'.

363 Vide प्रकीर्णक verses 20–22 राजेति संचरत्येष भूमौ साक्षात् सहस्रदृक् । न तस्याज्ञामतिक्रम्य संतिष्ठेरन् प्रजाः क्वचित् ॥...निर्बलोऽपि यथा स्त्रीणां पूज्य एव पतिः सदा । प्रजानां विगुणोऽप्येवं पूज्य एव प्रजापतिः ॥

364 बाल आ षोडशाद् वर्षात् पोगण्ड इति शस्यते । परतो व्यवहारज्ञः स्वतन्त्रः पितरौ विना ॥ ऋणादान 35-36.

365 धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः । व्यवहारो हि बलवान्धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ॥ व्यवहारमातृका 40.

Nārada, the Nāradasmṛti must be older by some centuries than the 8th century, the latest date to which Asahāya can be assigned. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī compares the royal palace to Nāradīya.[366] Ordinarily Nāradīya standing by itself would denote the Nārada-purāṇa (compare Viṣṇu-purāṇa 3. 6. 21 where we have the form Nāradīya for the purāṇa). The Nārada-purāṇa (Venkateśvara Press edition, Bombay) contains, however, no treatment of rāja-dharma. Bāṇa may have intended a violent pun, meaning 'the palace where the duties of kings were being expounded (āvarṇyamāna), like the Nāradīya in which rājadharma has not been set forth (avarṇyamāna).' European scholars like Dr. Jolly and Bühler hold that Bāṇa refers to the extant Nāradasmṛti. But on this explanation also the difficulty is not entirely got over. The extant Nārada can hardly be described as a treatise on rājadharma. It deals only in an indirect way with one aspect of the king's duties and is rather concerned with vyavahāra and the duties of the subjects towards each other from the strictly legal point of view. If we turn to the Mahābhārata and other works, we shall find that rājadharma meant something different from what is treated of in the Nāradasmṛti. Therefore Bāṇa's reference to the Nāradīya is of a doubtful character. The Rājanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara frequently quotes Nārada on politics (pp. 3, 13, 79). These quotations are not traced in the printed Nārada. Therefore it is highly probable that Bāṇa refers to a distinct work of Nārada on politics which has not yet been recovered.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana and the Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III, part I, p. 203) quote a verse from Nārada, the latter half of which is the same as the latter half of a verse in the Vikramorvaśīya.[367] The doctrine attributed to Nārada is found in Yāj. (II. 20) and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, (6. 22) but not in the same words. Unfortunately the date of Kālidāsa is far from being universally accepted, but the fourth or first half of the 5th century is often accepted as the probable date. There is further diffi-

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366 ' नारदीयमिवावर्ण्यमानराजधर्मम् ' (राजकुलं) p. 91 of Peterson's ed.

367 अनेकार्थाभियुक्तेन सर्वद्रव्यापलापिना । विभाविनैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते ॥ अपरार्क (on याज्ञ. II. 20); व्यवहारमातृका of जी० pp. 310-11; हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्तां गतिरस्यास्त्वया हृता । विभावितै ... युज्यते ॥ विक्रमोर्वशीय IV. 17 (Pandit's ed).

culty in the fact that the text of the Vikramorvaśīya has been largely tampered with. If the verse is a genuine part of the drama, it seems natural to suppose that Kālidāsa turns a well-known legal maxim to a somewhat humerous use. It is hard to suppose that Nārada would borrow the words of a dramatist for setting forth a legal maxim. This would push back the date of Nārada far beyond the 5th century. Nārada in two places uses the word "dīnāra", once in the sense of a golden ornament and again as a coin or unit of value also called "suvarṇa." In this last case he says that "dīnāra is equal to 48 Kārṣāpaṇas or twelve dhānakas." Jolly (R. u. S. p. 23) thinks that Indian *dīnāras* can scarcely be older than the 2nd century A. D., although in the times of the Indo-Scythian kings coins of the weight of dīnāra occur. Therefore Jolly is of opinion that Nārada is later than 300 A. D. Winternitz (History of Indian Literature, vol. II. p. 216 n. 4) follows him in this assumption that all Sanskrit works in which the word *dīnāra* occurs must be later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It may be that the golden dīnāras most numerously found in India belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. But as Keith points out (J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 504) Jolly's assumption is wrong and the introduction of *dīnāras* into India need not be later than the beginning of the Christian era. Golden *dīnāras* were first coined in Rome in 207 B.C. and the oldest Indian pieces corresponding in weight to the Roman Denarius were struck by Indo-Scythian kings who reigned from the first century B. C. (W. B. p. 44). Therefore there is nothing to prevent us from holding that Nārada flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era, i. e. between 100 and 300 A. D. Mr. Jayasval assigns him to the 4th century A. D. and after the Mṛcchakaṭika. Most scholars would not be prepared to assign to the Mṛcchakaṭika so early a date as the 3rd century A. D. Besides Mr. Jayasval builds his theory on very slender foundations. Because the drama employs the word nāṇaka and Nārada speaks of dīnāra only, no chronological conclusion as to the priority of the one to the other can be drawn. After both words became current in the language, one author, though later, may employ one word, while another, though earlier, may employ the other.

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368 मणयः पद्मरागाद्या दीनारादि हिरण्मयम् । मुक्ताविद्रुमशङ्खाद्याः प्रवृत्ताः स्वामिगामिनः ॥ नारद, व्यवहारमातृका II. 34 ; कार्षापणोऽण्डिका ज्ञेया ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानकः । तद्-द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव च ॥ परिशिष्ट verse 60.

It is difficult to say anything as to the home of Nārada. In the appendix on theft Nārada in one place says that in the south a silver kārṣāpaṇa is current, that in the east it is equal to twenty paṇas and that he does not follow the standard of kārṣāpaṇa current in the land of the five rivers.[369] From these data and from the fact that the oldest mss. of Nārada come from Nepal and that an old commentary on Nārada in Newari was composed in Nepal, Dr. Jolly conjectures that Nārada's home was to be sought in Nepal. This is all pure guess-work. There is no reason why Nārada could not have hailed from central India. The places where the oldest and best mss. of a work are found can hardly ever be indications of the original home of an ancient author. Bhāmaha is by common consent a Kashmirian writer on Poetics, but the only mss. of his work so far found come from southern India.

Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures 1918, p. 90), probably following the Nayacandrikā, hazards the conjecture that the writer called Piśuna cited in the Kauṭilīya is another name of Nārada. Beyond the bare fact that Nārada is often credited in the purāṇas with the role of instigating feuds and quarrels and that the word piśuna means "wicked, back-biter", there is nothing to support this identification.

A Jyotir-Nārada is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṁśatimata (p. 11). A Bṛhan-Nārada is quoted by Raghunandana and a Laghu-Nārada in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāra-Kaustubha.

In the Mahābhārata several opinions are attributed to Nārada. One of them condemns the eating of flesh.[370] The first half of the last verse is the same as Manu 5. 52. Nārada is credited with having divided utpātas (portents) into three varieties.[371] Nārada is said to have held the view that one must always be active.[372] It appears that all these views are taken from some work or works of a Nārada.

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369 कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते । पणैर्निबद्धः पूर्वस्यां विंशतिस्तु पणाः स तु ॥... पञ्चनद्याः प्रदेशे तु संज्ञा या व्यावहारिकी । कार्षापणप्रमाणं तु निबद्धमिह नेतया ॥ चौर्यप्रतिषेधप्रकरण 57 and 59.

370 स्वमांसं परमांसेन यो वर्धयितुमिच्छति । नारदः प्राह धर्मात्मा नियतं सोऽवसीदति ॥ अनुशासन 115. 14.

371 उत्पातांस्त्रिविधान् प्राह नारदो भगवानृषिः । दिव्यांश्चैवान्तरिक्षांश्च पार्थिवांश्च पितामह ॥ सभा 46. 8-9

372 तस्मात्कर्मैव कर्तव्यमिति होवाच नारदः । उद्योगपर्व 49.

The first is probably taken from Nārada's version of the Manusmṛti of which the purāṇas speak as stated above (note 270).

For Asahāya the commentator of Nārada vide section 58 below.

37. Bṛhaspati

Bṛhaspati as a sūtra writer on politics has been dealt with above (section 26). In this section Bṛhaspati the jurist will be spoken of. The complete smṛti of Bṛhaspati on law has not yet been discovered. It will be, when discovered, a very precious monument of ancient India, exhibiting the high-water mark of Indian acumen in strictly legal principles and definitions. Dr. Führer collected together 84 verses ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the legal treatises of Aparārka and others with German translation and notes (Leipzig, 1879) and Dr. Jolly collected about 711 verses of Bṛhaspati on law and translated them in the Sacred Books of the East (vol. 33).

Yāj. (I. 4-5) enumerates Bṛhaspati among the writers on dharma, but he is probably referring to Bṛhaspati's work on politics. The com. on the Nītivākyāmṛta (p. 7) quotes the first verse of Bṛhaspati's Nītiśāstra.

We saw above how Bṛhaspati closely follows the extant Manusmṛti, how he pointedly refers to the text of Manu (notes 282-286) and therefore might by analogy be styled a vārtikakāra of Manu. In many places Bṛhaspati explains and illustrates the laconic treatment of Manu. Manu (8. 153) speaks of four varities of interest (Cakra, Kāla, Kārita, and Kāyika), but does not explain these terms. Bṛhaspati explains them clearly.[373] Manu (8. 49) enumerates five modes of recovering a debt (dharma, vyavahāra, chala, ācarita, bala) but leaves them unexplained ; Bṛhaspati devotes several verses to the explanation of these terms (vide Kullūka on Manu 8. 49). Bṛhaspati gives elaborate rules regarding partnership. Bṛhaspati enumerates nine ordeals (of fire, water, poison, balance, kośa, taptamāṣa, taṇḍulas, dharmādharma, phāla); while Manu barely alludes to two. Manu devotes only three verses to saṁvidvyatikrama (8. 219-221), but Bṛhaspati must have devoted at least a score of verses to this topic, as Aparārka alone quotes 17 verses of Bṛhaspati on this title.

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373 Vide कुल्लूक on मनु 8. 153: तासां स्वरूपमाह बृहस्पतिः । कायिका कायसंयुक्ता मासग्राह्या च कालिका । वृद्धेर्वृद्धिश्चक्रवृद्धिः कारिता ऋणिना कृता ॥

The order in which the topics of law appeared in Bṛhaspati can be settled with tolerable certainty from the quotations in Aparārka, Vivādaratnākara, Vīramitrodaya and others works. It was as follows:—the four stages of a law-suit, proof (kriyā, human of three sorts and divine), witnesses (of 12 kinds), documents (ten kinds), bhukti (possession), ordeals (nine), 18 titles, ṛṇādāna, nikṣepa, asvāmivikraya, saṁbhūya-samutthāna, dattāpradānika, abhyupetyā-śuśrūṣā, vetanasya-anapākarma, svāmipālavivāda, saṁvid-vyatikrama, vikriyāsaṁpradāna, sīmāvivāda, pāruṣya (of two kinds), sāhasa (of three kinds), strīsaṁgrahaṇa, strīpuṁdharma, vibhāga, dyūta, samāhvaya, prakīrṇaka (otherwise called 'nṛpāśraya vyavahāra,' wrongs for which proceedings are set on foot by the king).

Bṛhaspati was probably the first jurist to make a clear distinction between civil and criminal justice.[374] He divided the eighteen titles into two groups, those springing from wealth (14 titles) and those springing from injury to beings (4 titles). This distinction was probably dimly perceived by even Gautama, when he says that in disputes based on injury there is no hard and fast rule about witnesses (i. e. about their interest in the subject of dispute).[375] Bṛhaspati like Nārada lays down the rule that a legal decision should not be arrived at merely on the basis of śāstra and that when a decision is devoid of reasoning, there is loss of dharma, for even a good man may be held to be a bad one or what is good may be held to be sinful in a judicial proceeding, just as Māṇḍavya was held to be a thief on a decision without thoughtful reasoning.[376] Bṛhaspati gives such elaborate definitions and rules about procedure from the filing of the plaint to the passing of the decree that he can very well stand comparison with modern legislators on the same subjects.

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374 तदाह बृहस्पतिः । द्विपदो व्यवहारश्च धनहिंसासमुद्भवः । द्विसप्तधार्थमूलश्च हिंसामूलश्चतुर्विधः ॥ व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत॰ p. 277 ; vide also स्मृतिच॰ (व्य. p. 9) 'पारुष्ये द्वे वधश्चैव परस्त्रीसंग्रहस्तथा । हिंसोद्भवानि चत्वारि पदान्याह बृहस्पतिः'.

375 न पीडाकृते निबन्धः । गौ. ध. सू. 13. 9 on which हरदत्त says 'पीडाकरणे हिंसाविषये । साक्षिणां निबन्धो न निरूप्यः । अर्थसंबन्धादि न किंचिदपि दूषणं भवति.।'

376 केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः । युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ चोरोऽचोरः साध्वसाधुर्जायते व्यवहारतः । युक्तिं विना विचारेण माण्डव्यश्चोरतां गतः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 1 ; compare नारद (व्यवहारमातृका chap. I. 42) : यात्यचोरोऽपि चोरत्वं चोरश्चायात्यचोरताम् । अचोरश्चोरतां प्राप्तो माण्डव्यो व्यवहारतः ॥ For the story of माण्डव्य, who kept silent, vide Ādiparva 107.

Nārada and Bṛhaspati agree very closely in several respects. For example, both speak of three kinds of proof, four parts of a judicial proceeding, almost the same defects of plaints, four kinds of answer, four divisions of the law of gift and their subdivisions, five modes of recovering debts, four kinds of sāhasa.

We have seen that Nārada departs from Manu in several essential matters. On the other hand Bṛhaspati follows Manu very closely. But he too differs on some points from Manu, for example, we saw above how Bṛhaspati dissents from Manu on the question of the divisibility of clothes &c. (note 285). He appears to differ from Manu as to the maximum interest allowed on corn, fruit, wool and beasts of burden.[377] Manu and Nārada are both silent as to the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate. But Bṛhaspati agreeing with Yājñavalkya makes her the first heir of her sonless husband.[378]

These considerations make it clear that Bṛhaspati is certainly later than Manu and Yāj. It is difficult to state his exact relationship to Nārada. He agrees more closely with Manu than Nārada does, but in some respects such as definitions and the rights of women he shows great advance over Nārada. So he is probably a contemporary of or not much later than Nārada. He employs the word nāṇaka.[379] He defines a dināra, also called "suvarṇa", as equal to twelve dhānakas and says that a dhānaka was equal to four aṇḍikas, an aṇḍikā being a copper paṇa weighing a *karṣa* and bearing a stamp.[380] This agrees with what Nārada says about dīnāra.

377 हिरण्ये द्विगुणा वृद्धिस्त्रिगुणा वस्त्रकुप्यके । धान्ये चतुर्गुणा प्रोक्ता शदे वाह्ये लवेषु च ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 39; compare मनु 8. 151.

378 आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्धं स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥ यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्धं तस्य जीवति । जीवत्यर्धशरीरेऽर्थं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृमातृसनाभिभिः । असुतस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नी तद्भागहारिणी ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 135. The Mit. has the last verse.

379 कुलीनवृद्धामलसैः प्राज्ञैर्नाणकवेदिभिः । अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 259; वि. र. p. 711 and वीर॰ p. 383.

380 Vide note 268 above. ताम्रकर्षकृता मुद्रा विज्ञेयः कार्षिकः पणः । स एव चाण्डिका प्रोक्ता ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानका ॥ ता द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव तु । बृह॰ quoted in स्मृतिच॰ p. 99, वि. र. p. 667. कात्यायन is quoted on same page by the स्मृतिच॰ for a similar definition.

Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 276) assigns Bṛhaspati to the 6th or 7th century A. D. But this is much later by several centuries than the evidence warrants. Kātyāyana was looked upon as an authoritative writer along with Nārada and Bṛhaspati by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. So he cannot be placed later than the 6th century. Kātyāyana in several places quotes Bṛhaspati as an authority. Aparārka quotes Kātyāyana as saying that according to Bṛhaspati pastures, ways, clothes that are worn on the body, debts (or books for use according to others) and what is set apart for religious purposes should not be partitioned.[381] Kātyāyana says that according to Bṛhaspati, that wealth which a man acquires by means of his learning after refuting an opponent in a contest with a stake for the winner is styled " vidyādhana " and is not liable to partition[382]; and what is acquired through valour &c. by persons that were taught in the family or learnt under their father should be partitioned among the brothers, according to Bṛhaspati. If a man falsely denies his liability and if only a part of the claim is brought home to him, then he should be made to pay the whole.[383] That the statement of a witness may be relied upon on a matter under his direct perception owing to his being near the plaintiff and the defendant and not otherwise; so says Bṛhaspati.[384] The foregoing examples show that Kātyāyana looked upon Bṛhaspati as an authority who must therefore have flourished several centuries before. Therefore Bṛhaspati cannot be placed later than the 4th century A. D. As he knew the extant Manusmṛti, was later than Yāj. and probably than Nārada, Bṛhaspati must have flourished between 200 and 400 A. D. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes, without making any difference, prose and verse passages of Bṛhaspati and thereby shows that in his opinion the jurist Bṛhaspati

381 गोप्रचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्रं यच्चाङ्गयोजितम् । प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत धर्मार्थं च बृहस्पतिः ॥ वि. र. p. 505 and अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 119.

382 परं निरस्य यल्लब्धं विद्यातो द्यूतपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्यान्न विभाज्यं बृहस्पतिः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on या. II. 119 ; परा. मा. III. 2. p. 559.

383 सर्वापलापं यः कृत्वा मिथ्याल्पमपि संवदेत् । सर्वमेव तु दाप्यं स्यादिति प्रोक्तो बृहस्पतिः ॥ व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत॰ p. 311.

384 अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसांनिध्यादनुभूतं तु यद्भवेत् । तद्ग्राह्यं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्यथाह बृहस्पतिः ॥ quoted in the व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 317.

(in verse) was identical with the political writer Bṛhaspati and was a very ancient writer in his day. Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 153) quotes the verse " na pratigrahabhūr " (ascribed to Bṛhaspati by others) as Smṛtyantara. Bṛhaspati is cited in a few cases as referring to his own views in the third person[385]; sometimes he uses the first person also.[386] Nothing can be said about his country at present. In a well-known passage Bṛhaspati refers to the usages of the southern people, of the people in the Madhyadeśa, of the eastern and northern people.[387] In a striking and beautiful passage Bṛhaspati compares vyavahāra with yajña,[388] the king with Viṣṇu, the successful party with the sacrificer and the defeated party with the victim, the plaint and the reply to food and the *pratijñā* to the sacrificial offering (prepared from food), the śāstras to the three Vedas and the *sabhyas* to the priests in a sacrifice. Bṛhaspati seems to have been very fond of such long-drawn metaphors.[389]

The Smṛticandrikā quotes about seventy verses of Bṛhaspati in the Āhnika portion and about forty on Śrāddha. In the later works like the Parāśara-Mādhavīya, the Nirṇayasindhu and Saṁskāra-Kaustubha, the number of verses quoted from Bṛhaspati is much larger than even those quoted by the Smṛticandrikā. Those verses are quoted on such saṁskāras as puṁsavana, nāmakaraṇa, caula, upanayana, vivāha and also on āśauca and purification of dravyas. Even the Mitākṣarā quotes several verses of Bṛhaspati on matters

385 ताडनं बन्धनं चैव तथैव च विडम्बनम् । एष दण्डो हि शूद्रस्य नार्थदण्डो बृहस्पतेः ॥ परा. मा. III. 1. p. 212; स्मृतिच०

386 एष दण्डः समाख्यातः पुरुषापेक्षया मया । quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 211.

387 उद्वह्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः ॥ मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः । उत्तरे मद्यपा नार्यः स्पृश्या नृणां रजस्वलाः ॥ वीर. p. 29, व्य. म. &c.

388 यज्ञे संपूज्यते विष्णुर्व्यवहारे महीपतिः । जयी तु यजमानोऽत्र जितः पशुरुदाहृतः ॥ पूर्वपक्षोत्तरावाद्यं प्रतिज्ञा च हविः स्मृता । त्रयी शास्त्राणि सभ्यास्तु ऋत्विजो दक्षिणा-दने ॥ quoted in व्य. मा. p. 284.

389 e g. विप्रो धर्मद्रुमस्यादिः स्कन्दशाखे महीपतिः । सचिवाः पत्रपुष्पाणि फलं न्यायेन पालनम् ॥ यशो वित्तं फलरसो भोगोपमहपूजनम् । अजेयत्वं लोकपंक्तिः स्वर्गे स्थानं च शाश्वतम् ॥ वीर० p. 14. Compare नारद (व्य. मा, I. 33 for the second verse).

other than vyavahāra. For example the Mit. on Yāj. I. 210 quotes a verse of Bṛhaspati that a nivartana (of land) is equal to 30 daṇḍas in area (daṇḍa being seven cubits in length) and ten *nivartanas* are equal to a *gocarma*.[390] On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati about impurity on birth or death &c. On Yāj. III. 21 the Mit. cites the definition of deśāntara given by Bṛhaspati.[391] On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's opinion that the period of mourning on the death of one's maternal grandfather, ācārya or śrotriya is three days. On Yāj. III. 253 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's rule as to prāyaścitta for consciously drinking wine.[392] Vide also Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, 250, 254, 260, 290 for other quotations from Bṛhaspati.

The foregoing therefore establishes that Bṛhaspati was known at least to the Mit. and later writers as an expounder in verse not only of vyavahāra but also of other topics of dharma as well. As over a thousand verses of Bṛhaspati (including about 800 on vyavahāra) are quoted it appears that his work must have been an extensive one comprising several thousand verses. Such a work of Bṛhaspati has yet to be recovered.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 261 quotes a Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati on the nine varieties of saṁkara.[393] Kullūka on Manu (9. 181) cites a verse of Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati about the eleven subsidiary sons (vide note 283 above, where the verse is ascribed to Bṛhaspati). Hemādri (Caturvarga vol. III, part 2, p. 472) quotes a Jyotir-Bṛhaspati on the prohibition of a śrāddha on the thirteenth tithi of the dark half. Aparārka on Yāj. II. 3-4 quotes three verses from Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati

390 सप्तहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद् दण्डा निवर्तनम् । दश तान्येव गोचर्म दत्त्वा स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ A similar verse occurs in the बृहस्पतिस्मृति (Jivananda part I. p. 645) where the reading is दशहस्तेन.

391 महानद्यन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः । वाचो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद् देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥ देशान्तरं वदन्त्येके षष्टियोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्वदन्त्यन्ये त्रिंशदन्ये तथैव च ॥

392 सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिःक्षिपेत् । मुखे तया विनिर्दग्धो मृतः शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

393 यथाह वृद्धबृहस्पतिः । एकशय्यासनं पङ्क्तिर्भाण्डपक्वान्नमिश्रणम् । याजनाध्यापने योनिस्तथा च सह भोजनम् । नवधा संकरः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योऽधमैः सह ॥ These are ascribed to बृहस्पति by the गृहस्थरत्नाकर (folio 130a of D.C. Ms. No. 44 of A 1883-84).

about the derivation of the word "prāḍ-vivāka" and one on the punishment for sabhyas who take bribes. Three of these verses are ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the Parāśara-Mādhavīya and other works and one of them to Kātyāyana in the Vyavahāra-mātṛkā.

38. Kātyāyana

Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of the ancient Hindu Law and procedure. The work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, like that of Bṛhaspati, has yet to be recovered. The following account is based on the quotations from Kātyāyana contained in about a dozen works from Viśvarūpa to the Vīramitrodaya.

Kātyāyana is enumerated as one of the expounders of dharma by Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yājñavalkya (I. 4-5) and Parāśara. A Kātya. is quoted as an authority in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (I. 2. 47). A Śrautasūtra and Śrāddhakalpa of the white Yajurveda are ascribed to Kātyāyana.

Kātyāyana appears to have taken Nārada and Bṛhaspati as his models in the order and treatment of the subjects to be dealt with in vyavahāra. He closely follows both the writers in terminology and technique. On several points he presupposes Nārada and expounds and elucidates the latter's dicta. For example, Nārada (Intro. chap. I. 10-11) lays down that vyavahāra has four pādas, each later one prevailing over the preceding, viz. dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, rājaśāsana (note 361) and then Nārada very briefly in one verse explains these four terms. Kātyāyana on the other hand devotes at least nine verses to the elucidation of the rule as to each succeeding one prevailing over its predecessor.[394] Nārada contains very little on the topic of strīdhana (dāyabhāga chap. verses 8-9). He merely enumerates the six kinds of strīdhana and then lays down the rule of succession. Kātyāyana's treatment of strīdhana has attained classical rank. It appears that he was probably the first to carefully define the several kinds of strīdhana (such as adhyagni, adhyāvahanika, prītidatta, śulka, anvādheya, saudāyika), to lay down woman's power of disposal over the several varieties of strīdhana and to prescribe lines of devolution as to strīdhana. The verses on this topic occurring in the nibandhas number about thirty.

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394 Vide परा. मा. vol. III, part I, pp. 16-17, and वीर० p. 9-10, 180-181.

The leading nibandhas contain only a few quotations from Bṛhaspati on strīdhana. Hence it may be surmised that Kātyāyana probably was the first smṛti writer to give elaborate rules on this topic.

It has been already shown (notes 381-384) how Kātyāyana often quotes the views of Bṛhaspati. A few more examples may be added here. According to Bṛhaspati, says Kātyāyana, when a man who stands surety with others on a joint liability goes abroad, his son would have to pay the whole debt, but if the man dies then the son would be liable for his father's share only.[395] When cattle stray into fields, gardens, houses or cowpens, they may be, according to Bṛhaspati, caught hold of (by the ear &c.) or beaten.[396] According to Bṛhaspati, a man of the kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra caste may employ one of his own caste to do the work of a dāsa (slave or serf), but even a Brāhmaṇa could never employ another Brāhmaṇa in the same way.[397]

About a dozen nibandhas on vyavahāra quote about 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the Smṛticandrikā alone citing about 600 of them. In these verses Kātyāyana refers at least a score of times to the views of Bhṛgu. It is remarkable that only a few of the views ascribed to Bhṛgu are found in the extant Manusmṛti. Kātyāyana says, according to Bhṛgu, whatever (ancestral) wealth was concealed by one coparcener from others, whatever was badly divided should be divided in equal shares when afterwards discovered (Parāśara-Mādhavīya III, p. 566). This may well be compared with Manu 9. 215. Kātyāyana says according to Bhṛgu, it is not Brāhmaṇa-murder to kill an ātatāyin who is foremost by his austerities, learning and caste. This has in view Manu 8. 360. Kullūka distinctly says that Kātyāyana simply explains the verse of Manu by referring to it as Bhṛgu's. On the other hand there are several places where the views ascribed to Bhṛgu find no counterpart in the extant Manu. According to

395 एकच्छायाश्रिते सर्वं दद्यात्तु प्रोषिते सुतः । मृते पितरि पित्रंशं परर्णं न बृहस्पतिः ॥ परा. मा. III, p. 251.

396 क्षेत्रारामविवीतेषु गृहेषु पशुपादिषु । ग्रहणं तत्प्रविष्टानां ताडनं वा बृहस्पतिः ॥ वि. र. p. 241.

397 क्षत्रविट्शूद्रधर्मस्तु समवर्णं कदाचन । कारयेद् दासकर्माणि ब्राह्मणं न बृहस्पतिः ॥ वि. र. p. 152.

Bhṛgu in all *sāhasas* of the worst type the truth should be found out by means of divine proof (ordeals &c.) even though there may be witnesses.[398] There is nothing in the Manusmṛti corresponding with this. According to Bhṛgu the ordeals of balance &c. are prescribed for those who are suspected to be in league with marauders and who have incurred popular censure, but in such cases there is no undertaking (by the complainant to pay fine).[399] The Manusmṛti has not a word on this point. Household paraphernalia, beasts of burden, cattle, ornaments, slaves should be divided when discovered ; if they are (alleged to be) concealed, the ordeal of kośa should be resorted to ; so says Bhṛgu.[400] Another important circumstance deserves to be noted. Kātyāyana several times refers to the views of Manu. Kātyāyana says that the view of Manu was that in certain charges (such as the commission of mahāpātakas) the ordeals for the accused were to be performed by good men.[401] According to Manu if a woman deserted her son, though he may be able (to pay), her strīdhana should be seized and the paternal debt should be paid thereout.[402] Manu declared, says Kātyāyana, that if animals be killed, the offender should offer (to the owner) another similar animal or its proper price (note 345 above where Parāśara also quotes it as Manu's view). All these views attributed to Manu by Kātyāyana are not found in the extant Manusmṛti. In certain places Kātyāyana refers to the views of the Mānavas ; e. g. according to the Gārgīyas and Mānavas if a bribe had already been paid, the person receiving it should be made to repay it and should be fined eleven times as much ;[403] according to

398 उत्तमेषु च सर्वेषु साहसेषु विचारयेत् । सद्भावं दिव्यदृष्टेन सत्सु साक्षिषु वै भृगुः ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 90.

399 लोकापवाददुष्टानां शङ्कितानां च दस्युभिः। तुलादीनि नियोज्यानि न शिरस्तत्र वै भृगुः॥ अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०.

400 गृहोपस्करवाह्याश्च दोह्याभरणकर्मिणः । दृश्यमाना विभज्यन्ते कोशं गूढेऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क p. 723 and परा. मा. III, p. 557.

401 एषु वादेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिषिद्धानि यत्नतः। कारयेत्सज्जनैस्तानि नाभिशस्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क p. 696 who ascribes it to भृगु. The टोडरानन्द reads त्यजेन्नरः.

402 या स्वपुत्रं तु जह्यात्स्त्री समर्थमपि पुत्रिणी । आहृत्य स्त्रीधनं तत्र पित्र्यर्णं शोधयेन्मनुः ॥ वि. र. p. 65.

403 अथ प्रागेव दत्ता स्यात्प्रतिदाप्यस्तथा बलात् । दण्डं चैकादशगुणमाहुर्गार्गीयमानवाः ॥ अपरार्क p. 782 ; वि.र. 652 (which reads आम्भीयमानवाः).

the Mānavas thieves caught red-handed with their booty should be at once banished.[404] As regards both these references, the teaching of the Manusmṛti seems to be different ; vide Manu 9. 231 and 270 respectively. These facts about Kātyāyana's references to Bhṛgu and Manu raise several difficult questions, whether Bhṛgu and Manu stand for two entirely different works or for the same work and whether he refers to some other version of the Manusmṛti ascribed to Bhṛgu. In my opinion he is not referring to two separate works, and that he had before him a version of the Manusmṛti promulgated by Bhṛgu but somewhat different from and probably larger than the present Manusmṛti.

In the *nibandhas* several verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana along with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati. For example, the well-known verse about the sixfold division of strīdhana (adhyagnyadhyāvahanikam &c.) is ascribed by the Dāyabhāga to Manu and Kātyāyana. The half-verse "varṇānāmānulomyena dāsyam na pratilomataḥ" is the same in both Yājñavalkya (II. 183) and Kātyāyana. The Vīramitrodaya (p. 140) ascribes a verse to Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, in which the opinion of Bṛhaspati is cited. There is very close agreement between the definitions proposed by the two last writers of dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, and rājaśāsana. Besides Manu (or Mānavas), Bṛhaspati and Bhṛgu, Kātyāyana cites the views of several other writers on dharma. For Gārgyas and Gautama vide notes 403 and 404 above. He says, according to Kauśika, powerful robbers were to be guarded by chains of iron, were to be low-fed and were to undergo hard labour for the state till death (Aparārka p. 849). He quotes the view of Likhita that where a woman is deprived of food, raiment and dwelling (by her husband's coparceners) she would be entitled to demand her own (strīdhana) and a share from the coparceners. In one case (Aparārka p. 755). a verse is cited as Kātyāyana's in which Kātyāyana himself is named (Parāśaramādhavīya III. p. 235).

Kātyāyana contains the same advanced views about law and rules of procedure as are found in Nārada and Bṛhaspati. He is even in

404 मानवाः सद्य एवाहुः सहोढानां प्रवासनम् । गौतमास्त्वाभिरं यन्त्राण्युक्तेदाङ्गिर्गलितम् ॥ वि. र. 332. It is not unlikely that the correct reading is प्रमापणं for प्रवासनं, as the immediately following view of गौतम suggests. The words of मनु are सहोढं सोपकरणं घातयेदविचारयन्.

advance of these two writers in certain matters, such as definitions in general and the elaboration of rules about strīdhana. He gives numerous definitions, such as those of vyavahāra, prāḍvivāka, stobhaka, dharmādhikaraṇa, tīrita and anuśiṣṭa, sāmanta &c. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines paścātkāra as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between the plaintiff and the defendant, while the term *jayapatra* is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by the defendant or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds.[405] He lays down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less cogent one, he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court.[406] This resembles the 4th explanation to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code (1908) about *res judicata*. The verses about kārṣāpaṇa and dīnāra quoted above (note 368) from Nārada (pariśiṣṭa verses 58-60) are ascribed to Kātyāyana by the Smṛticandrikā.

The date of Kātyāyana can be settled only approximately. He is certainly much later than Manu and Yājñavalkya. As shown above he presupposes Nārada and regarded Bṛhaspati as a very leading authority on vyavahāra. Hence his upper limit is the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses as Kātyāyana's by name (vide on Yāj. II. 5, 6, 47, 63, 281) on such topics of Vyavahāra as the defects of the plaint, the contents of the plaint, the liability for the debts of a deceased person, payments of debts of honour (satyaṁkāra), punishment for abortion, grievous hurt and homicide of a Brāhmaṇa woman. Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) ascribes to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 216) speaks of Kātyāyana-sūtra, appears to quote a portion of it in prose and explains it.[407] Medhātithi

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405 निरस्ता तु क्रिया यत्र प्रमाणेनैव वादिना । पश्चात्कारो भवेत्तत्र न सर्वासु विधीयते ॥ अन्यवादादिहीनेभ्य इतरेषां प्रदीयते । वृत्तानुवादसंसिद्धं तच्च स्याज्जयपत्रकम् ॥ स्मृतिच०, टोडरानन्द, वीर०

406 क्रियां बलवतीं मुक्त्वा दुर्बलां योऽवलम्बते । स जयेऽवधृते सभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाप्नुयात् क्रियाम् ॥ मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 80, व्य. मा. p. 281, वीर० p. 108.

407 ' यो वाच्यः कस्यचित्कर्मणि धनमादाय अर्धतो निवर्तेतेति कात्यायनीये सूत्रे धनमादाय आरभ्य धनव्ययं कारयित्वा यदि अर्धकृते निवर्तेत सोपि तद्दद्यादित्यनुषङ्गः ॥'

says that Kātyāyana extended the maxim of the trader carrying merchandise (bhāṇḍavāha-vaṇik maxim) to all similar transactions. All known quotations of Kātyāyana are in verse. When Medhātithi speaks of a sūtra and quotes a portion of it (as "vā" and "iti" after "nivarteta" indicate) in prose, we must either suppose that he is referring to some other work of Kātyāyana than the one in verse from which hundreds of verses are cited by other writers or that Kātyāyana's work on vyavahāra also contains some prose passages. As hardly any other writer quotes a prose passage of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the second alternative appears somewhat unlikely. Viśvarūpa and Medhatithi regarded Kātyāyana as an authoritative *smṛtikāra* along with Nārada and Bṛhaspati. This position he could not have attained in less than a few hundred years. Therefore the lowest limit to which Kātyāyana can be assigned is the 6th century. Hence it may be said that Kātyāyana flourished between the 4th and 6th century A. D.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā (p. 307) quotes a Bṛhat-Kātyāyana on the question of proof. The Dāyabhāga mentions a Vṛddha-Kātyāyana. The Sarasvatīvilāsa also quotes verses of Vṛddha-Kātyāyana on rescission of purchase and other topics (p. 320). In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether these two are different works. The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (vol. III, part 2, p. 657) speaks of Upakātyāyana. Aparārka quotes a verse from śloka-Kātyāyana which is not found in the Karmapradīpa (Jīvānanda's ed.), but appears to be a summary of a prose passage quoted as Kātyāyana's immediately before by Aparārka.

In Jīvānanda's collection of smṛtis (part I, pp. 603-644) there is one of Kātyāyana in three prapāṭhakas and 29 khaṇḍas and about five hundred verses. The same work is printed as Gobhilasmṛti in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 49-71). It contains also a few prose passages in the 12th, 13th and 14th khaṇḍas. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, a few verses being in the Indravajrā and other metres. The work is styled the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana. The opening verse justifies this name when it states that like a lamp the work will clearly show the mode of performing certain rites treated by Gobhila and other rites which are not clearly elucidated.[408] The contents of this work are briefly as follows :— how

408 अथातो गोभिलोक्तानामन्येषां चैव कर्मणाम् । अस्पष्टानां विधिं सम्यग्दर्शयिष्ये प्रदीपवत् ॥

to wear the sacred thread; sipping water and touching various limbs with water; the worship of Gaṇeśa and fourteen mātṛs in every rite; kuśas; śrāddha details; consecration of sacred fires; details about araṇis, sruc, sruva; rules about cleansing the teeth and bathing; saṁdhyā; prāṇāyāma, muttering of Vedic *mantras*; tarpaṇa of gods and manes; the great daily *yajñas*; who is to offer śrāddha; rules about periods of impurity due to death; duties of wife; śrāddhas of various kinds.

The Karmapradīpa mentions by name several authors. It very frequently cites the views of Gobhila (pp. 603, 626, 638) and Gautama (pp. 619, 620, 626, 630, 636, 639). The Karmapradīpa as the opening verse says is intimately related to the Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra. It distinctly says that as Gobhila did not dilate upon the details as to time and procedure of goyajña and vājiyajña, Kātyāyana dilates upon them. This is borne out by the Gobhila gṛhya-sūtra.[409] Another[410] passage of Kātyāyana about the Aṣṭakas is based upon the very words of the Gobhila gṛhya. Frequent reference is made to the views of Vasiṣṭha on the worship of Mātṛs (p. 605), on śrāddha (pp. 608, 628). Vide also p. 642 (28. 16). Among the other authors named are Nārada on the sticks for dantadhāvana (p. 615), Bhārgava (probably Uśanas) on p. 640, Śāṇḍilya and Śāṇḍilyāyana on p. 626. Kātyāyana is named in several places (pp. 624, 627, 638) and once the first person is used (as in " mamāpyetad hṛdi sthitam " p. 643). The Kātyāyanasmṛti quotes the verse of Manu (III. 70) on the five great *yajñas*. On p. 633 four verses forming the consolation to be offered to the relatives of a person departed are the same as Yāj. (III. 8-11) and one verse in the same context occurs in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva

409 Vide p. 638 verses 1-11 of 26th khaṇḍa and compare with Gobhilagṛhya-sūtra III. 6. 10-15 (गोयज्ञे पायसश्चरुः । अग्निं यजेत पूषणमिन्द्रमीश्वरम् । ऋषभपूजा । गोयज्ञेनाश्वयज्ञो व्याख्यातः । यमवरुणौ देवतानामत्राधिकौ । गन्धैरभ्युक्षणं गवाम् ।).

410 यस्तु शाकादिको होमः कार्योऽपूपाष्टकावृतः । अन्वष्टक्यं मध्यमायामिति गोभिलगौतमौ । वार्कखण्डिश्च सर्वासु कौत्सो मेनेऽष्टकासु च ॥ कात्यायन॰ 17. 24 (p. 626); compare गोभिलगृह्य III. 10. 4-7 'चतुरष्टको हेमन्तः ताः सर्वाः समांसाश्चिकीर्षेदिति कौत्सः । त्र्यष्टक इत्यौद्गाहमानिः । तथा गौतमवार्कखण्डी । योऽर्धमासमाग्रहायण्यास्तामिस्राष्टमी तामपूपाष्टकेत्याचक्षते ।'

27. 31 and other places).[411] On p. 631 Kātyāyana speaks of Rāma having performed yajñas taking as his spouse the golden image of Sītā.

The question is:—what is the date of this Kātyāyanasmṛti (Karmapradīpa) and whether it is the work of Kātyāyana the great jurist. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254) quotes a verse as Kātyāyana's which occurs in Jivananda's text (p. 624 verse 20); similarly the Mit. quotes two verses as Kātyāyana's (on Yāj. III. 247) which have a place in the Karmapradīpa (Jivananda p. 634 verses 4-5). Scores of verses cited as Kātyāyana's by Aparārka (on ācāra and prāyaścitta) are found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, *vide* Aparārka p. 43 (three verses) and Karmapradīpa (p. 605, 1110-12), Aparārka p. 51 (three verses about samidh) and Karmapr. (p. 613, 8. 17-19), Aparārka p 135 (four verses about bathing in rivers) and Karma. (p. 615, 10. 5-7 and 14), Aparārka p. 532 (four verses on śrāddha in which Kātyāyana himself is cited as an authority) and Karma. (p. 624, 16. 16-19), Aparārka p. 872 (six verses) and Karma. (21. 2-7 p. 632), Aparārka p. 1066 (three verses about an *agnihotrin* being guilty of mahāpātaka) and Karma. (23. 4-6 p. 634). The Smṛticandrikā also quotes profusely from Kātyāyana on *ācāra*, śrāddha etc. and cites from the Karmapradīpa by name passages which occur in Jivananda's edition. The above references show that in the eyes of the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka the Karmapradīpa was an authoritative work. Therefore it follows that it must have been composed centuries before the 11th century A. D. It is however remarkable that several quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and other works are not found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 242) cites Kātyāyana's verse about five varieties of lapses in conduct viz. mahāpātaka, atipātaka, pātaka, prāsaṅgika, upapātaka and on Yāj. III. 260 quotes a verse of Kātyāyana about what are atipātakas. These are not to be traced in the Karmapradīpa printed by Jivananda. Similarly Aparārka (pp. 94-95) quotes three verses of Kātyāyana that are very interesting but are not found in

411 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं हि जीवितम् ॥

Jivananda's edition.[412] Later works like the Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha, the Madanapārijāta quote numerous verses of Kātyāyana on upanayana, marriage and other saṁskāras which we vainly seek to find in the Karmapradipa. Hence it follows that there was some large work of Kātyāyana of which the Karmapradipa is either an abridgment or only a portion.

The next question is whether Kātyāyana the jurist and the author of the Karmapradipa are identical. There are not sufficient data to identify the two. The only fact that points to the identity is that such eminent and early writers as Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka appear to make no distinction between the two. Besides the Karmapradipa is also an early work. Against this it has to be remembered that Viśvarūpa, probably the most ancient of all extant commentators, nowhere quotes Kātyāyana on ācārā and prāyaścitta. This absence of quotations is not a very cogent argument; still it raises a doubt in one's mind whether a work of Kātyāyana on ācāra and other non-jural topics was known to Viśvarūpa.

The other principal versified smṛtis will now be described in (Sanskrit) alphabetical order.

39. Aṅgiras

From Viśvarūpa downwards Aṅgiras is quoted very frequently on all topics except that of civil law (vyavahāra). Aṅgiras is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 9) states that according to Aṅgiras a *pariṣad* may comprise 121 Brāhmaṇas. On Yāj. I. 50 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Aṅgiras that what is done according to one's own will without following the dictates of śāstra is fruitless.[413] On Yāj. III. 248 Viśvarūpa says that the *vrata* called Vajra was prescribed by Aṅgiras for Brāhmaṇas guilty of deadly sins. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 265) quotes two verses of Aṅgirās on the prāyaścitta for killing the wife of a Brāhmaṇa who has kindled the sacred fires, for killing wives of

412 वरयित्वा तु यः कश्चित्प्रणश्येत्पुरुषो यदा । ऋत्वागमांस्त्रीनतीत्य कन्यान्यं वरयेद्वरम् ॥ प्रदाय गच्छेच्छुल्कं यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ पूर्वदत्ता तु या कन्या अन्येनोढा यदा भवेत् । संस्कृतापि प्रदेया स्याद्यस्मै पूर्वं प्रतिश्रुता ॥.

413 स्वस्वाभिप्रायकृतं कर्म यत्तु धर्मविवर्जितम् । क्रीडाकर्मेव बालानां तत्सर्वं निष्प्रयोजनम् ॥

other Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. On Yāj. III. 266 he quotes two verses of Aṅgiras laying down prāyaścitta for killing certain beasts and birds, wherein Aṅgiras himself is mentioned with honour (bhagavān). Aparārka (pp. 22-23) quotes thirteen verses from Aṅgiras on the constitution of *pariṣad*, wherein such terms as chāturvidya, vitarkī, aṅgavid, dharmapāṭhaka are explained and the last of which says that a *pariṣad* sitting in judgment over those who are guilty of mahāpātakas may consist of hundreds. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. I. 86) quotes several verses on the practice of *sati* and ascribes them to both Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras.[414] Aparārka (pp. 109, 112) quotes four other verses on the same practice, one of which is in the Indravajrā metre and another prohibits a Brāhmaṇa wife from following that practice. Medhātithi (on Manu. V. 157) quotes the view of Aṅgiras on *sati* and disapproves of it. The Mitākṣarā, Haradatta and others quote numerous verses of Aṅgiras on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Haradatta on Gautama (20. 1) quotes a verse of Aṅgiras about the seven *antyajas*.[415] Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 237) quotes a sūtra of Sumantu in which Āṅgirasa is cited as an authority. The Śuddhi-mayūkha quotes a verse of Aṅgiras which relies upon Śātātapa.[416] The Smṛticandrikā quotes Aṅgiras on the enumeration of Upasmṛtis (vide note 260 above). The Smṛticandrikā also contains a few prose quotations from Aṅgiras; the same work cites a verse of Aṅgiras holding the dharmaśāstra of Manu as the supreme guide.[417]

The Aṅgiras-smṛti (in Jīvānanda part I, pp. 554-560) in 72 verses is probably an abridgment. It lays down prāyaścittas for various occasions, such as taking food and drink from antyajas, for cruelly beating or causing various injuries to cows. It also lays down various rules for the wearing of the dark cloth (nīlīvastra) by women. It cites Aṅgiras and Āpastamba by name. The penultimate verse condemns those who rob women of their wealth.

414 One of them is the well known verse तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानुषे । तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गे भर्तारं यानुगच्छति ॥

415 चण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सूतो वैदेहिकस्तथा । मागधायोगवौ चैव सप्तैतेऽन्त्यावसायिनः ॥

416 सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके मृतके तथा । दशाहाच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽब्रवीत् ॥

417 यत्पूर्वं मनुना प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् । नहि तत्समतिक्रम्य वचनं हितमात्मनः ॥ स्मृतिच० (आह्निक).

There are several mss. in the Deccan College Collection which contain a varying number of verses on prāyaścitta agreeing more or less with Jivananda's text. For example, No. 53 of 1879-80 contains about one hundred verses, No. 205 of 1882-83 contains 54 verses, while No. 65 of Viśrāmbāg collection and No. 83 of 1895-1902 contain only 32 ; No. 81 of 1884-86 is styled Bṛhad-Aṅgiras and contains 151 verses, many of which are identical with those in the Calcutta text.

The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 277) and the Smṛtiratnāvali of Vedācārya (I. O. cat. No. 1552 p. 475) quote a Bṛhad-Aṅgiras and the Mitākṣarā also quotes a Madhyama-Aṅgiras several times (on Yāj. III. 243, 241, 258, and 260).

40. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga

This is a writer who is frequently quoted on ācāra, āśauca, śrāddha, and prāyaścitta by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works. Aparārka (p. 724) quotes as Ṛṣyaśṛṅga's a verse ascribed to Śaṅkha in the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 119) and other works, which states that when one coparcener recovers with his own efforts family property that was lost to the family, he gets a fourth share of it and the others become sharers in the rest.[418] The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 32) quotes 'api vāsasā yajñopavītārthān kuryāt tadabhāve trivṛtā sutreṇa', which is in prose.

41. Kārṣṇājini

This writer is quoted by the Mit. (Yāj. III. 265 three verses), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works mostly on śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 138) quotes a verse from him which enumerates the seven sons of Brahmā, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Voḍha (?) and Pañcaśikha. Aparārka (p. 424) quotes a verse which refers to the two signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā, and Vṛścika.

42. Caturviṃśatimata

There are two Mss. of this work in the Deccan College Collection (No 244 of A. 1881-1882 and 111 of 1895-1902). It contains 525 verses. The work is so called because it embodies the essence of the teachings of 24 sages, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Atri, Viṣṇu,

[418] पूर्वंनष्टां तु यो भूमिमेकश्चेदुद्धरेत् क्रमात् । यथांशं तु लभन्तेऽन्ये दत्त्वांशं तु तुरीयकम् ॥

Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Uśanas, Āpastamba, Vatsa, Hārita, Guru (Bṛhaspati), Nārada, Parāśara, Gārgya, Gautama, Yama, Baudhāyana, Dakṣa, Śaṅkha, Aṅgiras, Śātātapa, Sāṅkhya (Sāṅkhyāyana?), Saṁvarta. The subjects treated of are:--The usages of the varṇas and āśramas, śauca, *ācamana*, cleansing the teeth, bath, prāṇāyāma, repeating the Gāyatrī, study of the Vedas, marriage, agnihotra, five great daily yājñas, means of livelihood, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins, duties of Kṣatriyas and the other two varṇas, prāyaścittas for the deadly sins and other lesser misdeeds, means of livelihood, śrāddha, āśauca (on birth and death).

The work often quotes the views of Uśanas, Manu, Pārāśarya, Aṅgiras, Yama, Hārita. It quotes Manu III. 5 (asapiṇḍā ca yā etc.) and Manu 12. 95 (yā vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ.). Two other verses which it contains are indicated as interpolated in several editions of Manu.[419] It says that the teachings of Arhat, Cārvāka and Buddhas delude people.[420] Its position is that whatever is not found in the Veda or the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, or Mahābhārata or in the śāstras of Manu and others is as good as non-existent.[421]

The Caturviṁśatimata is frequently quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and later works, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. It was probably compiled about the time when the latter two writers flourished. Aparārka (p. 1121) quotes a prose passage from the work on the prāyaścitta for a dvijāti procreating children on a Śūdra wife. This passage could not be traced in the two mss. referred to above.

The portions of the work on saṁskāra and śrāddha together with the commentary of Bhaṭṭoji, son of Lakṣmīdhara, have been

419 वृद्धौ च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः । अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ (after मनु. XI. 10); पुराणं मानवो धर्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सितम् । आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥ (after मनु XII. 110.). This occurs in यशस्तिलक, 4th आश्वास p. 117 and the first half of it occurs in the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

420 अर्हच्चार्वाकवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च । विप्रलम्भकवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत् ॥ This occurs in the स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 5. (Gharpure) and परा. मा. vol. I, part I, p. 10.

421 यन्नास्ति वेदे न च यत्पुराणे रामायणे भारतसंगरे वा । मन्वादिशास्त्रेषु च यन्न वोक्तं तन्नास्ति नास्तीति च तेन कार्यम् ॥

published in the Benares Sanskrit Series (Nos. 137 and 139). The commentary is a very learned one and refers to a host of writers. This commentary is in some mss. ascribed to Rāmacandra (vide I. O. cat. No. 1554, p. 475).

43. Dakṣa

Dakṣa is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa quotes verses of Dakṣa several times, viz. on Yāj. I. 17 (on clods of earth for purifying the body), on Yāj. III. 30 (two verses on āśauca), on Yāj. III. 66 (about a parivrājaka), on Yāj. III. 191 (about padmāsana). The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 89) quotes a half verse of Dakṣa to the effect that a dvija should not remain unattached to an āśrama (i. e. without a wife in the context) even for a moment; on Yāj. III. 58 two verses about bhikṣus; on Yāj. III. 243 (one verse). Aparārka cites numerous verses of Dakṣa on ācāra, āśauca, śrāddha and similar topics. In one case (p. 368) he attributes a prose passage to Dakṣa about the gift of gold.[422] Two of Dakṣa's verses most frequently quoted by writers on vyavahāra are those that lay down what nine things cannot be the subjects of gift.[423]

In Jivananda's collection there is a Dakṣasmṛti (part II, pp. 383-402) in seven chapters and 220 verses (vide also Ānandāśrama collection pp. 72-84). The principal subjects treated of are:— Four āśramas, two kinds of brahmacārins; the daily round of duties for dvijas; various subdivisions of actions, nine karmans, nine vikarmans, nine actions that should be concealed, nine acts that should be made public, nine things that should not be gifted; gifts; eulogy of a good housewife; śauca of two kinds; impurity due to birth and death; Yoga and its six aṅgas viz. prāṇāyama, dhyāna, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, tarka and samādhi, maithuna of eight kinds to be avoided by ascetics, duties of bhikṣu, dvaita, and advaita.

This smṛti is certainly a very old one. All the quotations from Dakṣa cited by Viśvarupa occur in the printed Dakṣa (vide pp. 395,

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422 सुवर्णमेव स्वर्णमस्य च देशकालपात्रसुवर्णपरिमाणाच्च फलविशेषः । अपरार्क.

423 सामान्यं याचितं न्यस्तमाधिर्दाराश्च तद्धनम् । अन्वाहितं च निक्षेपः सर्वस्वं चान्वये सति ॥ आपत्स्वपि न देयानि नव वस्तूनि पण्डितैः । यो ददाति स मूढात्मा प्रायश्चित्तीयते नरः ॥ अपरार्क p. 404. These occur in the दक्षस्मृति (Jivananda part II, p. 391).

396, 384, 397 which reads 'na pathyāśanād yogo'). Similarly all the quotations in the Mit. from Dakṣa are found in the Calcutta text. Aparārka contains over forty verses from the printed Dakṣa, though there are a few verses cited by him as Dakṣa's which are not found therein. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses of Dakṣa on woman which are all found in the 4th chap. of the Calcutta text.

In the Deccan College collection there is a ms. of Dakṣa (No. 120 of 1895-1902) which contains 197 verses on the same topics as above, many of which are identical with the Calcutta text. The Bombay University has also a similar ms. Vide I. O. cat. No. 1320 p. 385 for a similar ms. in 197 verses.

44. Pitāmaha

Pitāmaha is enumerated among writers on dharma in a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya quoted by Viśvarūpa. The Smṛti of Pitāmaha is drawn upon mostly on vyavahāra. Viśvarūpa cites (on Yāj. I. 17) a verse from him on śauca.[424] Mit. and Aparārka quote verses from Pitāmaha only on vyavahāra and specially on ordeals. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses on āhnika, 130 on vyavahāra and only a few on śrāddha. Pitāmaha regards the Vedas with the aṅgas, Mīmāṁsā, the smṛtis, Purāṇa and Nyāya system as dharmaśāstras.[425] Pitāmaha like Bṛhaspati enumerates nine kinds of ordeals,[426] while Yāj. and Nārada name only five, though the latter seems to have known two more, viz. taṇḍula and taptamāṣa. The Smṛticandrika quotes a dozen verses about 50 *chalas* on which a king took action without any complaint.[427] Pitāmaha seems to have followed Vyāsa in defining documents called krayapatra, sthitipatra, saṁdhipatra, viśuddhipatra.[428] The Smṛticandrika cites

424 त्रिषु ये नोपनीयन्ते शूद्राः सांधन्यना स्त्रियः । गन्धलेपापक (र्षणं !) तेषां शौचं मृदाम्भसा ॥

425 वेदाः साङ्गास्तु चत्वारो मीमांसा स्मृतयस्तथा । एतानि धर्मशास्त्राणि पुराणं न्यायदर्शनम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 601; compare याज्ञ. I. 3.

426 अष्टमं कालमित्युक्तं नवमं धर्मजं भवेत् । दिव्यान्येतानि सर्वाणि निर्दिष्टानि स्वयंभुवा ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 694.

427 छलानि चापराधांश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्नृपस्त्वावेदकैर्विना ॥ स्मृतिच.

428 Vide परा. मा. vol. III. p. 128 and स्मृतिच०.

Pitāmaha for an enumeration of the 18 prakṛtis viz. washerman, leather worker, etc.[429] The same work states that according to Pitāmaha the titles of law to be taken cognisance by the king himself were twenty-two. In the hall of justice, he says, there should be eight constituents viz. the scribe, the accountant, śāstra, the sādhyapāla, the assessors, gold, fire and water.[430] Some of the other noteworthy dicta of Pitāmaha are:—a suit should be[431] first tried before the village (pancāyat), then before the town (court of appeal), then before the king; between litigants of the same country, town, societies, cities and villages, the decision should be arrived at according to their own peculiar conventions and usages, but when there is a dispute between these and strangers, the decision must be according to the śāstra; possession[432] in order to be recognised by the courts as decisive must have five characteristics, it must have title, long duration, it must be uninterrupted, it must not have been impeached and it must be before the eyes of the opponent; a private document[433] under one's own hand is inferior to a *jānapada* (a publicly written and attested) deed, the latter is inferior to a royal edict, this last is inferior to possession continued for three generations.

Pitāmaha is later than Bṛharpati,[434] as he cites the latter's view that a litigation between members of the same village, society, town, guild, caravan or army must be decided according to their peculiar usages. Therefore Pitāmaha must be assigned to some date between the 4th and 7th century A. D.

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429 रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च । कैवर्तकश्च विज्ञेया म्लेच्छभिल्लौ तथैव च ॥ वेमरस्थिरविक्याधहस्तलाक्षद्रघट्टकाः । कांसेदकाभीरपदमातङ्गाण्डापगोपकाः ॥ एताः प्रकृतयः प्रोक्ता अष्टादश मनीषिभिः । वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च सर्वदा तु बहिः स्थिताः ॥ स्मृतिच०.

430 लेखको गणकः शास्त्रं साध्यपालः सभासदः । हिरण्यमग्निरुदकमष्टाङ्गकरणं स्मृतम् ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य.); compare नारद (Intro. chap. verse 15).

431 ग्रामे दृष्टः पुरं यायात्पुरे दृष्टस्तु राजनि । राज्ञा दृष्टः कुदृष्टो वा नास्ति तस्य पुनर्भवः ॥ स्मृतिच०; देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरग्रामेषु वासिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमयधर्मशास्त्रतोन्येषु तैः सह ॥ स्मृतिच०.

432 सागमा दीर्घकाला चाविच्छिन्नापरवोज्झिता । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधाना च भुक्तिः पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥

433 स्वहस्तकाज्जानपदं तस्मात्तु नृपशासनम् । ततस्त्रिपुरुषो भोगः प्रमाणतरमिष्यते ॥

434 ग्रामगोष्ठपुरश्रेणिसार्थसेनानिवासिनाम् । व्यवहारस्त्वधिक्रमेण निर्णेतव्यो बृहस्पतिः ॥

45. Pulastya

Pulastya is one of the expounders of dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse from him on śārīra-śauca.[435] The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 261) cites a verse from Pulastya that a Brāhmaṇa should principally use ascetic's food (i. e. vegetable food) in śrāddha, that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas should use meat and śūdras honey.[436] The Mit. (Yāj. III 253) quotes two verses of Pulastya who enumerates eleven intoxicating drinks together with *surā* as the twelfth.[437] Aparārka quotes several verses from Pulastya on saṁdhyā, śrāddha, āśauca, duties of yatis, prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes two verses from Pulastya propounding the view that a combination of jñāna and karma is the correct view.[438] The first of these verses is ascribed by him to Yoga-Yājñavalkya elsewhere (note 336). The Smṛticandrikā quotes about forty verses from Pulastya on āhnika and śrāddha. In one place it quotes Pulastya on the efficacy of bathing on Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday.[439] In another place it refers to the *japa* of Rāma, Paraśurāma, Nṛsiṁha, Trivikrama.

The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites a prose text from Pulastya on the gift of deer-skin.[440]

The Pulastya-smṛti must have been composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

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435 स्नातकस्य त्रयीपानं पञ्चापानंमिहोत्रिणः । सर्वानेव गृहस्थेषु शौचकल्पान्नियोजयेत् ॥ विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

436 मुन्यन्नं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः । मधुप्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत् ॥

437 पानसं द्राक्षमाधूकं खार्जूरं तालमैक्षवम् । मधूत्थं सैरमारिष्टं मैरेयं नारिकेलजम् ॥ समानानि विजानीयान्मद्यान्येकादशैव तु । द्वादशं तु सुरामद्यं सर्वेषामधमं स्मृतम् ॥

438 ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगात्परं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः । पृथग्भावान्न सिध्यन्ति उभे तस्मात्समाश्रयेत् ॥ ज्ञानं प्रधानं न तु कर्महीनं कर्म प्रधानं न तु बुद्धिहीनम् । तस्माद्द्वयोर्भ्यां तु भवेत्प्रसिद्धिर्न ह्येकपक्षो विहगः प्रयाति ॥ अपरार्क on या. III. 57, p. 911.

439 रव्यङ्गारशनैर्वारैः स्नानं कुर्वन्ति ये नराः । व्याधिभिस्ते न पीड्यन्ते मृगैः केसरिणो यथा ॥ स्मृतिच०.

440 अथातः कृष्णाजिनविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः । कार्तिक्यां पौर्णमास्यां वैशाख्यां च चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे विषुवयोर्वा कृष्णाजिनं सखुरं सशृङ्गमव्रणं मनोहरम् । ms. No. 114 of 1884-86 from Deccan College (folio 51 a).

46. Pracetas

Pracetas finds a place among the sages enumerated by Parāśara though not in Yājñavalkya. In both Mit. and Aparārka there are passages in prose and verse ascribed to Pracetas on daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 27) quotes a verse from Pracetas saying that workmen, artisans, physicians, male and female slaves, kings, royal officers have not to observe periods of impurity[441] (on death). This verse is cited as a smṛti by Medhātithi on Manu V. 60 without ascribing it to Pracetas. So Medhātithi looked upon Pracetas as equally authoritative with Manu, Viṣṇu and others.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III 20, 263-64), Haradatta (on Gautama 22. 18) and Aparārka frequently cite verses from Bṛhat-Pracetas on āśauca and prāyaścitta. The Mit. and Aparārka also quote verses on the same topics from Vṛddha-Pracetas.

A few prose quotations from Pracetas are noted in the Smṛticandrikā and by Haradatta (on Gautama 23. 1).

47. Prajāpati

Prajāpati is cited as an authority by the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (II. 4. 15 and II. 10. 71). Vasiṣṭha several times quotes Prājāpatya ślokas (viz. III. 47, XIV 16-19, 24-27, 30-32). It has been shown above that most of these verses are found in the Manusmṛti or have close correspondence with verses of Manu. So it is not unlikely that both the writers of dharmasūtras mean Manu by Prajāpati.

In the Ānandāśrama collection (p. 90-98) there is a smṛti of Prajāpati in 198 verses on the various details of śrāddha, such as the time, place, the persons authorised to perform, proper food, Brāhmaṇas to be invited etc. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, but there are nine verses in the Indravajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilakā (verse 137) and Sragdharā (verse 96). It speaks of Kalpaśāstra, smṛtis, dharmaśāstra, purāṇas. It contains a verse referring to the Kanyā and Vṛścika (scorpion) signs of the zodiac, which is almost the same as a verse of Kārṣṇājini.

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441 कारवः शिल्पिनो वैद्या दासीदासास्तथैव च । राजानो राजभृत्याश्च सद्यःशौचाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 25 and 260) quotes verses of Prajāpati on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites verses of Prajāpati on purification of various substances, śrāddha, witnesses, ordeals and āśauca. None of these is traced to the printed text of Prajāpati. Aparārka (p. 952) gives a long prose text of Prajāpati on the four orders of parivrājakas, viz. kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa, paramahaṁsa. Aparārka (p. 542) cites a verse of Laugākṣi which refers to the view of Prajāpati that the son of a putrikā was to offer piṇḍas to his mother by the gotra of his maternal grand-father.[442] Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Parāśara-Mādhavīya and other works quote several verses of Prajāpati on vyavahāra. Witnesses are of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta. In this he seems to have followed Nārada (ṛṇādāna, verse 149). Prajāpati lays down the characteristics of valid reply (uttara) of the defendant and defines[444] the four varieties of uttara. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya cites several verses of Prajāpati on ordeals. Prajāpati recognised the right of the sonless widow to succeed to her husband's wealth[445] and enjoined on her the duty of offering śrāddha every month and year to her husband's manes and to honour his relatives.[446]

48. Marīci

This sage is relied upon as an authority by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā on Āhnika, Āśauca, Śrāddha, Prāyaścitta and Vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes several verses on *tarpaṇa* one of which speaks of Sunday.[447] Marīci disallows bathing in the rivers in the months of Śrāvaṇa

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442 मातामहस्य गोत्रेण मातुः पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् । कुर्वीत पुत्रिकापुत्र एवमाह प्रजापतिः ॥ अपरार्क.

443 साक्षी द्विभेदो विज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः । लेख्यारूढः कृतो ज्ञेयः मुक्तकोऽकृत उच्यते ॥ अपरार्क p. 666, स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 80 reads उत्तरोऽकृत).

444 स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 42-43), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 69-73.

445 पूर्वं प्रमीताग्निहोत्रं मृते भर्तरि तद्धनम् । लभेत् पतिव्रता नारी धर्म एष सनातनः ॥

446 जङ्गमं स्थावरं हेम कुप्यं धान्यरसाम्बरम् । आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं माससंवत्सरादिकम् ॥ पितृव्यगुरुदौहित्रान् भर्तुःस्वस्रीयमातुलान् । पूजयेत्कव्यपूर्ताभ्यां वृद्धानाथातिथींस्तथा ॥ स्मृतिच० (p. 291), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 586.

447 सप्तम्यां रविवारे च गृही जन्मदिने तथा । भृत्यपुत्रकलत्रार्थी न कुर्यात्तिलतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 132; स्मृतिच० (आह्निक p. 123).

and Bhādrapada.[448] Marīci made a very near approach to the modern conceptions underlying the Transfer of Property Act. 'Completeness is not attained without writing in the transactions of sale, mortgage, partition and gift of immoveable property'.[449] If a buyer purchases a chattel before a row of merchants and to the knowledge of the king's officers and in broad daylight, he is free from blame and gets back his money (if the thing turns out to be another's property), while if the price (paid by a buyer for a chattel) cannot be recovered (from the vendor who sells without title) owing to the vendor's address being not known, the loss should be apportioned between the buyer and the original owner of the chattel.[450] Marīci divides ādhi into four varieties, bhogya, gopya, pratyaya, ājñādhi.

It is to be noted that Aparārka (p. 908) quotes a prose passage of Marīci on āśauca.

49. Yama

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) cites four ślokas of Yama and quotes (11. 20) one verse in which Yama is spoken of as an authority. All the ślokas except one are found in Manu.[451] Vasiṣṭha quotes a śloka of Prajāpati wherein Yama's view

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448 नभोनभस्ययोर्मध्ये सर्वा नद्यो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वीत देवर्षिपितृतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 235.

449 स्थावरे विक्रयाधाने विभागे दान एव च । प्रतिग्रहे च क्रीते च नालेख्या सिध्यति क्रिया ॥ परा. मा. vol. III. p. 128 ; स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 60 reads लिखितेनाप्नुयात् सिद्धिमविसंवादमेव च).

450 अविज्ञातनिवेशत्वाद्यत्र मूल्यं न लभ्यते । हानिस्तत्र समा कल्प्या क्रेतृस्वामिकयोर्द्वयोः ॥ अपरार्क p. 775.

451 अथापि यमगीताञ्श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । श्मशानमेतत्प्रत्यक्षं ये शूद्राः पापचारिणः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन ॥ न शूद्राय मतिं दद्यान्नोच्छिष्टं न हविष्कृतम् । न चास्योपदिशेद्धर्मं न चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् ॥ यश्चास्योपदिशेद्धर्मं यश्चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् । सोऽसंवृतं तमो घोरं सह तेन प्रपद्यते ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13-15. The last two are almost the same as मनु IV. 80-81 and the first is a paraphrase of आप. ध. 'पद्यु ह वा एतच्छ्मशानं यच्छूद्रः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्'. नाघदोषोऽस्ति राज्ञां वै व्रतिनां न च सत्रिणाम् । ऐन्द्रस्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मभूता हि ते सदा ॥ वसिष्ठ 19. 48 and मनु V. 93. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । अथ चेन्मन्त्रविद्युक्तः शारीरैः पङ्क्तिदूषणैः । अदूष्यं तं यमः प्राह पङ्क्तिपावन एव सः ॥ वसिष्ठ॥ 11. 20; vide बृहद्यम 3. 41. घृतं वा यदि वा तैलं विप्रो नाद्यान्नखच्युतम् । यमस्तदशुचि प्राह तुल्यं गोमांसभक्षणैः ॥ वसिष्ठ. 14. 30.

is set forth. Yama is one of the sages enumerated in the list of Yājñavalkya. Govindarāja (on Manu 5. 16) and Aparārka quote a verse of Śaṅkha wherein Yamas' view that the flesh of certain birds could be eaten is referred to.[452] Aparārka (p. 1231) also cites a verse of Śaṅkha in which the view of Bhagavān Yama that one should save one's life in all ways (even by incurring sin) is relied upon.

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 560–568) there is a smṛti of Yama in seventyeight verses on prāyaścitta and purification (śuddhi). In this smṛti Yama himself is cited in the third person (verse 65). One verse (33) refers to the view of Bhāsvati (son of the sun, by which may be meant either Manu or Yama himself).[453] Some of the verses are identical with those of Manu (e. g. verses 26, 28 are the same as Manu 11. 178 and 3. 19). Verse 44 is in the Upajāti metre. In the Ānandāśrama collection there is a Yamasmṛti in 99 verses on prāyaścitta, śrāddha, and purification. Most of the topics of this smṛti are the same as those of the Calcutta text, but most of the verses are not identical. A few verses are found in both, e. g. the verses about the seven lowest castes[454] (antyajas). Verse 11 quotes the view of Śātātapa. This smṛti contains the well-known text that a woman passes on marriage into the gotra of her husband, which is cited by the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254).[455] In the same collection there is a smṛti of Bṛhad-Yama (pp. 99-107). It is divided into five chapters and contains 182 verses. It deals with prāyaścittas for various lapses, purification from various kinds of contacts (śuddhi), śrāddha, partition and a few matters of medical procedure. In this smṛti Yama is frequently cited by name. Śātātapa is cited on partition (V. 20). Many of the verses of this text are identical with those of Yama in Jivananda's text. For example, Jivananda (p. 561) verses 15-17 are the same

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452 तित्तिरिं च मयूरं च लावकं च कपिञ्जलम् । वार्ध्रीणसं वर्तकं च भक्ष्यानाह यमः सताम् ॥ (सदा v. l.) अपरार्क p. 1167.

453 ततो देवलकश्चैव भृतको वेदविक्रयी । एते वर्ज्याः प्रयत्नेन एतद्भास्वतिरब्रवीत् ॥ Compare मनु 3. 180.

454 रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च । कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते अन्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥ Jivananda verse 54, Ānandāśrama verse 33.

455 स्वगोत्राद्भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात्सप्तमे पदे । स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्यास्तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥ verse 78.

as Bṛihad-Yama III. 1-3, Jivananda p. 563 verses 29-33 are the same as Bṛhad-Yama III. 34-38, Jivananda verses 35-36 are the same as Bṛhad-Yama III. 16-17. The verse in the Upajāti metre (Jivananda 44) is Bṛhad-Yama III. 61. Two of the verses at the end of chap. V. are the same as Yāj. II. 17 and 23.

The numerous mss. of Yama contain either one or other of the above three texts or different texts bearing on the same topics. For example, Deccan College collection Nos. 209-211 of A 1881-82 and No. 153 of 1895-1902 are the same as the Yamasmṛti in the Ānandāśrama collection, No. 401 of 1891-95 seems to be the same as Bṛhad-Yama in the Ānandāśrama collection. But the I. O. Cat. No. 1334 p. 390 contains 57 ślokas, the last 20 of which are in the Indravajrā metre.

Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other later works quote over three hundred verses of Yama on all topics of dharmaśāstra including vyavahāra. This establishes that they had an extensive work of Yama before them from which it is probable various abridgments corresponding with the printed works were made. Viśvarūpa quotes about ten verses of Yama on water as purifier (on Yāj. I. 187), on śrāddha (on Yāj. I. 225 and 252) and on prāyaścitta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 262). The identical verses are not found in the printed texts. Some of the verses quoted from Yama in Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā can be traced in the printed text. For example, Aparārka (p. 42) quotes a verse of Yama in which Yama himself is referred to as an authority.[456] It occurs in Jivananda's text (verse 65). The two verses in Jivananda's text (verses 26, 28) that are identical with Manu are cited in the Smṛticandrikā as Yama's. Two verses of Bṛhad-Yama (III. 20-21) about the proper age of marriage in the case of girls are quoted as Yama's in the Smṛticandrikā.[457] In some of the verses quoted by Aparārka from Yama, the opinions of Manu are cited which can be identified with the views of the Manu-

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456 अपः करनखस्पृष्टा य आचामति वै द्विजः। सुरां पिबति स व्यक्तं यमस्य वचनं यथा॥ This is attributed to यम in the स्मृतिच॰ also.

457 अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गौरी नववर्षा च रोहिणी। दशवर्षा भवेत्कन्या अत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्वला॥ प्राप्ते द्वादशमे वर्षे कन्यां यो न प्रयच्छति। मासि मासि रजस्तस्याः पिता पिबति शोणितम्॥ स्मृतिच॰ (आह्निक p. 79.).

smṛti. For example, according to Yama food polluted by the touch of hair, moths and insects, or seen by sinners and women in their courses is purified by water, holy ashes etc.[458] This refers to Manu V. 125. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which says that according to Manu those who administer poison, who are incendiaries and robbers and those guilty of homicide and abetment thereof should pay the extreme penalty of death.[459] Aparārka (p. 988 on Yāj. III. 109) quotes five verses of Yama which refer to the 26th *tattvas* well known in the Sāṅkhya system, regard Puruṣottama as a 26 *tattva* and propound that he who correctly understands the 25 *tattvas*, in whatever āśrama he may be, reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu. Aparārka quotes a few prose passages from Yama on the garments to be worn by brahmacārins,[460] on prāyaścitta for killing various kinds of birds and insects, for cutting trees and bushes, for drinking wine, for stealing gold and for the other deadly sins etc.[461]

The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 104. 72-74) quotes *gāthās* of Yama.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which speaks of the sun being in the zodiacal sign Virgo.[462]

Yama required the king to look into the disputes of litigants carefully and impartially.[463] Yama cites the authority of Manu for the proposition that everything brought about by coercion such as a gift or a deed was liable to be set aside. This is almost identical with Manu 8. 168. Yama lays down that a Brāhmaṇa was never to be awarded corporal punishment, but that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of

458 अवक्षुतं केशपतङ्गकीटरुद्कयया वा पतितैश्च दृष्टम् । अलातभस्माम्बुहिरण्यभागैः संस्पृष्टमन्नं मनुराह भोज्यम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 267.

459 विषाग्निदायकाश्चोरा घातकाश्चोपघातकाः । स्वशरीरेण दण्ड्याः स्युर्मनुराह प्रजापतिः ॥ स्मृतिच०; vide मनु. 9. 278.

460 सर्वेषां रौरवशाणक्षौमाविकानि सामर्थ्याद्धोवस्त्राणीतराणि न । अपरार्क p. 58.

461 Vide pp. 1130, 1135, 1218, 1222.

462 इसे वर्षासु कन्यास्थे &c. स्मृतिच० (श्रा. p. 366 Gharpure.).

463 राजा मन्त्रिसहायस्तु द्वयोर्विवदमानयोः । सम्यक्कार्याण्यवेक्षेत रागद्वेषविवर्जितः ॥ अपरार्क p. 596.

464 बलाद्दत्तं बलाद्भुक्तं बलाद्यच्चापि लेखितम् । सर्वान् बलकृतानर्थान् निवर्त्यानाह वै मनुः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 130).

crimes was to be imprisoned and made[465] to work. Yama, like Yâj. (II. 145), prescribed that the strīdhana of a woman married in the Āsura form went to her father,[466] if she died childless. Aparārka (p. 822) quotes two verses of Yama that prescribed the first ammercement for him who, though forbidden, wrongfully takes the water of a lake or disturbs a water-course and the highest ammercement for him who breaks a lake. Aparārka (p. 860) also cites Yama for the fine of five kṛṣṇalas in the case of adultery with another's wife of the same caste as that of the paramour and twelve paṇas in case the wife is of a lower caste. The Smṛticandrikā and the Vyavahāramayūkha on the other hand direct that the king should punish the Brāhmaṇa woman guilty of adultery with a Śūdra by throwing her to dogs and by forcible tonsure and riding on an ass in case of adultery with a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. The Smṛticandrikāra, Parāśara-Mādhavīya and Vyavahāramayūkha quote a verse of Yama about a debtor, who, being able to pay, does not wantonly pay, being punished by taking twice the amount. Yama remarks that the order of saṁnyāsa is not allowed to women in the Vedas or in the śāstra[467] (dharmaśāstra) and that her real dharma is to be the mother of children from one of her own caste. A Bṛhad-Yama is cited by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 255 and 290), Haradatta and by Aparārka on prāyaścitta. Similarly a Laghu-Yama is cited by Haradatta and Aparārka and a Svalpa-Yama (probably same as Laghu-Yama) by the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedacārya.

50. Laugākṣi

The Mit. (on Yāj III. 1-2,260, 289) quotes verses of Laugākṣi on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes prose passages and verses of Laugākṣi on the saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva, cāturmāsya, purification

465 न शारीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कर्हिचित् । गुप्ते तु बन्धने बद्ध्वा राजा भक्तं प्रदापयेत् ॥ ... यथापराधं विप्रं तु विकर्माण्यपि कारयेत् । अवध्या ब्राह्मणा गावो लोकेस्मिन् वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 316).

466 आसुरादिषु यद् द्रव्यं विवाहेषु प्रदीयते । अप्रजायामतीतायां पितैव तु धनं हरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 286.). Note अप्रजायामतीतायां, which is the reading in विश्वरूप (p. 172 above).

467 स्त्रियाः श्रुतौ वा शास्त्रे वा प्रव्रज्या न विधीयते । प्रजाः हि तस्याः स्वो धर्मः सवर्णादिति धारणा ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 254).

of substances, śrāddha, āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites (p. 512) a verse of Laugākṣi which regards Prajāpati as an authority. The Mit. and almost all works on vyavahāra cite a verse of Laugākṣi defining yoga and kṣema and prescribing that they are impartible.

51. Viśvāmitra

Viśvāmitra is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya as quoted by Viśvarūpa. Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā, the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana and other works quote verses of Viśvāmitra on almost all topics of dharma except vyavahāra, such as on the five deadly sins, on śrāddhas, prāyaścitta etc. Viśvāmitra defines dharma as that which is esteemed by Āryas (respectable people) who know the Vedas.[468] His verses on the mahāpātakas are frequently quoted.[469] The Madras (Govt.) Mss. cat. (p. 1985 No. 2717) notices a smṛti of Viśvāmitra in verse in nine chapters.

52. Vyāsa

In Jivananda (part II pp. 321-342) and in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a smṛti ascribed to Vyāsa. The two texts are the same with a few variations. It is in four chapters and contains about 250 verses. Vyāsa is said to have declared the smṛti in Benares. The contents briefly are :— the dharmas herein laid down prevail only in that region where the black deer roam about; the authoritativeness of śruti, smṛti and purāṇas; mixed castes; sixteen saṁskāras; duties of Brahmacārī; marriage; Brāhmaṇa may marry Kṣatriya or Vaiśya girl but not Śūdra; duties of a wife; the nitya, naimittika and kāmya acts of householders, eulogy of the householder stage and of gifts.

Viśvarūpa quotes a few verses of Vyāsa. They are mostly taken from the Mahābhārata and are concerned with topics of marriage, daily duties (such as washing the teeth and bathing), śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Similarly Medhātithi quotes several verses from the

468 यमार्याः क्रियमाणं तु शंसन्त्यागमवेदिनः । स धर्मो यं विगर्हन्ति तमधर्मं प्रचक्षते ॥ स्मृतिच० (आह्निक p. 6).

469 ब्राह्मणो न च हन्तव्यः सुरा पेया न च द्विजैः । ब्राह्मणस्वर्णहरणं न कर्तव्यं कदाचन ॥ गुरुपत्नीं न गच्छेच्च संसर्गं नैभ्य नाचरेत् । महापातकिसंज्ञा तु निर्दिष्टा मनीषिभिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 1044.

Mahābhārata as Vyāsa's. In Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works about two hundred verses of Vyāsa are cited on vyavahāra. From these it appears that Vyāsa dealt with rules of procedure and the several titles of law (vyavahāra-padas) and that his doctrines closely agreed in most respects with those of Nārada, Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati. He gives rules on the four kinds of uttara (mithyā, saṁpratipatti, kāraṇa and prāṅ-nyāya), divides documents in three varieties (svahasta, jānapada, rājaśāsana), divides laukika documents into eight sub-varieties (just as Kātyāyana seems to have done); he closely follows Bṛhaspati in his requirements about royal grants and two of his verses about grants (ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣa &c. and sāmānyoyaṁ dharmasetur nṛpāṇām) occur very frequently in inscriptions (vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 318). Vyāsa lays down that if a stranger enjoy a person's land for twenty years when the king is there (i. e. when there is no revolution or anarchy) and when the owner is able (to resist) the latter loses his property.[470] He speaks of adverse possession as having five characteristics.[471] He mentions seven kinds of sureties, while Hārita and Kātyāyana speak of only five and Bṛhaspati of four. He speaks of only five kinds of ordeals. He defines a *niṣka* as equal to 14 suvarṇas, a suvarṇa being equal to eight palas.[472] Vyāsa seems to represent a middle stage in the evolution of the rights of the widow to succeed to her deceased husband. He says that a woman was to get a maximum of two thousand (kārṣāpaṇas) from the estate of her deceased husband[473] (besides what he gave her when living). Vyāsa gave to the father and sons equal shares in ancestral property and allowed partition even against the wish of the father.[474] From these important charac-

470 वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूर्भुक्ता तु परैरिह । सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्य सेह न सिध्यति ॥ अपरार्क p. 632.

471 सागमो दीर्घकालश्च छेदोपाधिविवर्जितः । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग उच्यते ॥ अपरार्क p. 635.

472 पलान्यष्टौ सुवर्णस्य सुवर्णाश्च चतुर्दश । एतन्निष्कप्रमाणं तु व्यासेन परिकीर्तितम् ॥ स्मृतिच॰.

473 द्विसाहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियै देयो धनस्य च । यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममाप्नुयात् ॥ अपरार्क p. 752.

474 क्रमागते गृहे क्षेत्रे पितृपुत्राः समांशिनः । पैतृकेण विभागार्हाः सुताः पितुरनिच्छतः ॥ अपरार्क p. 728.

teristics of Vyāsa it may safely be concluded that Vyāsa flourished about the same time as Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati, i. e. between the second and the fifth century.

In Aparārka and other works there are numerous verses attributed to Vyāsa which are certainly not taken from the Mahābhārata or from the Vyāsasmṛti in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 357-371). For example, on Yāj. I. 12 he cites a verse of Vyāsa in the Vasantatilakā metre about the auspicious asterism for *caula* and another verse laying down Saturday, Sunday and Friday as unsuitable for *caula*. Similarly Vyāsa's verses dealing with the merit of bathing on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in conjunction with certain *tithis* are cited by Aparārka (p. 213). Vyāsa speaks of śrāddhas when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Aparārka p. 424). These indications are sufficient to assign Vyāsa to a comparatively later date. But as Aparārka evidently makes no distinction between Vyāsa the jurist, Vyāsa the reputed compiler of the Mahābhārata (e. g. he quotes on p. 961 six verses of the Bhagavatgitā as Vyāsa's) and Vyāsa who wrote on the saṁskāras, srāddha and other topics, it appears that the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma were separated from him by several centuries. Whether the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma are identical is a difficult problem. All that can be said is that the two may probably be identical. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a Gadya-Vyāsa and about 450 verses of Vyāsa on āhnika, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta.

Aparārka quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Vyāsa on Saudāyika, a kind of strīdhana. The Mit., the Prāyaścitta-mayūkha and other works cite verses of a Bṛhad-Vyāsa. Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara quotes Mahā-Vyāsa and Laghu-Vyāsa as authorities and also Dāna-Vyāsa, which probably means the dāna-dharma portions of the Mahābhārata.

53. Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-mata

This appears to have been a work like the Caturviṁśatimata described above. Quotations from it are cited in the Kalpataru, the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and a host of writers and works. Mitramiśra[475] says that though the Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-

475 षट्त्रिंशन्मतादिकं तु कैश्चिदेव परिगृहीतत्वाद्विगीतत्वादप्रमाणमित्युक्तम् । कल्पतरुकृता विज्ञानेश्वरापरार्कशूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिस्तु प्रमाणत्वेन परिगृहीतम् । परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 17.

mata has been accepted as an authority by the above-mentioned writers, yet certain other writers did not hold the work authoritative. The fact that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention this work, taken along with the above statement of Mitramiśra, may be relied upon for holding that this compilation must have been among the latest products of the age of smṛtis and was probably compiled some time between 700–900 A. D. Almost all the quotations from this compilatiou are concerned with the topics of purification of substances (śuddhi), śrāddha and prāyaścittas for sins and pollutions of various sorts. No verse of this compilation dealing with vyavahāra could he discovered. One verse quoted from it prescribes a bath on touching Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, atheists and followers of Kapila.[476] Another verse quoted by Aparārka cites the view of Bṛhaspati.[477] In another verse the view of Vaivasvata is referred to.[478] Aparārka quotes a prose passage from this compilation prescribing the prāyaścittas for touching the corpse of a caṇḍāla etc. As no ms. was available, it is difficult to say what 36 sages are relied upon as authorities.

54. Saṁgraha or Smṛtisaṁgraha

This work is frequently cited by the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works on all topics of dharma. The quotations on vyavahāra are copious and are very important for the history of Hindu Law. A few of the important views of the Saṁgrahakāra are set out below. He gives the requisite characteristics of a plaint in five verses.[479] According to him documents are of two kinds, rājakiya and janapada. The ordeals from dhata (balance) to poison (i. e. four) are prescribed in cases where the subject matter is of great value (i. e. above 500 paṇas), while kośa and the (other)

476 बौद्धान् पाशुपतांश्च जैनान् लोकायतिककापिलान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 118, अपरार्क p. 923 omits जैनान् and reads लोकायतिकनास्तिकान्.

477 तिलहोमादुपेतं चैव पराकद्वयमेव च । गायत्र्या लक्षमेकं च समाम्याह बृहस्पतिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 1249.

478 समुच्छिष्टस्तु यो भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते वा भक्तभोजनः । एवं वैवस्वतः प्राह भुक्त्वा सान्तपनं चरेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 1174.

479 Vide मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 6, स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 36), व्यवहारमयूख (p. 12), वीर० (p. 63).

ordeals (in all three) are prescribed in disputes for lesser sums.[480] This is slightly opposed to Nārada (ṛṇādāna verse 336) according to whom the five ordeals from tulā to kośa were prescribed in substantial disputes.[481] The Saṁgrahakāra has in view the seven ordeals spoken of by Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 252, 337, 343), while Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha enumerate nine. He defines dāya as the wealth that is handed down through father and mother.[482] He held that ownership arose from the dictates of śāstra and was not an affair of the world (laukika) and puts forward two reasons in support of his theory, viz. if ownership were laukika, then it would not be possible to make such assertions as 'his wealth has been wrongfully seized by another' and the texts (vide Gautama X. 39) laying down the means of acquisition of wealth for the several varṇas would be meaningless.[483] Dhāreśvara held the same view. These views were elaborately criticized by the Mit. According to the Saṁgrahakāra,[484] partition creates ownership in the son as regards paternal wealth (in which he has no rights by birth). Dhāreśvara entertained the same opinion, which was vehemently controverted by the Mit., holding that partition takes place of that in which one has already ownership. According to the Saṁgraha,[485] ownership does not consist in being able to dispose of a thing at one's sweet will, since it is the śāstra that prescribes the proper disposal or application of all things. The Saṁgraha[486] laid down that the special share given to the eldest son, the practice of niyoga and the offering of a cow are all forbidden in the present age. Dhāreśvara also held the same

480 धटादीनि विषान्तानि गुर्वर्थेषु दापयेत् । कोशादीनि पुनस्त्रीणि लघ्वर्थेषु यथाक्रमम् ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. 98); परा. मा. III. p. 153.

481 कोशान्तानि तुलादीनि गुर्वर्थेषु दापयेत् ।

482 पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् । कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोऽधुनोच्यते ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 478.

483 अस्यापहृतमेतेन न युक्तं वक्तुमन्यथा । विहितोऽर्थागमः शास्त्रे यथावर्णं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ प्रतिग्रहाजिवाणिज्यशुश्रूषास्या यथाक्रमम् । स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 257).

484 क्रियते स्वं विभागेन पुत्राणां पैतृकं धनम् । स्वत्वं सति प्रवर्तन्ते तस्माद्धर्म्याः पृथक् क्रियाः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 259.).

485 न च स्वमुच्यते तद्यत्स्वेच्छया विनियुज्यते । विनियोगोऽत्र सर्वस्य शास्त्रेणैव नियम्यते॥

486 यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोऽपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोऽपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 266); परा. मा. III. p. 492.

view about the eldest son's rights and the Mit. also approves of it and quotes anonymously the same verse (on Yāj. II. 117). The Saṁgraha in two verses, apparently following Manu 9. 182-183, lays down that, if of several full brothers one has a son, all thereby have issue and that, if one out of the several wives of a person has a son, all the co-wives may be regarded as putravatī. The Smṛticandrikā says that Devasvāmī explained this dictum of the Saṁgrahakāra. The Saṁgraha says that the widow of a separated coparcener dying childless would inherit his whole estate if she submitted to *Niyoga* at the behests of her elders.[487] This was also the opinion of Dhāreśvara and was refuted according to the Smṛticandrikā by Viśvarūpa. The Mit. also criticizes this view. He names Manu in connection with the succession of a person dying without leaving any one out of the twelve kinds of sons.[488] He has in view Manu 9. 185. According to the Saṁgrahakāra the order of succession to a sonless man is :— widow, the daughter who is a putrikā, mother, paternal grandmother, father, full brothers, half-brothers, the line of the father (pitṛsantati), the grand-father's line, the great-grand-father's line, other sapiṇḍas, sakulyas, the preceptor, the pupil, a fellow-student, a learned Brāhmaṇa. The Mit. notes that relying on Manu (9. 217) Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grandmother after the mother and before the father (thus agreeing with the Saṁgraha). The Saṁgraha says that homicide and other offences when commited with force are called *sāhasa*.[489]

It will be seen from the above that the views of the Saṁgrahakāra closely agreed with those of Dhāreśvara in many respects and were not approved of by the Mit. and other later writers. In vyavahāra the Saṁgraha certainly marks a far more advanced stage than Yājñavalkya and Nārada, whose works do not contain the controvertial questions about ownership, partition etc. As Dhāreśvara agrees very closely with the Smṛtisaṁgraha it may be argued that they were not separated by a long interval of time. It has to be

487 भ्रातृषु अविभक्तेषु संसृष्टेष्वसत्सु च । गुर्वादेशान्नियोगस्था पत्नी धनमवाप्नुयात् ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 533.

488 अशेषात्मजहीनस्य मृतस्य धनिनो धनम् । केनेदानीं ग्रहीतव्यमित्येतन्मनुनोच्यते ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 290.).

489 मानुष्यमारणादीनि कृतानि प्रसभं यदि । साहसानीति कथ्यन्ते यथाक्रमान्यथा पुनः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 7).

also noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not refer to the Saṁgraha. It is not unlikely that the Saṁgraha was in vogue in the territory ruled over by Bhoja of Dhārā and was therefore followed by Bhoja Dhāreśvara. Taking all things into consideration the Saṁgraha was probably compiled between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. The Smṛticandrikā no doubt says in one place that the Saṁgrahakāra follows the views of Dhāreśvara.[490] But this statement should not be emphasized and interpreted too literally. All that it means is that both held the same opinion. There is no intention to state that Dhāreśvara preceded the Saṁgrahakāra. Chronology was never the strong point of Indian commentators, particularly when the writers whose opinions were referred to flourished several centuries earlier. We know that Bhāruci and Dhāreśvara preceded the Mitākṣarā which names both; but the Sarasvatīvilāsa in several places (e. g. pp. 347, 361, 383) says that Bhāruci cannot tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara and also says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmi follow the view of Vijñānayogin (p. 395).

The Smṛticandrikā quotes several verses from the Saṁgraha on topics of śrāddha in which Gautama, Katyāyana, Parāśara, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Yama and Śaunaka are cited by name.[491]

55. Saṁvarta

Saṁvarta occurs as a Smṛtikāra in the list of Yājñavalkya. He is cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mit., Haradatta, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and a host of other writers. Viśvarūpa quotes either wholly or in part about twenty verses of Saṁvarta on evening *sandhyā-vandana*, on the duties of a yati and on the prāyaścittas for theft, adultery of various kinds, deadly sins. Medhātithi quotes verses of Saṁvarta on Manu V. 88 and XI. 116. The Mit. quotes him on prāyaścitta and āśauca (Yāj. III. 6, 17, 19 etc.). Aparārka had a large work before him and quotes about 200 verses.

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490 संग्रहकारस्य धारेश्वरमतानुसारित्वात् ।

491 For example 'याज्ञवल्क्यो विसर्गात्प्राक् पात्रमुत्तानमिच्छति । यमो विसर्जने कृत्वा गृह्यकर्तापि शौनकः ॥ प्रीतिप्रश्नादि देवानां पूर्वं कात्यायनादयः ।' स्मृतिच० (II. p. 484), compare या. I. 248. 'यस्मिंस्ते संस्रवाः पूर्वमर्घ्यपात्रे निवेशिताः । पितृपात्रं तदुत्तानं कृत्वा विप्रान् विसर्जयेत् ॥'.

A few of the views of Saṁvarta on topics of vyavahāra may be noted here. According to him oral testimony when in opposition to writing was to be discarded.[492] This is in striking agreement with section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act. He says that if houses and fields are being enjoyed (by one person as against another) when the king is there (i. e. when the central government is strong and there is no anarchy), then it is possession that counts and not mere writing (i. e. possession will be protected and not mere paper title without possession).[493] He lays down that no interest was to be allowed if not stipulated for in certain cases, viz., on stridhana (when used by the husband), on interest, on deposit (as long as it is not lost or deteriorated) and in suretyship.[494] He enumerates ten wrongs (*aparādhas*) of which the king was to take cognisance *suo motu* without any private person's complaint, viz., restraint of the defendant (before judgment), obstruction of the public road, women conceiving in adultery, becoming rich without any ostensible means, destruction of a meeting-hall and of trees and crops, kidnapping of maidens, sinning Brahmaṇas, champerty and maintenance, destruction of the roads where tolls are to be paid, the danger of robbers, rape, injury to cows and Brāhmaṇas.[495] He prescribed that disputes were not be investigated on the full moon and new moon day, and on the 14th and 8th *tithis*.

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492 लेख्ये लेख्यक्रिया प्रोक्ता वाचिके वाचिकी मता । वाचिकं न च सिध्येत्सा लेख्यस्योपरि या क्रिया ॥ लेख्यस्योपरि यत्साक्ष्यं कूटं तदभिधीयते । कूटस्य हि तद् द्वारमतो राजा विवर्जयेत् । वाचिकं यदि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणां विहन्यते । अक्षराणां स्वदनाशः स्यादनवस्था च जायते ॥ अपरार्क pp. 691 92.

493 भुज्यमाने गृहक्षेत्रे विद्यमाने तु राजनि । भुक्तिर्यस्य भवेत्तस्य न लेख्यं तत्र कारणम् ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 146.

494 न वृद्धिः स्त्रीधने लाभे निक्षेपे च यथास्थिते । संदिग्धे प्रातिभाव्ये च यदि न स्यात्स्वयंकृता ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 157).

495 आसेधं पथि भङ्गं च यस्य गर्भः पतिं विना । स्वयमन्वेषयेद्राजा विना चैव विवादिना ॥ यस्य दृश्यस्य (!) संपत्तिर्न दृश्येतागमः क्वचित् । स्वय ... दिना ॥ सभाभङ्गं तरुच्छेदं सरयव्याघातमेव च । स्व... ॥ कन्यापहारकं पापं विप्रं च पतितं तथा । परार्थवादसंयुक्तं स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ षड्भागकरशुल्कार्थे मार्गभेदकमेव च । स्वराष्ट्रचोरभीतिं च परदाराभिमर्शनम् ॥ गोब्राह्मणनिहन्तारं सस्यानां चैव घातकम् । दशैतानपराधांश्च स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० , परा. मा. III. 44-45.

In Jivananda's collection (part I, pp. 584-603) and in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 411-424) there is a smṛti of Saṁvarta in 227 and 230 verses respectively. It purports to have been declared to Vāmadeva and other sages by Saṁvarta. Its main contents are:—that is the religious country where the black deer roam about, rules of conduct for a Brahmacārin, prāyaścittas for various lapses on the part of a student, duties of householder, eulogy of liberality, duties of forest hermit and saṁnyāsin, prāyaścittas for various sins and actions. Saṁvarta is sometimes cited as an authority (verses 38, 123). He recommends the marriages of girls at the age of eight (verse 67) and condemns marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter (verse 157).

In a few Mss. (e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1367) the Saṁvartasmṛti comprised is different from the printed Saṁvarta.

The printed smṛti appears to be an epitome of a portion of the original smṛti of saṁvarta. Many of the verses in the printed texts are found in Aparārka. For example Aparārka p. 49=Saṁvarta verse 6; Aparārka p. 693=Saṁvarta verses 107-108; Aparārka p. 1053=Saṁvarta verses 111-113; Aparārka p. 1094 (eight verses out of which five)=Saṁvarta verses 130-134. The pada of Saṁvarta which Viśvarūpa quotes (ardhāstamitabhāskaram) on Yāj. I. 25 occurs in verse 6 of the printed text. This shows that the printed smṛti preserves very ancient material, the authenticity of which is vouched for by so early a writer as Viśvarūpa.

The Mit. quotes a Bṛhat-Saṁvarta (on Yāj. III. 265, 288).

A Svalpa-Saṁvarta is quoted in Harinātha's Smṛtisāra.

56. Hārīta

The verse quotations from Hārīta on topics of vyavahāra deserve some treatment. He defines vyavahāra as that whereby the recovery of one's own wealth and the avoidance of (doing) the duties peculiar to another (caste or class) are effected in due course of law.[496] He further says that that judicial proceeding is proper which is based on the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra, which is in conformity with the usages of respectable people and which is free from

496 स्वधनस्य यथा प्राप्तिः परधर्मस्य वर्जनम् । न्यायेन यत्र क्रियते व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥ स्मृतिच०.

fraud.[497] Hārīta calls upon the king to know the śāstras, the duties of the varṇas and of the lowest castes.[498] He like Nārada said that vyavahāra had four aspects, each succeeding one prevailing against the preceding one[499], viz., dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, nṛpājñā. He attached the greatest importance to writing and said that a transaction consigned to writing is effective even after great lapse of time and that he who has a writing in his hands is entitled to possession (probably in cases of mortgages and pledges).[500] He lays down very elaborate rules about the requisites and defects of plaints, about summoning the defendant, about the contents, faults and kinds of the defendant's reply, and about the burden of proof.[501] He protects long possession of property even if it originated without title provided it had lasted for three generations.[502] He says that title is the decisive factor as to various kinds of possession, viz., when possession is forcibly taken by soldiers and freebooters, when a thing is stolen or kept concealed, when it was delivered through affection and friendship or when it was lent on hire, or when it was handed over for wearing or safe custody or was borrowed through friendship.[503] To illustrate the relation of title and possession he uses a very apt figure, viz. just as a branch cannot be seen expanding in the sky unless it is supported by the roots, so title is the root and possession

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497 धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रोक्तः शिष्टाचारादिलक्षणः । छलेन च व्यपेतो यः व्यवहारः स धार्मिकः ॥ स्मृतिच०.

498 शास्त्राणि सर्वधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः । व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा तत्सर्वमाचरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच०.

499 धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्वबाधकः ॥ सरस्वतीविलास p. 58 (Mysore ed.). Vide नारद (Intro. chap. verse 10).

500 सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् । स्मृतिच०; लेख्यं यस्य भवेद्धस्ते भोगं तस्य विनिर्दिशेत् । अपरार्क on या. II. 90.

501 Vide मिता. on या. II. 6 and 7.

502 अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं पित्रा भ्रात्राथवापि च । न तच्छक्यं पराहर्तुं तृतीयं समुपागतम् ॥ स्मृतिच०; 'यद्विनागममत्यन्तं भुक्तं पूर्वैस्त्रिभिर्भवेत् । न तच्छक्यमपाहर्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतम्' ॥ मिता. on या. II. 27.

503 भटचाटबलाद्भुक्तं हृतं गुप्तमथापि वा । स्नेहप्रणयदत्तं च प्रदत्तं भाटकेन वा ॥ तथा वसनरक्षार्थं याचितं प्रणयेन वा । एवं बहुविधे भोगे आगमो निर्णयः स्मृतः ॥ न मूलेन विना शाखा अन्तरिक्षे प्ररोहति । आगमस्तु भवेन्मूलं भुक्तिः शाखा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ स्मृतिच०.

is its offshoot. According to him sureties are of five kinds,[504] abhaya (for keeping the peace), pratyaya (for confidence), dāna (return of money or carrying out one's obligations), upasthāna (return of money lent on pledge) and darśana (for appearance). He prescribed an absolute tutelage for women as regards the giving away of the husband's wealth and allowed only maintenance to a young widow of improper conduct.[505] But Hārīta was humane in his treatment of even erring wives. He does not allow a husband to cast adrift an adulterous wife and prescribes that she should be given food to keep body and soul together and bare clothes.[506]

It appears from the above that Hārīta the jurist must have flourished nearly at the same time as Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, i. e. between 400 and 700 A. D.

57. Commentaries and Nibandhas (digests)

The literature on Dharmaśāstra falls into three well-marked but somewhat over-lapping periods. The first period is that of the ancient dharmasūtras and of the Manusmṛti. It is a period dating from at least the 6th century B. C. to the beginnings of the Christian era. Next comes the period when most of the versified smṛtis were composed and it ranges from the first centuries of the Christain era to about 800 A. D. The third period is that of the commentators and the writers of digests. This covers over a thousand years from about the 7th century to 1800 A. D. The first part of this last period was the golden era of famous commentators. Commentaries on smṛti works continued to be written almost to the end of this period, *e. g.* Nandapaṇḍita wrote the commentary called Vaijayantī on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra in the 17th century. But the general tendency from the 12th century onwards was to write works not professing to be commentaries on a particular smṛti, but works that were in the nature of digests containing a synthesis of all the dicta of smṛti writers on topics of dharma. Examples of this class

504 अभये प्रत्यये दाने उपस्थानेथ दर्शने । पंचस्वेव प्रकारेषु प्राप्नोति प्रतिभूर्बुधैः ॥ स्मृतिच०.

505 दानार्थं वा धनार्थं वा धर्मार्थं वा विशेषतः । आदाने वा विसर्गे वा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्य महति ॥ स्मृतिच०; विधवा यौवनस्था चेन्नारी भवति कर्कशा । आयुषः क्षपणार्थं तु दातव्यं जीवनं तदा ॥ मिता० on या. II. 135.

506 भार्याया व्यभिचारिण्याः परित्यागो न विद्यते । दद्यात्पिण्डं कुचेलं च अधःशय्यां च शाययेत् ॥ स्मृतिच०.

of works are the Kalpataru, the Smrticandrikā, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, the Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara. Even when in the earlier part of this period writers professed to compose only commentaries on particular works, they adopted the style of digests trying to introduce order out of a chaotic mass of Smṛti dicta and explaining away apparent contradictions. For example, Viśvarūpa's commentary (in the ācāra and prāyaścitta sections), the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka's work, though professing to be commentaries on Yājñavalkya, are really in the nature of digests. In fact there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a *ṭīkā* and a *nibandha* (digest). Vijñāneśvara is described by the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa as the most eminent of all writers of *nibandhas*. Therefore, though it is usual to speak of the third period as one of commentators and nibandhakāras, there is no necessity in this work to observe any sharp line of distinction between the two. In the following pages a few prominent and typical commentators and nibandhakāras who have written on all or most of the branches of dharmaśāstra and whose works have attained classical rank will be dealt with in chronological order as far as that can be done with any accuracy.

58. Asahaya

Dr. Jolly in his edition of the Nāradasmṛti (B. I. series) has incorporated a portion of the bhāṣya of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. Even this revised version comes up to only verse 21 of the fifth title *abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā*. The exact relation of Kalyāṇa-bhaṭṭa's labours to the original *bhāṣya* cannot be accurately gauged from the opening[507] words 'finding that the *Nāradabhāṣya* composed by Asahāya was spoilt (*bhraṣṭa*) by bad scribes, Kalyāṇa composes this after revising the ancient one'. The colophon at the end of the first chapter of the Vyavahāramātṛkā says that Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised the bhāṣya of Asahāya at the encouragement of Keśavabhaṭṭa.[508] Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa seems to have taken great liberties with the text of the original bhāṣya. On p. 9 verse 15 (rājā satpuruṣaḥ sabhyaḥ śāstram gaṇakalekhakau), the comment on śāstra is 'Manu-Nārada-

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507 दृष्ट्वासहायरचितं नारदभाष्यं कुलेखकैर्भ्रष्टम् । कल्याणेन क्रियते प्राक्तनमेतद् विशोध्य पुनः । (first-verse).

508 इति असहायनारदभाष्ये केशवभट्टप्रोत्साहित-कल्याणभट्टपरिशोधित-व्यवहारमातृकायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

Viśvarūpātmakam'. If Viśvarūpa named here be identical with the the Viśvarūpa who commented on Yāj. (as is almost certain), this passage could not have occurred in Asahāya's bhāṣya. Viśvarūpa, in commenting on Yāj. III. 263-64, mentions Asahāya by name and cites his explanation of a sūtra of Gautama (22. 13). The name Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa frequently occurs in the printed commentary itself (p. 81, 86, 89).[509]

In the I. O. ms. there is a salutation to Śivā and Gaṇeśa at the beginning. There is a ms. of the Nāradīyabhāṣya as printed by Dr. Jolly in the Deccan College collection (No. 27 of 1874-75). It does not contain the first folio and curiously enough it ends just where the printed text stops. Dr. Jolly omits a few lengthy passages occurring in the ms. and generally indicates such omissions by dots. In a few cases Dr. Jolly omits only a word or two for no apparent reason, e. g. on p. 8 (folio 7b of No. 27 of 1874-75) he omits the wotd 'paramasamṛddhyā' after 'vyavahāraḥ' and before 'caturṇām-api varṇānām'.

The Hāralatā of Aniruddha who was the *guru* of king Ballālasena of Bengal the author of Adbhutasāgara (about 1168 A. D.) tells us that Asahāya composed a bhāṣya on the Gautamadharmasūtra.[510] Viśvarūpa also cites, as said above, Asahāya's explanation of a sūtra of Gautama.

It appears that Asahāya probably wrote a commentary on the Manusmṛti also. A passage of the Sarasvatīvilāsa[511] says that partition of dharma was approved of by smṛtikāras like Manu,

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509 तथा चोक्तमेव सामान्यपाठ्यपञ्चलक्षणविचारप्रकरणे कल्याणभट्टेन । p. 81 ; यथोक्तं त्रिपादि-लेख्यप्रकरणकारकल्याणभट्टेन । p. 86 ; कल्याणकृतं श्लोकत्रयमस्ति । p. 89.

510 हारलता (B. I. series) p. 35. 'गौतमः । बालदेशान्तरितप्रव्रजितानां सद्यःशौचम् । (गौ. ध. सू. 14. 44) यत्र मृतोऽशौचाभ्यन्तरे न श्रूयते तद्देशान्तरं तत्र मृतो देशान्तरित इति गौतमभाष्यकृतासहायेन व्याख्यातम् ।', हारलता p. 97 'गौतमः । पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा । (गौ. ध. सू. 14. 12) । अत्रासहायव्याख्या । यदा पितृपितामहप्रपितामहास्त्रयो जीवन्ति तदा प्रपितामहादूर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यः पिण्डदानम् । ... इदं तु व्याख्यानं न शोभनं प्रतिभाति ।'

511 धर्मविभागो मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिकाराणां तत्स्मृतिव्याख्यातॄणामसहायमेधातिथिविज्ञानेश्वरापरार्काणां निबन्धॄणां चन्द्रिकाकारादीनां च संमत एव । सरस्वतीविलास para. 83 and p. 348 (Mysore ed.).

Yājñavalkya, by their commentators, viz. Asahāya, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka and by writers of *nibandhas*, viz. the author of the Candrikā and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that Asahāya like Medhātithi was known to be a commentator of Manu. This conclusion is to some extent corroborated by the fact that the Vivādaratnākara[512] quotes with reference to Manu 9. 182 the words of Asahāya thereon. On Manu 8. 156 Medhātithi quotes the opinion of Asahāya.[513]

The foregoing establishes that Asahāya composed bhāṣyas on the Gautamadharmasūtra, on the Manusmṛti and on Nārada. When the Smṛticandrikā[514] refers to a bhāṣya of Nārada it is most probably referring to Asahāya. In the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) the opinion of Asahāya and Medhātithi on the right of an unmarried sister to receive one-fourth as provision for her marriage from her brothers is preferred to that of Bhāruci.[515] This seems to be rather a reference to Asahāya's commentary on Manu (9. 118) which contains a rule similar to Yāj. (II. 124), while Nārada contains no such rule about a fourth share. It is a strange irony of fate that the

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The सरस्वतीविलास often refers to a writer called निबन्धनकार. He is likely to be असहाय. Vide सरस्वतीविलास p. 457 ' अत्र (मनुस्मृतौ) वाक्पारुष्यदण्डपारुष्यर्णसंग्रहणानन्तरं दायविभागः क्रमिकः । निबन्धनकारेण तु त्रयोदश विवादपदं दाय इत्युक्तम् । उभयोर्महान् विरोधः । स परिहियते । तथोक्तं नारदेन । ... नारदवचनानुसारि निबन्धनकारवचनम् । अतश्च तद्व्याख्येयस्यापि गौतमसूत्रस्य नारदवचनानुसारित्वमेव ।' ; तथा च गौतमः । प्रतिषेधे पुमान्दण्ड्यस्तदर्धं स्त्री इति । अस्यार्थो विवृतो निबन्धनकारेण ' p. 468.

512 The verse of मनु is भ्रातृणामेकजातानामेकश्चेत्पुत्रवान् भवेत् । The words of असहाय are ' अत्रासहायेनोक्तं पुंसां सति भ्रातृजे स्त्रीणां सपत्नीपुत्रे क्षेत्रजादयः प्रतिनिधयो न कर्तव्या इति ।' वि. र. p. 583.

513 व्यासहायनारदानां तु मते काकिणीमात्रमपि शक्तः कारणपरिवृत्तिकाले दापयितव्यः । on the verse अदर्शयित्वा तत्रैव.

514 स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 36) on दर्शनविधि says ' एवं तदीयभाष्ये व्याख्यातम् ।'; तथा च नारदः । स्वीकृतान्यप्रमाणानि कार्याण्याहुरनापदि ।...अत्रापवादप्रदर्शनार्थमाह स एव । विशेषतो गृहक्षेत्रदानाधमनविक्रयाः । इति । गृहक्षेत्रयोर्दानाधमनविक्रयास्त्वापद्यप्यस्वतन्त्रकृता न सिध्यन्तीत्यर्थः । एवं तद्भाष्ये व्याख्यातम् ।

515 अतोऽसहायमेधातिथिप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमेव चतुरस्रं न भारुचेः । मिताक्षरा.

very name of Asahāya who is profusely quoted by the Sarasvatīvilāsa in the first half of the sixteenth century was forgotten by later writers, so much so that the Bālaṁbhaṭṭī understands the word Asahāya (in note 515 above) as an attribute of Medhātithi in the sense of 'peerless'.

As Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi both name Asahāya, his lowest limit is about 750 A. D. How much earlier he flourished it is difficult to say. He can hardly be earlier than the 6th century. In the com. on Nārada (p. 48) there is a story from Pāṭaliputra about the repayment of a debt by sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. It has been argued (Calcutta Law Journal, vol. 17 p. 59) that, as Pāṭaliputra was a deserted city in the middle of the 7th century and as the reference shows that Pāṭaliputra was a living and flourishing city, Asahāya must have lived long before the 7th century. But as the very authenticity of the text of the bhāṣya is doubtful owing to the drastic 'revision' of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, such a conclusion is extremely hazardous. In the ms. of the bhāṣya other places such as Vaṭapadraka (probably modern Baroda), Avāvadu and Saṁvāduka are mentioned. There is nothing to show that the author was either a native of or had a first-hand knowledge of Pāṭaliputra. He might have been relying on traditions when he gave the story. Dr. Jolly not being aware of the express mention of Asahāya by Medhātithi argued that he flourished earlier than Medhātithi (Tagore Law Lectures p. 5 ; S. B. E. vol. 25 p. VII) on the ground that the Mit. and the Sarasvatīvilāsa always place Asahāya before Medhātithi whenever authorities on vyavahāra are enumerated. Dr. Jolly's conclusion is right as shown above, but his reasoning is faulty. There is hardly anything of chronology in the order in which authors are named, since we find that the Sarasvatīvilāsa[516] names Vijñāneśvara even before Asahāya, though the former flourished centuries after the latter.

Some of the views attributed to Asahāya may be quoted here. The definition of *dāya* (heritage) given by the Mit. was identical with Asahāya's.[517] Asahāya explained the dictum of Uśanas that

516 स. वि. (para 195) 'विज्ञानेश्वरासहायमेधातिथीनामियं व्याख्या' (p. 371 of Mysore ed.).

517 असहायविज्ञानयोगिप्रभृतीनां तु यत्स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तद् दायशब्देनोच्यते इति । स. वि. (para 19).

fields were impartible by taking it to refer to the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife, who does not participate in land gifted to a Brāhmaṇa.[518] The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 takes the same view. Asahāya held that as regards succession to the *Śulka* of a woman even step-brothers should be given something, though the major portion would go to the full brothers.[519] According to Asahāya, the wealth of a childless Brāhmaṇa went to the teacher, then to the teacher's son, then to the teacher's widow, the pupil, pupil's son, pupil's widow (one after another) and then to the fellow-student.[520] The Vivādaratnākara[521] (p. 578) quotes the Prakāśa as referring to the views of Asahāya and Medhātithi on Manu IX. 198 that the special rule of Manu applies to all the *strīdhana* belonging to a Kṣatriya woman who has a brāhmaṇī co-wife. The Vivādaratnākara[522] quotes a verse of Nārada about *māṣa* and a verse of the bhāṣyakāra thereon. It probably refers to Asahāya's bhāṣya.

59. Bhartṛyajña

This seems to have been a very ancient commentator. Medhātithi[523] in his bhāṣya on Manu 8. 3 says 'other explanations have been well brought out by Bhartṛyajña and they should be understood from his work'. Trikāṇḍa-Maṇḍana (who flourished before 1100 A.D.) in his Āpastambasūtradhvanitārtha-kārikā[524] (I. 41) refers to the views of Bhartṛyajña that one who had committed to

518 स. वि. para 195 (or p. 371).

519 अतश्च कन्याशुल्कविषये सोदरासोदरविभागेऽसोदराणामपि किंचिद् देयमित्यसहायव्याख्यानमसहायम् । स. वि. para 314 (or p. 364). Here there is a play on the word असहाय which means ' unsupported baseless.'

520 स. वि. para 608.

521 पित्रा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमात्रोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथी इति (थी इति ?) प्रकाशकारः।

522 तथा चोक्तं नारदेन—माषो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य च । स च राजतो विवक्षितः । तथा च भाष्यकारः। सौवर्णमाषकैः संख्या दण्डकर्मसु शस्यते । पशूनां शस्यचरणे माषैरन्यैश्च राजतैः ॥ वि. र. p. 234.

523 व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक्कृतानि इति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि सर्वथा प्रमाणमूलानि ।

524 बह्वध्ययनसंसिद्धविज्ञानरहितोऽपि सन् । नातिवाधिक्रियाशून्यो भर्तृयज्ञादिदर्शनात् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (B. I. series).

memory the text of the Veda had the privilege (the *adhikāra*) of consecrating the sacred fires, though he may be innocent of the meaning of the Vedic texts. From Ananta's bhāṣya it appears that Bhartṛyajña composed a bhāṣya on the Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra which had been lost (utsanna) in the former's day. From Gadādhara's comments on the Pāraskara gṛhyasūtra it appears that Bhartṛyajña commented on Pāraskara.[525] The Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes Bhartṛyajña's explanation of the word *saṁvibhāga* occurring in Gautamadharmasūtra (10. 39 'svāmī riktha-kraya-saṁvibhāga-parigrahādhigameṣu)'.[526] The Nityācārapradīpa (B. I. series) after quoting Gautamadharmasūtra (11. 29 varṇāśramāḥ svadharmaniṣṭhāḥ &c.) cites the comment of Bhartṛyajña[527] on the word *tac-cheṣeṇa* occurring in that sūtra. Therefore it appears probable that Bhartṛyajña like Asahāya was an ancient commentator of the Gautamadharmasūtra. The Gṛhastharatnākara, after quoting from Vasiṣṭha (17. 1) and Viṣṇu the well-known verse of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (ṛṇam-asmin saṁ-nayati) cites the explanation of Bhartṛyajña as to the word ' jātasya ' occurring therein.[528]

Since Bhartṛyajña is quoted by Medhātithi who also mentions Asahāya but not Viśvarūpa, it follows that Bhartṛyajña must have flourished before 800 A. D. and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than Asahāya.

60. Viśvarūpa

The commentary of Viśvarūpa called Bālakrīdā on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti has been recently published in two parts by M.M.T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Mit. states in the introductory verses that the dicta of Yāj. were expanded by

525 on पारस्करगृह्य I. 1. 2. ' एते पञ्च भूसंस्कारा इति भर्तृयज्ञभाष्ये अन्यथा इति कर्कोपाध्यायाः '; on पारस्कर I. 2 1. the भाष्य of भर्तृयज्ञ on the word द्वारकाले is quoted; on the सूत्र ' केशसंमितो ब्राह्मणस्य &c. ' (पारस्कर II. 5. 28) गदाधर says ' इदं च सूत्रं सूत्रत्वेन हरिहरभाष्ये तिष्ठति भर्तृयज्ञकर्कादिग्रन्थेषु नोपलभ्यते '.

526 संविभागो भर्तृदाय इति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 78a of D. C. ms. No 44 of 1883-84.

527 अत्र तच्छेषेण इति तस्यैव नित्याचारकर्मणः शेषेणेति भर्तृयज्ञः । नित्याचारप्रदीप p. 12.

528 अत्र जातस्येति ऋणापाकरणयोग्यस्येति भर्तृयज्ञः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 133a.

the voluminous or ample (*vikaṭa*) explanations of Viśvarūpa. In commenting on Yāj. I. 81 the Mit. tells us that Viśvarūpa looked upon the words of Yāj. I. 79 (tasmin yugmāsu saṁviśet) as a *niyama*. In Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yāj. I. 80 (evaṁ gacchan &c.) we do find that the verse of Yāj. and similar passages of Manu (3. 45), Vasiṣṭha and Gautama (5. 1) are understood to contain a *niyama* and not a *parisaṁkhyā*.[529] On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. informs us that Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara looked upon certain texts of Ṛṣyasṛṅga on *āśauca* as in conflict with well-known smṛtis and discarded them. Mr. S. Sitaram Śāstri published (in 1900 at Madras) the text and translation of Viśvarūpa's comment on inheritance and Mr. Setlur also published the vyavahāra section. In the following pages the Trivandrum edition is relied on.

The printed com. of Viśvarūpa on the *vyavahāra* section is extremely meagre and scarcely merits the epithet *vikaṭa* applied to it by the Mit. But the comment of Viśvarūpa on the *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections is truly voluminous and compares favourably with the Mit. The style of Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Carakas and Vājasaneyins (on Yāj 1. 32), the Kāṭhaka (on Yāj. III. 237 and 243) and very often supports his position by quotations from the Ṛgveda (e. g. on Yāj. II. 121 and 206), the Brāhmaṇas (e. g. the Śatapatha on Yāj. 1. 53 and III. 257) and from the Upaniṣads (e. g. on Yāj. II. 117, the well-known Chāndogya passage about the ordeal for theft and on Yāj. I. 50 Chāndogya II. 23. 10 about the three branches of *dharma*). He speaks of the *pada-pāṭha* and the *kramapāṭha* as due to human agency (on Yāj. III. 242). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and less frequently those of Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana. He cites a host of smṛtikāras.[530] Most of the quotations attributed to

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529 मानवं तु 'ऋतुकालाभिगामी स्यात्' इति ... नियमपरतयैव व्याख्येयम्। एतेनैव... वासिष्ठं व्याख्यातम्। ... गौतमीयं त्वनृतुपरिसंख्यार्थं 'ऋतावुपेयात्' इति केचित्। ...तस्मात्तदपि नियमार्थमेव व्याख्येयम्।.

530 The स्मृतिकारs mentioned by name are : अङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, उशनस्, कात्यायन, काश्यप, गार्ग्य, वृद्धगार्ग्य, गौतम, जातूकर्ण (or-र्णि), दक्ष, नारद, पराशर, पारस्कर, पितामह, पुलस्त्य, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु, वृद्धमनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, शौनक, संवर्त, सुमन्तु, स्वयंभु (i. e. मनु), हारीत.

Svayambhū are found in the extant Manusmṛti, but this is not the case with the quotations ascribed to Bhṛgu (vide p. 138 above). Most of the quotations from Bṛhaspati (even on such topics as repayment of debts, sureties, the rights of śūdrāputra) are in prose, only a few being in verse (e. g. a verse about ordeals on Yāj. II. 117, a verse about the method of partition on Yāj. II. 153). It appears therefore that Viśvarūpa either knew a work of Bṛhaspati in prose on arthaśāstra in which occurred a few verses or he had before him a prose work of Bṛhaspati and a versified smṛti of Bṛhaspati, both of which he regarded as the compositions of the same author. He quotes a verse (on Yāj. I. 328) from Viśālākṣa, a well-known writer on politics quoted even by Kauṭilya. He refers to the arthaśāstra of Uśanas along with that of Bṛhaspati. Kauṭilya is nowhere quoted by name. The learned editor of Viśvarūpa thinks (Intro. p. V) that Viśvarupa took Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa as *ārṣa* writers long anterior to Yāj. and therefore used their *dicta* to elucidate and support Yāj., while he omits Kauṭilya because he thought Kautilya to be posterior to Yāj. This argument contains several fallacies. In the first place it is wrong because Viśvarupa quotes verses from Nārada and Kātyāyana to supplement Yāj. There is nothing to show that Viśvarūpa regarded Nārada and Katyāyana also as anterior to Yaj. and we have seen above that they are several centuries later than the smṛti of Yāj. Moreover Kauṭilya himself looked upon both Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa as high authorities and so Viśvarūpa might have quoted them rather than Kauṭilya. Even taking the latest date assigned to Kauṭilya (about 3rd century A. D.), he flourished several centuries before Viśvarūpa. It is impossible to believe that Viśvarūpa was in possession of the exact chronological relation of Yāj. and Kauṭilya. Many scholars, besides, place Kauṭilya's work centuries before Yāj. It appears, however, that Viśvarūpa had the work of Kauṭilya before him. On Yāj. I. 307 he speaks of ministers tested by the four allurements (*upadhā*) of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *bhaya*. This is an echo of Kauṭilya (I. 10). On Yāj I. 343 Viś. refers to the view of some that a march should be made when neighbouring chiefs are overwhelmed in calamities.[531] This is the view of Kauṭilya almost in

531 तथा चाहुः-सामन्तव्यसनसाम्येन यातव्यं नमित्रमेव यायात्-इति। विश्वरूप; compare 'तुल्यसामन्तव्यसने यातव्यममित्रं वा इत्यमित्रमभियायात्। कौटिल्य VII. 5; किं पुनस्तन्मन्त्रणीयम्। उक्तं च दिक्प्रचारदूतसंप्रेषण-कापटिकाद्यधिष्ठान-

the same words. On Yāj. I. 341 Viś. speaks of the manifold aspects of the work of a minister, some words of his comment being almost identical with Kauṭilya's.

Viśvarupa's work is thoroughly saturated with the lore of the Pūrvamimāṁsā. He quotes Jaimini by name (on Yāj. I. 225 where Jaimini VI. 8. 15 is quoted). Curiously enough he applies the term *nyāya* to Mīmāṁsā. He takes 'nyāya-mīmāṁsā' in Yāj. I. 3 as one *vidyā*, while he notes that others explain *nyāya* as the system of logic propounded by Akṣapāda. He quotes the sūtras of Jaimini as those of Yājñikas who know *nyāya* (e. g. on Yāj. I. 53 he quotes Jaimini I. 3. 16 and on Yāj I. 87 he quotes Jaimini VI. 8. 17). He applies the epithet *naiyāyika* to a mīmāṁsaka like Śabara and speaks of the mīmāṁsakas as *nyāyavidaḥ*.[532] He mentions the Śābarbhāṣya by name (on Yāj. III. 243) and in several places quotes the very words of Śabara (e. g. on Yāj. III. 181).[533] He quotes the ślokavārtika of Kumārila (I. 12 the verse 'sarvasyaiva hi &c.) in his introductory remarks. In his comment on Yāj. I. 7 he cites over fifty verses in the nature of *kārikās* dealing with the relation of śruti and smṛti and kindred topics. These verses are his own composition, as in one of them he assures us that a certain point will be dealt with by him in detail in the section on śrāddha.[534] In interspersing his commentary with *kārikās* of his own and in their style and pithiness he greatly resembles Kumārila. Throughout his work he relies upon mīmāṁsā maxims and methods of

गृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यञ्जनावस्थितचारप्रपञ्चनिरूपणपरप्रयुक्तकापटिकाद्युच्छेददुर्गादिकरणकन्यासंप्रदानकुमारचिन्ता—अन्तःपुरप्रचारादनेकविधं च । विश्वरूप. The words कापटिको ... व्यञ्जन occur in कौटिल्य (I. 11) and कौटिल्य has chapters on राजपुत्ररक्षण (i. e. कुमारचिन्ता), अवरुद्धवृत्त (i. e. अन्तःपुरप्रचार), दुर्गविधान and दूतप्रणिधि.

532 न्यायविदश्च धार्मिकाः 'अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्'; न्यायविदश्च याज्ञिकाः सर्वार्थत्वात्तु त्वार्थे न प्रयोजयेदित्याहुः (this is जैमिनि VI. 8. 17); न च लक्ष्यमाणस्य विशेषणं विवक्ष्यत इति न्यायविदः (on याज्ञ. III. 250). The last is a well-known मीमांसान्याय. "तथा च नैयायिकाः 'नहि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति' इत्याहुः." These words occur in शाबरभाष्य on जैमिनि III. 2. 3.

533 तथा चोक्तं 'चोदना भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तमित्येवंजातीयकमर्थं शक्नोत्यवगमयितुम्' इति । This is शाबरभाष्य p. 4 (B. I. edition).

534 सर्वं चैतत्प्रपञ्चेन वक्ष्यामः श्राद्धसंग्रहे । विश्वरूप part I. p. 16.

discussion. For example, on Yāj. I. 4-5 he discusses the rule of Jaimini II. 4. 8 ff (about 'sarvaśākhāpratyayam ekaṁ karma') in its application to smṛtis; on Yāj. I. 225 he relies upon the position that words like *yava* and *varāha* are to be taken as employed in the Vedas in the same sense in which *śiṣṭas* use them (vide Jaimini I. 3. 9); on Yāj. II. 144 he speaks of wealth (dravya) being *puruṣārtha*, where he alludes to the well-known distinction between *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha*, the subject of Jaimini's 4th chap. His commentary on Yāj. III 212, 237, 262 are fine examples of his superb skill in the interpretation and reconciliation of apparently conflicting texts.

Though Viśvarūpa was a past master in Purvamīmāṁsā lore, his philosophical views seem to have been identical with those of the great Śaṅkara. According to him, *mokṣa* results from correct knowledge alone and the whole saṁsāra is due to *avidyā*.[535] He quotes anonymously one of Gauḍapāda's kārikās[536] (III. 5) on Yāj. III. 134.

He speaks on Yāj. III. 103 of Narada who knew the Veda of music (gītivedavid), of purāṇa (on III. 175), and quotes verses (on Yāj. III. 85) from an abhidhānakośa (lexicon) and from a Nāmaratnamālā (on III. 266). He speaks of the śloka of Bhikṣāṭana (on III. 66). He is in this probably referring to the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya,[537] which is mentioned by the Sāhityadarpaṇa. Among commentators he mentions Asahāya's bhāṣya on Gautama by name (on Yāj. III. 263). On Yāj. III. 256 he explains Mleccha as *pulindas* and *Tājikas* (i. e. Arabs).

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535 In his com. on याज्ञवल्क्य III. 66 he says 'अपवर्गार्थं हि पारिव्राज्यं ज्ञानैकसाधनं न तत्र कर्मणा प्रयोजनमित्युक्तमेव'।, 'तस्याग्रहणात्मकेनाविद्योत्थत्वात्प्रपञ्चस्यैवमादिचोद्यानवकाश एव। ... तत्त्वेन ब्रह्मणो नान्यद्वस्त्वन्तरमस्तीति ब्रह्मविदां स्थितिः।'.

536 तथा चाह—यथैकस्मिन्घटाकाशे रजोधूमादिभिर्युते। न सर्वे संप्रयुज्यन्ते सुखं दुःखं तथात्मनः॥ इति। तथान्यैरपि—धूमपूर्णघटानां च यस्यैकस्यैव रेचनम्। उत्पाट्य क्रियते तत्र जायते व्योम निर्मलम्॥ इति. In the Ānandāśrama edition of गौडपाद the fourth *pāda* is तद्वज्जीवा सुखादिभिः. I could not trace the *kārikā* धूमपूर्ण०.

537 Vide I. O. cat. p. 1448 for the भिक्षाटनकाव्य of शिवभक्तिदास alias उत्प्रेक्षावल्लभ who names वाल्मीकि, कालिदास and the कादम्बरी of बाण.

It has been shown above (§34 pp. 169-170) how Viśvarūpa's text of Yāj. varied in some respects from that of the Mit.; how he frequently refers to the views of commentators of Yāj. earlier than himself (in the words 'apare,' 'anye'), how he proposes several explanations of the same words in several cases.

Dr. Jolly (Journal of Indian History 1924, pp. 7-8) says that the citations of Viś. in the Smṛticandrikā about his having refuted the views of Dhāreśvara cannot be traced in the printed Bālakrīḍā, as also the reference to Viś. in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 135. It has been shown above (note 529) that the printed Viś on Yāj. I. 80 *does* contain the view attributed to it by the Mit. As regards the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 it has to be noted that the Mit. does not mention Viś. by name there, but only speaks of 'bhagavān ācārya,[538]' which words are interpreted by the Subodhinī and the Bālambhaṭṭī as referring to Viśvarūpa. It is true that the printed Viś. does not contain in so many words the explanation attributed by the Mit. to 'bhagavān ācārya.' But it is worth considering that in the printed Viś. the two quotations from Manu and Śaṅkha do occur and are put in the mouth of an objector and are explained away in a way somewhat similar to that put forth in the Mit.[539] As regards the passages of the Smṛticandrikā, the matter requires careful examination. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 294 Gharpure's ed.) says that according to the Saṁgrahakāra a widow was allowed to succeed to her sonless husband's wealth if she submitted to *niyoga*, that the

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538 **The words of the Mit. are**: यद्यपि मतं पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य रिक्थं भ्रातर एव वा (मनु 9. 185) इति मनुस्मरणात्, तथा–स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य भ्रातृगामि द्रव्यं तदभावे पितरौ हरेयातां ज्येष्ठा वा पत्नीति शङ्खस्मरणाच्च अपुत्रस्य धनं भ्रातृगामीति प्राप्तं भरणं चास्य कुर्वीरन् स्त्रीणामाजीवनक्षयादित्यादिवचनाच्च भरणोपयुक्तं धनं पत्नी लभत इत्यपि स्थितम् । एवं स्थिते बहुधने अपुत्रे स्वर्याते भरणोपयुक्तं पत्नी गृह्णाति शेषं च भ्रातरो यदा तु पत्नीभरणमात्रोपयुक्तमेव द्रव्यमस्ति ततो न्यूनं वा तदा किं पत्न्येव गृह्णाति उत भ्रातरोपीति विरोधे पूर्वबलीयस्त्वज्ञापनार्थं पत्नी दुहितर इत्यारब्धमिति । तदप्यत्र भगवानाचार्यो न मृष्यति । यतः । पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य ... इति विकल्पस्मरणान्नेदं क्रमपरमपि तु धनग्रहणेधिकारप्रदर्शनमात्रपरम् । तच्चासत्यपि पत्न्यादिगणे घटते इति व्याचचक्षे ।

539 ननु एतदप्यस्ति । 'पिता हरे ... वा ' इति । मातन्यसत्यामेतद्द्रष्टव्यम् । कथं शङ्खवचनं 'स्वर्यातस्य ... पत्नी ' इति । उक्तलक्षणपत्नीदुहित्रभावे सोदर्यभ्रात्रभिप्रायं तत् । विश्वरूप.

same was the view of Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa refuted the view of Dhāreśvara. In no place does the printed Viś. name Dhāreśvara. The words of the Smṛticandrikā are not to be taken literally. It will be shown below that the author, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, flourished about 1200 A. D., while Dhāreśvara flourished between 1000–1050 A. D. Devaṇṇa had no correct idea of their relative chronological position. It has been shown above (p. 249) how though Asahāya is named by the Mit., the Sarasvatīvilāsa very often says that Asahāya does not like (or tolerate) the views of Vijñāneśvara. Similarly the same work (para 392) says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvamin do not tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara, but Dhāreśvara is one of the predecessors of Vij. actually named by him. So all that the Smṛticandrikā means is that Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa differed in their views on the particular points mentioned by it. The word *patnī* is taken by Viś. to mean a widow who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death and quotes the sūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Gautama in support of his view as *jñāpakas*. So this view entirely differs from the view of Dhāreśvara that the widow of a sonless person succeeds if she submits to *niyoga*. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 300) says that the Saṁgrahakāra placed the father's mother immediately after the mother and before the father, that the Saṁgrahakāra relied on the same arguments that were employed by Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa and others refuted those arguments. The passage in the printed Viś. is somewhat corrupt in this place. Viś. *does place* the mother before the father on the ground of the word *mātā* occurring first when the word ' pitarau ' or the compound ' *mātāpitarau* ' is expanded. The comment does mention the verse of Manu (9. 217) about the grandmother, but it makes no clear sense, as it stands.[540] For the reason given above Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1912, p. 345 and for 1915, p. 322) is not right when he places Viśvarūpa later than Bhojadeva because of the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā.

In the works of Jīmūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātṛkā), in the Smṛticandrikā, the Háralatā, and other later works like the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the views of Viśvarūpa are frequently cited and discussed. Several such citations have been

540 क्षत्रियादिषु पुत्राणां तु पितरि मातुरभावे ' पितुर्माता हरेद् धनम् ' इत्यस्य विषयः ।

already examined by me (JBBRAS for 1926, pp. 200-204). From considerations of space I do not repeat here the discussion of those passages. In the Gṛhastharatnākara[541] of Caṇḍeśvara (D.C. No. 44 of 1883-4, folio 133a) the explanation of Viśvarūpācārya on Yāj. I. 135 is cited, which does not exactly tally with the printed Viś. Hemādri[542] refers to Viśvarūpa's explanation given in his section on partition which does not occur in the printed text. The result of the examination of these citations is that the printed text of Viś. is in the main genuine, but that in a few cases (particularly in the vyavahāra section) it is corrupt or deficient.

Though Viś. holds the same view as the Mit. that ownership does not for the first time arise on partition but that partition takes place of what is already (jointly) owned, yet on numerous points the two disagree. A few of them may be set out here.

(1) Viś. allows (on Yāj. II. 118) the father unrestricted freedom of distribution of property among his sons during his life-time, while the Mit. expressly says that this power of unequal distribution is restricted to self-acquired property.

(2) Viś. (on Yāj. II. 119) allows a share of property to the widows of predeceased sons and grandsons of a man when a partition takes place during his lifetime. The Mit. restricts the words 'patnyaḥ' to the father's own wives when he effects a partition during his lifetime.

(3) Viś. connects the words 'without detriment to the paternal estate' (in Yāj. II. 122) with the words 'whatever else is acquired by himself' and not with 'maitra' (gifts from a friend) and 'audvāhika' (gifts on marriage), while the Mit. connects the half verse 'whatever else is acquired by the man himself without

541 विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 135 is तथा चाम्नायः । तस्माद्वर्षत्यप्रावृतो न व्रजेत्—इति । अयं मे वज्रः पाप्मानमहतात्—इत्येतदेव मन्त्रस्य कात्स्न्र्यम् । यदा वर्षति गच्छेत् तदेवमिति व्याख्येयम् । ; while the गृहस्थरत्नाकर says 'अयं मे वज्रः सर्वं पाप्मानमपहन्ति—इति सर्वं मन्त्रं पठन् वर्षत्यपावृतो (? प्रावृतो) गच्छेद् यावन्मन्त्रसमाप्तिः ऊर्ध्वमनियमः । तावतैवातिपाप्मनोपहतत्वादिति विश्वरूपाचार्यः ।

542 भ्राता वा भ्रातृपुत्रो वा सपिण्डः शिष्य एव च । सपिण्डकक्रियां कृत्वा कुर्यादाभ्युदयिकं ततः ॥ इत्यत्र वचने अभ्युदयशब्देन आभ्युदयिकं श्राद्धं विभागप्रकरणे विश्वरूपाचार्येण व्याख्यातम् । चतुर्वर्ग० (कालनिर्णय p. 43).

detriment to the paternal estate' as a qualifying clause to the next half verse and to another verse 'kramād abhyāgatam &c.' In the Mit. the two verses 'pitṛdravyāvirodhena &c.' and 'kramād &c.' occur consecutively, while in Viś. they are separated by three verses and Viś. takes the verse 'kramād' &c. as referring to the re-opening of a partition for a son born after partition.

(4) Viś. allows *niyoga* only to *śūdras* in general and to kṣatriya kings in case of danger of extinction of line (vide com. on Yāj. I. 69 and II. 131), while Mit. forbids *niyoga* in general and holds the texts speaking of it as applicable to a girl who is only betrothed and not married.

(5) Viś. appears to allow one share out of ten to the son of a sūdra wife from a brāhmaṇa without restriction of any kind, while Mit. restricts the share to estates other than land acquired by gift.

(6) Viś. interprets the expression 'half share' (in Yāj. II. 138) with reference to the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* as meaning 'some portion, not necessarily exactly half,' while Mit. interprets it literally.

(7) Viś. allows a widow to succeed to her husband if she is pregnant at his death, while Mit. allows a widow to succeed without any restriction except that of chastity.

(8) Viś. restricts the word 'duhitaraḥ' in 'patnī duhitaraś-caiva' (Yāj. II. 138) to *putrikā* only and so does not allow all daughters whatever to succeed, while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

(9) Viś. reads 'anyodaryasya saṁsṛṣṭī' for anyodaryastu &c.' and 'sodaro' for 'saṁsṛṣṭo' in Yāj. II. 143 and his interpretation of the verse is entirely different from that of the Mit.

(10) Viś. reads 'ādhivedanikaṁ caiva' for 'ādhivedanikādyaṁ ca' of Mit. and holds that *bandhudatta*, *śulka* and *anvādheyaka strīdhana* of a childless woman goes on her death to her full brother; while Mit. connects these three with the preceding verse and takes the half verse 'atītāyām' as laying down a general rule of succession to *strīdhana* of all kinds and interprets 'bāndhavāḥ' as meaning 'husband and the rest'.

(11) Viś. takes the verse 'adhivinna-striyai' &c. (on Yāj. II. 152) as applicable to a wife superseded without any ground of

supercession allowed by the texts; while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

As Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Ślokavārtika and is mentioned by the Mit. as an authoritative commentator it follows that he flourished between 750 A. D. and 1000 A. D. A greater approximation as to the date of Viśvarūpa can be made, if the identity of Viśvarūpa with Sureśvara be held established. Sureśvara, as he himself tells us in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, the Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika and other works, was a pupil of the great Śaṅkarācārya whose generally accepted period is 788-820 A. D. Mādhavācārya in several works of his quotes as Viśvarūpa's passages from the well-known works of Sureśvara. For example, the Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. I, part I, p. 57) quotes a kārikā of Sureśvara as that of Viśvarūpācārya.[543] In the Vivaraṇaprameyasaṁgraha (Vizianagaram series p. 92) also Mādhava quotes a verse from the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika as Viśvarūpa's.[544] In the Puruṣārthaprabodha[545] of Brahmānanda-bhāratī (ms. in Bhau Daji collection, Bombay) composed in 1476 (probably of the Śaka era) the author speaks of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi as a work of Viśvarūpa. In the Saṁkṣepa-Śaṅkara-jaya Viśvarūpa is said to be the author of the two vārtikas on Śaṅkara's bhāṣya.[546] According to tradition embodied in the various lives of Śaṅkara, the latter had four pupils, Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Toṭaka and Hastāmalaka. Several works mention Viśvarūpa as one of the four pupils and omit the name Sureśvara. For example, in the Dvādaśa-vākya-vivaraṇa of Gopāla (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. No. 557, p. 227 b) the four pupils of Śaṅkara are named as Viśvarūpa, Padmanābha, Toṭaka and Hastāmalaka. In the Mānasollāsa-vṛttānta-vilāsa of Rāmatīrtha we are expressly told that Sure-

543 इदं च वाक्यं नित्यकर्मविषयत्वेन वार्तिके विश्वरूपाचार्य उदाजहार—आम्रे फलार्थे इत्यादि ह्यापस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । फलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् ॥. The sūtra of आपस्तम्ब is आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 and the कारिका occurs in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक (I. 1. 97).

544 The verse is on p. 640 of the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक.

545 इत्येवं नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धौ ब्रह्मांशैर्ब्रह्मवित्तमैः । श्रीमद्भिर्विश्वरूपाख्यैराचार्यैः करुणार्णवैः ॥ (folio 6).

546 इत्थं स उक्तो भगवत्पदेन श्रीविश्वरूपो विदुषां वरिष्ठः । चकार भाष्यद्वयवार्तिके (ते!)आज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया ॥ संक्षेपशङ्करजय 13.68 (Aufrecht's Oxford Cat p. 257).

śvara is another name of Viśvarūpa, a pupil of Śaṅkara (vide Mitra's Notices vol. V, No. 1763, p. 82). In the Saptasūtra-saṁnyāsapaddhati (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 296) the four pupils are said to eb Svarūpācārya, Padmācārya, Toṭaka and Pṛthvīdhara. The Guru-vaṁśakāvya (Vanivilas ed.) identifies Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa (II.59) and makes him a pupil of Kumārila and Śaṅkara. It may therefore be held as fairly established that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are identical. Some corroboration is afforded by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes Gauḍapāda the 'paramaguru' of Śaṅkara and holds the same philosophical views as those of Śaṅkara. Just as Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Ślokavārtika, Sureśvara also in his Taittirīyopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika quotes a *kārikā* of Kumārila and styles the latter Mīmāṁsakaṁ-manya.[547] This shows that Sureśvara treated Kumārila with scant respect, which seems unlikely if he was at any time Kumārila's pupil. Viśvarūpa in his introduction[548] performs an obeisance to the Sun, the great serpent (Śeṣa), Tilaksvāmin and Vināyaka. The Bhāmatī of Vācaspati-miśra has a similar salutation. Vācaspati-miśra wrote his Nyāyasūci-nibandha in 841-42 A. D. i. e. he was almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara and his pupils. The learned editor of Viś. tells us that in a commentary on Viś. called Vacanamālā Sureśvara is bracketed with Manu and Yogīśvara (Yājñavalkya) as an expounder of Śāstra (i. e. dharmaśāstra).[549] Therefore that commentator looked upon Viś. and Sureśvara as identical. From all these several considerations it follows that

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547 मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रत्यवायजिहासया ॥ इति मीमांसकंमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् । तै. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक I. 9-10. The verse मोक्षार्थी &c. is श्लोकवार्तिक (संबन्धाक्षेपपरिहार verse 110).

548 प्रणम्यार्कं महानागं तिलकस्वामिनं तथा । विनायकं च सद्भिः स्मृतिरुद्द्योत्यते मया ॥ विश्वरूप ; vide याज्ञ. I. 289 आदित्यस्य सदा पूजां तिलकस्वामिनस्तथा । महागण-पतेश्चैव कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ . The भामती has मार्तण्डतिलकस्वामिमहागण-पतीन् वयम् । विश्ववन्द्यान्नमस्यामः सर्वसिद्धिविधायिनः ॥. तिलकस्वामी would mean तिलकप्रियः स्वामी. The मिताक्षरा reads तिलकं स्वामिनस्तथा.

549 अवनम्य मनुसुरेश्वरयोगीश्वरतीर्थकिरणगुरुचरणान् । शास्त्राणां व्याकर्तृन् कर्तृनपि देवता निखिलाः ॥ One of the verses at the end of the वचनमाला is भवभूतिनिबन्धनोदधौ तिमिर्मामप्रतिवादिके गुरोः । सकटाक्षनिरीक्षणपूर्वं (कः!) पतितं मामयमुद्धरिष्यति ॥. Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss, for 1919-22, pp. 4458-4460 for वचनमाला.

Viśvarūpa flourished about 800–825 A. D. But this problem presents further difficulties. The mutual relations of Sureśvara, Bhavabhūti, Umbeka and Maṇḍana are a great puzzle. I have dealt with this question in JBBRAS for 1928, pp. 289-293. The conclusions arrived at there are that Maṇḍana's literary activity lies between 690–710, that of Umbeka between 700-730 and Sureśvara's between 810–840 A. D. and that Umbeka and Bhavabhūti are identical, but that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are separated by about 100 years.

Dr. Jolly has brought together in the Journal of Indian History (vol. III. pp. 1-27) some valuable information about Viśvarūpa.

In several later works a digest called Viśvarūpa-nibandha is frequently cited. That appears to be the composition of another Viśvarūpa altogether. For example, the ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha-nirṇaya of Śivabhaṭṭa (which is later than 1650 A. D.) tells us that Viśvarūpācārya composed a *vivaraṇa* (commentary) on the Śrāddha-kalikā.[550] The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi of Śivarāma (D. C. No. 221 of 1879) quotes several[551] verses from Viśvarūpanibandha on Sapiṇḍa relationship in marriage, which are not found in the Bālakrīḍā, but which agree remarkably with the words of the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53. The Varṣakriyākaumudī (pp. 378, 380) mentions Viśvarūpa-nibandha and quotes two verses cited therein. The Tithi-nirṇaya-sarva-samuccaya (later than 1450 A. D.) quotes certain *kārikās* of Viśvarūpa on the 18 varieties of Ekādaśī.[552] The Kālanirṇayasiddhānta-vyākhya (composed in 1653 A. D.) quotes certain verses of Viśvarūpa on the question of the disposal of food prepared for a marriage when a period of impurity on death supervenes.[553] The

550 अत एवोक्तं श्राद्धकलिकायां--मासिकानि सपिण्डं च अमावास्या तथाब्दिकम् । अन्नेनैव तु कर्तव्यं यस्य भार्या रजस्वला ॥ इति । अन्नेनैव कर्तव्यं न त्वामान्नादिनेति च कलिकाविवरणेपि श्रीमद्विश्वरूपाचार्यव्याख्यानम् । Ms. in the Bhadkamkar Collection, folio 7 b.

551 विश्वरूपनिबन्धे । एवमुक्तप्रकारेण पितृबन्धुषु सप्तमात् । ऊर्ध्वमेव विवाह्यत्वं पञ्चमान्मातृबन्धुतः ॥ सन्तानो भिद्यते यस्मात्पूर्वजादुभयत्र च । तमादाय गणे (गणयेत्) धीमान्वरं यावच्च कन्यकाम् ॥ इति । कृत्यचिन्तामणि folio 150. The Mit. says ' सन्तानभेदेपि यतः सन्तानभेदस्तमादाय गणयेद्यावत्सप्तम इति सर्वत्र योजनीयम् ।'.

552 एवं स्मार्ताभिप्रायेण विश्वरूपेणापि अष्टादश भेदा उक्ताः । Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 19 a.

553 Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 137 b on verse 82.

Nirṇayasindhu also quotes verses of Viśvarūpa. From these data it follows that a Viśvarūpa composed a commentary on Srāddha-kalikā and also wrote a digest on matters of ācāra and other topics of dharma in prose and verse. Raghunandana in his Udvāhatattva (ed. by Jivananda, p. 116) names a Viśvarūpa-samuccaya. It is likely that it is the same as Viśvarūpa-nibandha.

61. Bhāruci.

The Mit. on Yāj. (I. 81) says that Bhāruci like Viśvarūpa held the view that the rule ' ṛtau bhāryāṁ gacchet ' was a *niyama* and not a *parisaṁkhya*. On Yāj. II 124 the Mit. says that the explanation of ' the fourth share ' to be given to unmarried sisters offered by Asahāya and Medhātithi was the proper one and not that of Bhāruci. The Parāśaramādhavīya[554] and the Sarasvatīvilāsa (para 133) inform us that Bhāruci was of opinion that unmarried sisters were only entitled to a provision for their marriage and were not entitled to a fourth share.

Bhāruci, being mentioned by the Mit., is certainly older than 1050 A. D. Rāmānujācārya in his Vedārthasaṁgraha (reprint from the *Pandit*, ed. of 1924, p. 154) mentions six *ācāryas* that preceded him as expounders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, viz. Bodhāyana, Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci. Similarly the Yatīndramatadīpikā[555] of Śrīnivāsadāsa (Ānandāśrama ed.) enumerates (p. 2) a host of teachers as the predecessors of Rāmānujācārya in propounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. Vyāsa is the reputed author of the Vedāntasūtras, Bodhāyana is said to have composed a *vṛtti* on the Vedānta-sūtras, called Kṛtakoṭi according to the Prapañca-hṛdaya (p. 39, Trivandrum ed.). Ṭaṅka and Brahmanandin are identical. Dramiḍa is credited with the authorship of a *bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtras (which is quoted by Rāmānuja in his bhāṣya on II. 2. 3). Nāthamuni is said to have been the grand-father of Yāmunamuni, who was born about 916 A. D. Rāmānuja refers to him with great reverence as his teacher's teacher (*parama-guru*, vide Vedārtha-saṁgraha, p. 149) and is said to have been young

554 भारुचिस्तु चतुर्थभागपदेन विवाहसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगि द्रव्यं विवक्षितं, अतो दायभाक्त्वम-संस्कृतकन्यानां नास्तीति मन्यते । परा. मा. vol. III, 2. p. 510.

555 ' व्यास-बोधायन-गुहदेव-भारुचि-ब्रह्मनन्दि-द्रमिडाचार्य-श्रीपराङ्कुश-नाथमुनि-यतीश्वर-प्रभृतीनां मतानुसारेण &c.,

when Yāmuna died (vide J R A S for 1915, p. 147 and I. A. for 1909, p. 129). It is therefore obvious that the teachers are arranged by the Yatīndramatadīpikā in chronological order. Hence Bhāruci, being placed earlier than even Dramiḍa and Nāthamuni, was comparatively an ancient author and could not have flourished later than the first half of the 9th century. Bhāruci the jurist also flourished before 1050. It is difficult to believe that there were two famous writers of the same name nearly about the same time. Hence it may provisionally be held that Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra and Bhāruci the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher are identical. If this identity be accepted, then Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra becomes comparatively an early writer, being at least as old as Viśvarūpa. His views agree on several points with those of Viśvarūpa, which is a circumstance that lends some corroboration to the date proposed for him.

One interesting point about Bhāruci deserves mention here. From numerous notices contained in the Sarasvatīvilāsa it appears that Bhāruci either commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra or wrote some work in which he took great pains to incorporate explanations of several sūtras of Viṣṇu. For example, para 637 tells us that Bhāruci explained the word 'bīja' occurring in a sūtra of Viṣṇu as 'piṇḍa'.[556] In para 674 we are told that Bhāruci explained the word 'niṣkāraṇa' in a sūtra of Viṣṇu and that he held that a daughter's son has not to perform the śrāddha of his maternal grandfather if the latter has a son. Sudarśanācārya in his comment upon Āpastambagṛhya (8. 21. 2) ascribes the same view to Bhāruci and quotes the very words of Bhāruci.[557] Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 210-211 for further examples. There is nothing unnatural in Bhāruci, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher, having composed a commen-

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556 यथाह भारुचिरेतद्विष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति । स. वि. para 637 (pp. 422-23 of Mysore ed.). The sūtra of विष्णु is 'बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृह्णीयात्' स. वि. para 636.

557 अथ भारुचिः । निष्कारणमिति वदता विष्णुना समनन्तरकर्तॄणां पुत्रादीनां विद्यमानत्वे दौहित्रस्य न कर्तृत्वसंक्रान्तिरिति । स. वि. para 674 (p. 437). The sūtra of विष्णु is दौहित्रस्य मातामहश्राद्धं निष्कारणम्. The words of सुदर्शनाचार्य are इममेवार्थं भारुचिरप्याह यस्मिन्पक्षे अपुत्रो मातामहः पौत्रिकासुतश्चाखिलद्रव्यहारी तस्मिन्पक्षे तस्य पिण्डदाननियमः इत्यादिना ग्रन्थेन ।

tary on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. The extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra contains doctrines peculiar to the Viśiṣṭādvaita system such as the worship of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, the four Vyūhas of Vāsudeva &c. If Bhāruci was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin he would naturally turn to the sūtra of Viṣṇu as having the greatest claim on his attention. Many of the sūtras of Viṣṇu quoted in the Sarasvatīvilāsa with the explanations of Bhāruci are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu, on which Nandapaṇḍita commented in the first half of the 17th century. It appears that the Sarasvatīvilāsa had before it a larger version of Viṣṇu current in the south (vide note 118, p. 70 above).

On scores of points there is divergence between the views of Bhāruci and those of the Mit. Bhāruci differed from the Mit. as to the definition of *dāya* and *vibhāga*, he allowed *niyoga* to childless widows, while the Mit. condemned it in the case of all widows; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, did not mention *sapratibandha* and *apratibandha dāya*; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, held that a coparcener who concealed some joint property was not guilty of theft, while the Mit. held that he was. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 211-13 for more examples and details.

62. Śrīkara

The Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 alludes to the view of Śrīkara and others that the widow succeeded as heir to her deceased husband's estate if it was small.[558] The Smṛtisāra[559] of Harinātha attributes the same view to Śrīkara and disapproves of it. On Yāj. II. 169 the Mit.[560] cites the view of Śrīkara about that topic and disapproves of it. Viśvarūpa also gives two explanations of that verse of Yāj., the first of which agrees with that of the Mit. and the second is akin to Śrīkara's.

558 एतेनाल्पधनविषयत्वं श्रीकरादिभिरुक्तं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।

559 न च स्वल्पबलत्वे (धनत्वे ?) पत्नी दुहितर इति बहुधनत्वे भ्रातृणामप्रजा इति वचनमिति श्रीकरमतमुचितम् । स्मृतिसार I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 188a.

560 अथाविदितदेशान्तरं गतः कालान्तरे वा विपन्नस्तदा मूलस्वाम्याहरणाशक्तेर्विक्रेतारमदृष्ट्वैव स्वयमेव तद्धनं मालिकस्य समर्पयेत् । तावतैवासौ शुद्धो भवतीति श्रीकराचार्येण व्याख्यातं तदिदमनुपपन्नम् । मिताक्षरा, the स. वि. p. 307 (Mysore ed.) quotes those very words 'अथाविदित ... समर्पयेदिति श्रीकरशंखकादय आहुः । विज्ञानेश्वरस्तु &c.'

The works of Jīmūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātṛkā), the Smṛticandrikā and the Sarasvatīvilāsa contain very interesting notices of Śrīkara's views. Many of them were brought together by me in J B B R A S for 1925, pp. 213-215. Śrīkara like Viśvarūpa held the view that 'duhitaraḥ' in Yāj. refers to the *putrikā*, he allowed the parents of a childless person to succeed together at the same time. The Dāyabhāga very severely criticizes the views of Śrīkara on the succession to re-united members, on *vidyādhana* and on Yāj. II. 24 (about enjoyment for 20 years).[561] Most of the views attributed to Śrīkara were also entertained by Viśvarūpa or are more antiquated than Viśvarūpa's.

Śrīkara was probably a writer from Mithilā and seems to have propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The Smṛtisāra[562] of Harinātha ascribes such a view to a Śrīkara-nibandha.

Whether Śrīkara wrote a commentary on a smṛti or a general digest (nibandha) it is difficult to say. The Smṛticandrikā[563] says that Śambhu, Śrīkara and Devasvāmin compiled digests of smṛtis and added their own explanations of them. The Smṛtyarthasāra[564] of Śrīdhara asserts in the introductory verses that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya filled up the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about (by introducing order out of chaos). Śrīkara's explanations of Yājñavalkya are frequently cited by the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and

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561 Vide व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 47 where श्रीकर is the first of a host of writers who held, following Yāj. II. 24, that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immoveable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

562 Vide स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a) मृतसन्तानाभावे तत्पितृसन्ततेस्तद्धनं तदभावे च तत्पितामहसन्ततेः ... इति त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यमित्यादिना दर्शितम् । एतदूर्ध्वं त्रयाणामपि जन्यजनकक्रमेणैव पूर्ववत्संनिधानादर्थग्राहिनेति सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यानां धनभागितेति अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्यः इत्यादिना दर्शितम् ।

563 ये पुनः स्मृतिसमुच्चयकाराः शम्भुश्रीकरदेवस्वाम्यादयः संप्रत्युद्धारविषमविभागयोः शिष्टाचारं मन्यमाना उद्धारादिविषयाणि स्मृतिवाक्यानि विचारयितुं ग्रन्थविस्तारं चक्रिरे। स्मृतिच० (व्य० section p. 266).

564 श्रीकण्ठश्रीकराचार्यैः श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणगैः । स्मृतिशास्त्रेष्वनेकेषु विप्रकीर्णेष्वनेकधा । अनुग्राह्युपकारार्थं स्मृतिच्छिद्रं प्रयत्नतः । पुराणन्यायमीमांसाशास्त्रवेदैः प्रपूरितम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार (D. C. ms. No. 44 of 1870-71 copied in संवत् 1495 has these verses).

others. But the Mit. does not connect Śrīkara's name with Yājñavalkya as a commentator, though Viśvarūpa is expressly so connected. It appears therefore more likely that Śrīkara wrote a digest of smṛtis in which he paid particular attention to the explanation of the words of Yājñavalkya. The Rājanītiratnākara[565] of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the views of Śrīkara on rājanīti, one of which is that the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth.

Hemādri[566] quotes the view of Śrīkara on Viṣṇu and disapproves of the faults found therein by the author of the Paṇḍita-paritoṣa.

As Śrīkara is quoted by the Mit., he is certainly earlier than 1050 A. D. As his views agree largely with Viśvarūpa's, he may provisionally be regarded as nearly of the same period as Viśvarūpa's. He cannot be earlier than Asahāya who is named both by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, though both of them are silent about Śrīkara. Hence Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A. D. and probably flourished in the 9th century.

This Śrīkara must be distinguished from another Śrīkara, the father of Śrīnātha.

63. Medhātithi.

Medhātithi is the author of an extensive and erudite commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the Manusmṛti. It is the oldest extant commentary on that smṛti. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi was first published about forty years ago by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in Bombay and recently Mr. J. R. Gharpure of Bombay brought out an edition of Medhātithi which closely follows Mandlik's edition. A critical edition of the bhāṣya based upon all the available Mss. is a great *desideratum*. An English translation of the *bhāṣya* by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha is in progress and several parts have been published so far. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used. The *bhāṣya* as printed is corrupt in many places, particularly in the 8th, 9th and

565 'राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति पुकिरिति गोपाललक्ष्मीधरश्रीकरादयः।' राजनीतिरत्नाकर pp. 40-41 (ed. by Jayasval).

566 अत्र श्रीकरः प्राह। यदा गतकाले अमावास्याद्वयं भवति तदा मिथुनादितरेष्वाषाढी-भावात्।...अत्र च पण्डितपरितोषकृता दूषणमभिहितम्। अनुपपन्नमेतत्।...तेन श्रीकराणां मतमेव साधु। चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2, pp. 900-902.

12th *adhyāyas* In Mr. Gharpure's edition there is no *bhāṣya* on verses 182-202 of the 9th chapter.

Bühler in his learned and exhaustive Introduction to the Manu-smṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25) brings together a good deal of information about Medhātithi (pp. CXVIII–CXXVI). In JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 217-221 I have offered criticisms on some of Bühler's views and have given certain additional information.

In several Mss. of the *bhāṣya* at the end of several *adhyāyas* occurs a verse[567] which says that a king named Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, brought copies of Medhātithi's commentary from another country and effected a restoration (*jīrṇoddhāra*). This does not refer to the restoration of the text of Medhātithi, but to the completion of the library of the king, who was Madanapāla, son of Sādhāraṇa and flourished, as we shall see later on, in the latter half of the 14th century.

Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 6) holds Medhātithi to be a southerner on account of the fact that his father's name was Vīra-svāmin and on account of the attention paid to his *bhāṣya* by southern writers. It cannot be said that names ending in 'svāmin' were a monopoly of the south. The Rājataraṅginī gives several literary celebrities whose names ended in 'svāmin' (e. g. V. 34 mentions a Śivasvāmi). Kṣirasvāmin was a Kāshmirian. The south has always been famed for preserving Mss. of valuable works from the north. Mss. of the Kāvyālaṁkāra of Bhāmaha, a Kāshmirian, are very rare and have been found only in the south. Bühler (p. CXXIII) seems to be right in holding that Medhātithi was a Kāshmirian (or at least an inhabitant of Northern India). In explaining such words as 'svarāṣṭre' and 'janapadaḥ' (Manu VII. 32 and VIII. 42) Medhātithi introduces Kashmir. He gives (on Manu VIII. 400) the monopoly of the sale of elephants as a privilege of the kings of Kashmir where saffron abounds.[568] He says

567 मान्या कापि मनुस्मृतिस्तदुचिता व्याख्या हि मेधातिथेः सा लुप्तैव विधेर्वशात् क्वचिदपि प्राप्यं न यत्पुस्तकम् । क्षोणीन्द्रो मदनः सहारणसुतो देशान्तरादाहृतैर्जीर्णोद्धारमचीकरत्तत इतस्तत्पुस्तकैर्लेखितैः ॥ सहारण is a *Prākrit* form of साधारण.

568 यानि भाण्डानि राजोपयोगितया यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमप्रायेषु पट्टोर्णादीनि प्रतीच्येष्वश्वा दाक्षिणात्येषु मणिमुक्तादीनि &c. Should we not read यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमं प्राच्येषु पट्टोर्णादीनि ! The meaning then would be elephants are the monopoly of kings everywhere, saffron in Kashmir &c,

that the rainbow is called 'vijñāna-chāyā' in Kashmir (on Manu IV. 59). He very frequently refers to northerners e. g. on Manu III. 234 he says 'kutapa' is the word for what is well-known as 'kambala' among northern people and on III. 238 he says 'northern people wrap their heads with *śāṭakas*' (garments). He says on Manu II. 24 that in the Himālayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform the daily *saṁdhyā* in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in 'Hemanta' and 'Śiśira'. On Manu II. 18 he says 'in other countries, some say, people marry one's maternal uncle's daughter; but that is opposed to the words of Gautama' (4. 3) and proceeds 'even in that country taking food in the same plate with (or in the company of) one whose thread ceremony is not performed is not at all regarded as dharma (but as improper conduct)'. This is clearly a reference to Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 1. 19) according to which 'mātulasutā-pariṇayana' and taking food in the same plate with one whose *upanayana* is not performed are two of the five usages peculiar to the south. It is fair to add that later writers like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (Nirṇayasindhu, 3rd pariccheda on sāpiṇḍya) regard Medhātithi as a southerner.

Medhātithi quotes from or names numerous smṛti writers, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha, Manu, Yāj., Nārada, Parāśara, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and others. He refers to Bṛhaspati as a writer on 'vārtā' (Manu VII. 43 and IX. 326) and to Bṛhaspati and Uśanas as writers on politics and government (Manu VIII 285, VII. 2 and 155). On Manu VII. 43 he refers to *Cāṇakya* as a writer on 'daṇḍanīti'. In numerous places he seems to have drawn upon Kauṭilya's work. For example, on Manu VII. 155 in interpreting 'pañcavarga' as 'kāpaṭika, udāsthita, gṛhapatika, vaidehika and tāpasavyañjana' he explains them almost in the words of Kauṭilya (I. 2). On VII. 148 he quotes the five aṅgas of *mantra* in the very words of Kauṭilya.[569] Vide also his remarks on Manu VII. 54 (testing of ministers by *upadhās*). He names Asahāya (on 8. 156) and certain writers as Smṛtivivaraṇakārāḥ (on II. 25). Bühler is not quite accurate (p. cxx, n. 1) when he states that 'Medhātithi gives only once the name of an

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569 इमान्यङ्गानि कर्मणामारम्भोपायः पुरुषद्रव्यसंपत् देशकालविभागः विनिपातप्रतीकारः कार्यसिद्धिरिति । मेधातिथि, compare कौटिलीय I. 15 'कर्मणामारम्भोपायः ... कार्यसिद्धिरिति पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः'।

early commentator'. On VIII. 3 he refers to the interpretations of Bhartṛyajña. He refers to the interpretations of Yajvan (on VIII. 151 and 156). Yajvan is only the last part of a name (as in Devarājayajvan). He quotes the interpretation of Manu by Upādhyāya (on II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147). Bühler holds that Medhātithi refers to his own teacher. It is more likely that Upādhyāya, like Yajvan, is the name or part of the name of a previous commentator of Manu. On VIII. 152 the explanations of Ṛju are twice cited. On IX. 253 Medhātithi cites the view of one Viṣṇusvāmin.[570] From the tenor of the quotation it appears that Viṣṇusvāmin was a writer on Mīmāṁsā and not a commentator of Manu as Büher thought (p. cxx, n. 1). Some Mss. read the word preceding Viṣṇusvāmi as 'kovara', others as 'kāvara'. It is probably 'kāvera' (residing on the Kāverī river).

He quotes (on Manu I. 19) a verse from the Sāṅkhyakārikā ('prakṛter mahān &c). He speaks of Vindhyavāsa[571] as a Sāṅkhya and says that he does not admit a subtle interim body (antarābhavadeha). This is probably taken from Kumārila's words.[572] He repeatedly refers to the *purāṇas*, tells us (on III. 232) that they were composed by Vyāsa and contained accounts of creation. He quotes (on XII. 118) a verse from the Vākyapradīpa.[573]

He tells us (on II. 6) that the Pāñcarātras, Nirgranthas (Jains) and Pāśupatas were outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy.[574]

Medhātithi had drunk deep at the fountain of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. His bhāṣya is full of the terms *vidhi* and *arthavāda*. He quotes Jaimini's sūtras frequently and applies them to the interpretation of smṛti texts at every step. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 p. 219 for examples. He cites passages from Śabara's *bhāṣya* (e. g. on III. 1). He mentions Kumārila by name (on I. 3) and as Bhaṭṭapāda (on Manu II. 18).

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570 अतो यावती काचित्फलश्रुतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद इति कोवरविष्णुस्वामी ।

571 सांख्या हि केचिन्नान्तराभवमिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासप्रभृतयः । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 55.

572 अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना । श्लोकवार्तिक p. 704.

573 उक्तं च वाक्यप्रदीपे—न तदस्ति न तन्नास्ति इत्यादि । Dr. Kielhorn told Dr. Bühler that the verse is not found in the वाक्यप्रदीप of हरि (S. B. E. vol. 25, CXXIII. n. 1)

574 एवं सर्व एव बाह्या भोजकपाञ्चरात्रिकनिर्ग्रन्थानार्थवादपाशुपतप्रभृतयः ।

Bühler at first took the remark (on Manu XII. 19) about 'Śārīraka' as[575] referring to Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra, but later on changed his opinion (S B E vol. 25, p. cxxii) and held that it probably implies a reference to the Śārīraka sūtras. Bühler's considered opinion does not seem to be right. The words 'yatheha rājā . . . apaiti' are a summary of Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 34 and II. 3. 42. and I. 2. 11-12. On Manu II. 83 he refers to the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya[576] on Chāndogya II. 23. 4 and says that that passage has been differently explained in the *bhāṣya*. Śaṅkara does explain that passage of the Chāndogya differently. But this is not all. In various other places Medhātithi seems to have in view the Śārīrakbhāṣya of Śaṅkara. For example, on I. 80 he has[577] before him Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the sūtra 'lokavat tu līlākaivalyam' (Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 33). He, however, seems to have favoured the position that the attainment of *mokṣa* is due[578] not to mere correct knowledge but to the combination (*samuccaya*) of knowledge and karma (vide remarks on Manu VI. 32, 74-75,

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575 ननु च धर्माधर्मयोरिच्छां प्रति नियन्तृत्वे ऐश्वर्यं हीयते । तथा शारीरके दर्शितं यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददाति न च तस्यैश्वर्यत्वमपैति अतो महत्परमात्मानो पश्यत इति व्यपदिश्यते ।

576 उपनिषद्भाष्ये चैतदन्यथा व्याख्यातं तत्त्विहानुपयोगान्न प्रदर्शितम् । मेधातिथि. The उपनिषद् passage is ' तद्यथा शङ्कुना सर्वाणि पर्णानि संतृण्णानि एवमोङ्कारेण सर्वा वाक् संतृण्णा '. मेधातिथि explains ' सर्वो एव यो वाग्व्यवहारानन्तो वाचश्च सर्वस्या ओङ्कारो मूलम् । तथा च श्रुतिः । तद्यथा शङ्कुना &c. ... अर्थानमनुष्ठानाश्रय-भावापन्नः सर्वा । कथं पुनः सर्वा वागोङ्कारेण संतृण्णा । वैदिक्यास्तावदोङ्कारपूर्वकत्वमुक्तम् । लौकिक्या अपि तदादीनि वाक्यानि स्युरित्यापस्तम्बवचनात् । '. शङ्कराचार्य explains ' यथा शङ्कुना पर्णनालेन सर्वाणि पर्णानि पर्णावयवजातानि संतृण्णानि विद्धानि व्याप्तानीत्यर्थः । एवमोङ्कारेण ब्रह्मणा परमात्मनः प्रतीकभूतेन सर्वा वाक् शब्दजातं संतृण्णा । अकारो वा सर्वा वागित्यादिश्रुतेः ।.

577 लीलयापि कौतुकेनापि लोके राजादीनां प्रवृत्तिर्दृश्यत इति ब्रह्मविदः । मेधा०; ' यथा लोके कस्यचिदाप्तैषणस्य राज्ञो ... लीलारूपाः प्रवृत्तयो भवन्ति ' शाङ्करभाष्य.

578 On I. 50 he says ' परब्रह्मप्राप्तिस्तु मोक्षलक्षणा केवलानन्दरूपा ज्ञानात् ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयाद्वेति वक्ष्यामः । ,' on मनु VI. 74-75 ' इदं तु ज्ञानकर्मणोः समुच्चयान्मोक्ष इति श्लोकद्वयं ज्ञापकम् । ', on XII. 87 अतश्च ब्रह्मनिष्ठापरेणापि वेदाभ्यासादीन्यनुष्ठेयानि ।

and XII. 87-90). This was probably due, as Kullūka remarks[579] (on I. 3), to his being a profound student of Mīmāṁsā.

From Medhātithi's bhāṣya it is perfectly clear that the text of Manu on which he commented was practically the same that we have now. He refers to ancient (*cirantana*) expositors of Manu (on V. 127) and to former (*purva*) expositors (IV. 176, II. 134, X. 21). He discusses various readings in several places (vide III. 119, IV. 99, 185, 229, VIII. 53). On VIII. 182-183 he notes[580] that the order of the verses was traditionally different. Kullūka also notices that those two verses and the next two were read in one order by Medhātithi and Bhojadeva and in another by Govindarāja. On 9. 93 he notes that according to some that verse is not Manu's.[581]

Medhātithi's bhāṣya is full of very interesting information. But for want of space it cannot be analysed in detail. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) refers to the view of Asahāya and Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 118) about the fourth share to be given to an unmarried sister at a partition between brothers and follows it in preference to Bhāruci's. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. tells us that certain texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga about varying periods of impurity for Brāhmaṇas and others were not accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. According to him[582] *saṁnyāsa* does not mean the giving up of all the obligatory duties laid down by *śāstra*, but the giving of *ahaṁkāra*. He[583] allowed a brāhmaṇa to adopt even a kṣatriya boy. He explains away the well-known verse 'naṣṭe mṛte... patiranyo vidhīyate' by

579 मेधातिथिस्तु कर्ममीमांसावासनया वेदस्य कार्यमेव तत्त्वरूपोऽर्थस्तं वेत्तीति कार्यतत्त्वार्थविदिति व्याचष्टे।.

580 The verses are यो निक्षेपं याच्यमानः &c. and साक्ष्यभावे &c. मेधातिथि says on the first व्यत्यस्तक्रमोऽयं श्लोकः समाम्नाये पठ्यते। प्रथमस्यार्धश्लोकं पठित्वा साक्ष्यभाव इति पठितव्यम्। ततः स याच्य इति। एवं पाठो युक्तः।

581 केचिदाहुरमानवोऽयं श्लोकः.

582 अथाप्युच्येत कर्मसंन्यासिनो निवृत्तिमार्गावस्थायिनो नैव केचिच्छास्त्रार्थविषयः सन्ति। नायं शास्त्रार्थः। अहंकारममकारत्याग एव संन्यासो वक्ष्यते नाशेषशास्त्रार्थत्यागः। मेधा॰ on मनु VI. 32.

583 सदृशं न जातितः किं तर्हि कुलानुरूपैर्गुणैः क्षत्रियादेरपि ब्राह्मणस्य दत्तको युज्यते। मेधा॰ on मनु 9. 168.

taking the word 'pati' in its etymological sense and says[584] that the verse suggests that in order to maintain herself in such calamities the woman may take service with another person as her protector.

Medhātithi quotes several verses from his own work called Smṛtiviveka on Manu II. 6 (in all 24 verses) and on X. 5. he says that he has dealt with the topic of mixed castes in Smṛtiviveka. That work therefore was either entirely in verse or contained numerous verses. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. I, part 2, pp. 183-186) has a long quotation in verse on the duties of *yatis* from a work called Smṛtiviveka and the same work several times quotes verses attributed to Medhātithi (vol. I. part I p. 276 and part 2 p. 172). Hence the Smṛtiviveka cited by the Parāśara-Mādhavīya most probably is Medhātithi's work. Lollaṭa[585] an early writer quotes several verses of Medhātithi in his work on śrāddha. In the Tithinirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya (Bhadkamkar collection) several verses of Medhātithi on obstacles to marriage such as death are quoted.[586] In the Yatidharmasaṁgraha of Viśveśvara-sarasvatī (Ānandāśrama ed. p. 27) two well-known verses about '*aṣṭāṅga-maithuna*' (viz. *smaraṇaṁ kīrtanaṁ keliḥ* &c.) are ascribed to Medhātithi and another verse[587] is cited (on the same page) about the six duties of *yatis*. These quotations show that Medhātithi

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584 तत्र पालनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेत सैरन्ध्रकर्मादिनात्मवृत्त्यर्थम् । मेधा० on मनु. 5. 156.

585 पुत्राभावे सपिण्डा मातृसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च दद्युः, तदभावे ऋत्विगाचार्याविति मेधातिथि-स्मरणात् । (folio 4b of the ms. of श्राद्धप्रकरण by लोल्लटाचार्य in the आनन्दाश्रम library at Poona); जाताशौचमृताशौचविषये त्वाह मेधातिथिः । पादप्रक्षालने श्राद्धे त्वनलस्थापनं कृतौ । मधुपर्के विवाहे वै आशौचेप्यूर्ध्वमाचरेत् । (*ibid.* folio 10a).

586 वधूवरार्थं घटिते सुनिश्चिते वरस्य गेहेप्यथ कन्यकायाः । मृत्युर्यदि स्यान्मनुजस्य चित्त-(वित्त ?)दानं कुर्यात्खलु जातमङ्गलम् ॥ (folio 45 b). वाग्दानानन्तरं यत्र कुलयोः कस्यचिन्मृतिः । तदा संवत्सरादूर्ध्वं विवाहः शुभदो भवेत् ॥ (folio 46 a) : चौले च व्रतबन्धे च विवाहे व्रतकर्मणि । भार्या रजस्वला यस्य प्रायस्तस्य च (न ?) शोभनम् ॥ (folio 47 a) : पृथग्मातृजयोः कार्यो विवाहस्त्वेकवासरे । एकस्मिन्मण्डपे चैव पृथग्वेदिकयोस्तथा ॥ (folio 51 a). The first two verses occur in गदाधर's commentary on the पारस्करगृह्य and the last three are cited in the कार्यचिन्तामणि of शिवराम (D. C. ms No. 221 of 1179-80, folios 54 b, 55a, 56 b.)

587 भिक्षाटनं जपो ध्यानं स्नानं शौचं सुरार्चनम् । कर्तव्यानि षडेतानि यतिना नृपदण्डवत् ॥ यतिधर्मसंग्रह.

wrote an extensive work in verse on several topics of dharma. It is to be fervently hoped that this work of Medhātithi would be brought to light some day or other. Coming as it does from such an erudite and ancient writer, it would throw a flood of light on the development of dharmaśāstra.

As Medhātithi names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śaṅkarācārya, he is later than 820 A. D. As the Mit. looked upon him as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050 A. D. Most probably he flourished between 825 and 900 A. D. Kullūka[588] on Manu III. 127 says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja (1050–1100 A. D.). Lollaṭa is mentioned as a predecessor in the Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdhara, which was composed between 1150-1200 A. D. So Lollaṭa is much earlier than 1150 A. D. He looked upon Medhātithi as a writer whose work was as authoritative as a smṛti. A work called Prakāśa[589] which is quoted in the Kalpataru appears to have mentioned Medhātithi. Hemādri quotes at great length Medhātithi's comments in several places.[590] Hence the above date is amply corroborated. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that, though he names Asahāya, he does not mention Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci or Śrīkara. If by Miśra[591] in his comment on Manu XII. 118 he refers to Vācaspati-miśra, the author of the Bhāmatī and other works, then he will have to be placed after 850 A. D.

64. Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 135) says that Dhāreśvara tries to reconcile the conflicting texts about the right of the widow to succeed to her husband's estate by saying that she succeeded if her husband was separate and if she was willing to submit to *niyoga*. On the same verse the Mit. says that following Manu 9. 217 Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grand-mother immediately after the mother as an heir and even before the father. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. says that certain texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga about impurity on death were not

588 मेधातिथिप्रभृतिभिर्गोविन्दराजादपि वृद्धतरैरनभ्युपेतत्वात् ।

589 Vide note 185.

590 Vide चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 1062-63 where मेधातिथि's comment on मनु III. 265 is cited.

591 प्रमाणान्तराणामपि एकत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव ग्राहिणः प्रत्यक्षस्य मिश्रैः कृत एव क्लेशः।

accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. Vide (sec. 60 on Viśvarūpa) about the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā on Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa. The Hāralatā[592] (p. 117) remarks (as does the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24) that Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu did not cite certain texts as Jātūkarṇa's and that therefore they were not authoritative.

That Dhāreśvara is to be identified with Bhojadeva of Dhārā, perhaps the most famous Indian prince as a patron of learned men, follows from several considerations. The Dāyabhāga[593] cites Bhojadeva and Dhāreśvara without making any distinction between the two. Some views that are ascribed to Dhāreśvara in one work are ascribed to Bhojadeva in another. The Vivādatāṇḍava of Kamalākara ascribes to Bhojadeva the same views as to the widow's rights as are ascribed to Dhāreśvara by the Mit. Mss. of the Rājamārtaṇḍa (commentary on the Yogasūtras) have colophons saying that the work was composed by Dhāreśvara Bhojarāja. Dhāreśvara is styled *ācārya* by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and *sūri* by the Smṛticandrikā (II p. 257). Works on numerous branches of knowledge were composed by (or in the name of) Bhoja of Dhārā. On poetics we have two extensive works of his, viz. the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and the Sṛṅgāraprakāśa. A verse at the[594] beginning of the Rājamārtaṇḍa tells us that Bhoja composed a work on grammar, a commentary on the Yogasūtra and a work on medicine called Rājamṛgāṅka just as Patañjali wrote on these three subjects (vide Mitra's Notices of Mss, vol. I, p. 115 for the medical work of Bhoja called Rājamārtaṇḍa alias Yogasāra). He composed a work on astronomy called Rājamṛgāṅka. A work of his on the Śaiva *āgama* called Tattvaprakāśa has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There are several other works ascribed to him, which need not be

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592 यानि जातुकर्णनाम्ना वचनानि लिखितानि तानि भोजदेव-विश्वरूप-गोविन्दराज कामधेनुकृद्भिरलिखितत्वान्मत्स्यपुराणविरोधाच्च निर्मूलान्येव ।

593 दायभाग (p. 53, ed. of 1829) 'अयं वा धारेश्वरपुरस्कृतो वचनार्थः । इच्छया विभागदानप्रवृत्तस्य पितुः पैतामहधने सदृशं स्वाम्यं पुत्रैः सह न तत्र स्वोपार्जितधन इव न्यूनाधिकविभागमिच्छातः कर्तुमर्हतीति ।'; दायभाग (p. 280) 'अत एव भोजदेवेनापि कृताकृतदुहितृअधिकारे बृहस्पतिरित्यभिधाय यथा पितृधने स्वाम्यमिति वचनं लिखितम् ।'.

594 शब्दानामनुशासनं विदधता पातञ्जले कुर्वता वृत्तिं राजमृगाङ्कसंज्ञकमपि व्यातन्वता वैद्यके । वाक्चेतोवपुषां मलः फणभृतां भर्त्रेव येनोद्धृतस्तस्य श्रीरणरङ्गमल्लनृपतेर्वाचो जयन्त्युज्ज्वलाः ॥ Intro. 4th verse.

set out here. That he composed an extensive work on the principal subjects of dharmaśāstra follows from the numerous references to him contained in the Mit., the Dāyabhāga, the Hāralatā and other works. The Śuddhi-kaumudī[595] (B. I. edition) of Govindānanda frequently speaks of a work called Rājamartaṇḍa of Bhoja on śrāddha. The Jayasiṁha-kalpadruma (p. 26) quotes Rājmārtaṇḍa and Bhojarājīya on the same page. Whether Bhoja composed on Dharmaśāstra one work or two (as he composed two on poetics), and whether his work was a commentary or an independent digest it is difficult to say. M. M. Haraprasādaśāstri in one of his reports threw out the suggestion that the Kāmadhenu was the work of Bhoja, but this is entirely wrong, as the words of Śrīdatta in his Pitṛbhakti[596] will show.

Besides the two points noted above (about widow's rights and about the grandmother), there are others on which the Mit. and Dhāreśvara disagreed : viz. Dhāreśvara held ownership to be known only from śāstra, while the Mit. held it to be *laukika* (vide Vīramitrodaya pp. 528, 536); Dhāreśvara held that the word 'duhitaraḥ' in in Yāj. stands for *putrikā* in the order of succession (Smṛti-candrikā II. p. 295-96). On other points the views of Dhāreśvara coincide with those of the Mit., viz. on the usage of giving a special share to the eldest son having fallen into desuetude, on the daughter's son's right to succession, on the father's inability to give a greater or smaller share to his sons in ancestral property on a partition during his life-time. Vide my article on Bhojadeva in JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 223-224 for details of these and other views ascribed to Bhojadeva. A few other references may be noted here. The Nirṇayāmṛta[597] (p. 68) quotes a Bhojarājīya text. In the Kālaviveka of

595 अत एव राजमार्तण्ड भोजराजः-श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने मृतस्याविदिते दिने । अमावास्यां प्रकुर्वीत वदन्त्येके मनीषिणः ॥ p. 18. Vide also the श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी p. 480 for the same verse from the राजमार्तण्ड, which is perhaps more frequently quoted by गोविन्दानन्द than any other *nibandha*.

596 तदेतानि वाक्यानि राज्ञालिखितत्वान्नादेयानीति केचित् । तदयुक्तं कामधेनावपि राजनिबन्धवच्छिष्टपरिग्रहात्संशयं नार्हन्तीति चेत्, न राजालिखितत्वस्यादर्शनेनाप्युपपत्तेः । न हि यावन्ति स्मृतिवाक्यानि तावन्ति सर्वाण्येव राज्ञा दृष्टानीति प्रमाणमस्ति । पितृभक्ति (folio 38 of the D. C. ms No. 152 of 1892-95).

597 यत्तु भोजराजीयं- न दिवा न निशासु च विहिता न च सप्तमीशल्यसमोपहतोति । इदं सप्तमीशल्यनिषेधपरम् । निर्णयामृत.

Jīmūtavāhana two verses about taking food at the time of eclipses are cited from Bhojadeva (p. 539). In several works certain views are stated to be those of a Bhūpālapaddhati or of Bhūpāla or of Rāja. The reference seems to be to a work of king Bhoja. For example, in the Dānaratnākara a Bhūpāla-paddhati and Bhūpāla are frequently quoted.[598] The Samayapradīpa[599] and Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta speak of both Bhūpāla and Rāja. In other works also the views of Bhoja are often referred to as those of Rāja (the king *par excellence*). For example, the Ekāvali[600] (a work on Poetics) says that in the Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa the king accepted only one *rasa*. The Varṣakaumudī (p. 107) says that a certain verse is cited by the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī without naming the author, but as it is not cited by the Rājā and the rest, it is unauthoritative.

The several *tattvas* of Raghunandana mention two works of Bhojadeva or Bhojarāja. For example, the Tithitattva (Jivananda vol. I, p. 17) cites a text as quoted in the Bhujabalabhīma by Bhojarāja ; similarly in the Śrāddhatattva, (Jivananda vol. I, p. 266) two texts are cited as quoted qy Bhojadeva in Bhujabalabhīma. Raghunandana also mentions Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhojarāja (vide Āhnikatattva, vol. I, p. 451). He often cites the Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Bhujabalabhīma on the same page without the author's name (e. g. *vide* Udvāhatattva, vol. II, p. 124). Raghunandana often speaks of a Bṛhad-Rājamārtaṇḍa along with the Rājamārtaṇḍa on the same or the next page (vide Tithitattva, vol. I, pp. 25-26 and Jyotistattva pp. 605 and p. 655). That the Bhujabalabhīma and the Rājamārtaṇḍa are two different works appears to be clear. Whether the Bṛhad-Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Rājamārtaṇḍa are distinct works is not quite clear. (Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

598 पद्मासनगतांस्तद्वद् ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरान् । लोकपालान्सहैतांश्च स्ववाहनसमन्वितान् ॥ इति श्लोकार्धपाठो भूपालपद्धतियोगीश्वरयोरेव: । दानरत्नाकर (D. C. ms. No. 114 of 1884-86) folio 34 b ; *vide* folios 19a, 28a, 29a, 50 b for भूपाल.

599 तदेवं गौडीयवचनानि प्रमाणयता तदनुसारेण व्यवस्थोक्ता । भूपालादिमते तु समस्ते-कादश्योर्वाचनिकी व्यवस्था तिथ्यन्तरेषु प्रधानकालानुरूपन्यायादुदयकालव्यापिन्यादर इति । समयप्रदीप (D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76) folio 8 b ; केचित्तु राजाद्य-लिखितवाक्यबलात् युगाद्येषु युगान्तेषु संक्रान्तिषु पिण्डं न मन्यन्ते । समयप्रदीप folio 54 a ; इदं च बौधायनवाक्यं राजादिलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतत्वाल्लिखितम् । आचारादर्श (D. C. ms. No. 342 of 1875-76) folio 29 *a*.

600 राजा तु शृङ्गारमेकमेव शृङ्गारप्रकाशे रसमुरीचकार । एकावली p. 98 (B. S. series).

1919-22, p. 4562, No. 3079 for Bhujabalanibandha of Bhojarāja in 18 adhyāyas on astrological matters in relation to dharmaśāstra such as strījātaka, karṇādivedha, vrata, vivāhamelaka-daśaka, gṛhakarmapraveśa, saṁkrāntisnāna, dvādaśamāsakṛtya). The Bhujabalabhīma is also mentioned by Śūlapāṇi and by Rudradhara in his Śrāddhaviveka.

Bhoja of Dhārā, according to the Bhojaprabandha, had a long reign of 55 years. There are three certain dates of his. A grant of Bhoja is dated *saṁvat* 1078 (i. e. 1021-22 A. D.). *Vide* I. A. vol. VI, p. 53; *vide* also I. A. vol. 41, p. 201 for Bhoja's grant dated *saṁvat* 1076 Māgha (Jan. 1020) and E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 320 for Betma plate of Bhoja dated 1076 Bhādrapada (September 1020 A. D.). His astronomical work, the Rājamṛgāṅka, takes *śake* 964 (1042-43 A. D.) as its initial date.[601] Bhoja's uncle Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. and Muñja was succeeded by Sindhurāja or Sindhula also styled Navasāhasāṅka. An inscription of Jayasiṁha, the successor of Bhoja, is dated *saṁvat* 1112, i. e. 1055-56 A. D. (vide E. I. vol. III, pp. 46-50). Therefore Bhoja must have reigned between 1000 and 1055 A. D.

There is a work named Dharma-pradīpa by Bhoja (Deccan College No. 26 of 1874-75). It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A. D., as it quotes Vijñāneśvara and the Madanapārijāta. It was composed by an assembly of *paṇḍits* at the bidding of king Bhoja of Āśāpura, son of Bhāramalla. The ms. was copied in *saṁvat* 1695 (i. e. 1638-39 A. D.).

65. Devasvāmin

The Smṛticandrikā tells us that Devasvāmin composed like Śrīkara and Śambhu a work in the nature of a digest of *smṛtis (smṛtisamuccaya)*. Vide note 563 above. The commentary of Nārāyaṇa of the Naidhruva gotra, son of Divākara, on the Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra[602] says that it relies upon the bhāṣya of Devasvāmin on the same work. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, son of Narasiṁha, in his commentary on the Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra, tells us that he follows the bhāṣya of Devasvāmin thereon. It is hardly

601 शाको वेदर्तुनन्दोनो रविभो माससंयुतः । अथो देवान्वितो द्विस्थविधेदून्नस्तयोर्हतः ॥ राजमृगाङ्क (D. C. ms. No. 105 of 1873-74).

602 आश्वलायनगृह्यस्य भाष्यं भगवता कृतम् । देवस्वामिसमाख्येन विस्तीर्णं तन्मयादृतः ॥

likely that two writers of the same name flourished about the same time. Hence it may be assumed that Devasvāmin wrote bhāṣyas on the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras and a digest of smṛtis, where he discussed all topics of dharma, such as ācāra, vyavahāra, āśauca &c. The commentrry of Bhaṭṭoji[603] on the Caturviṁśatimata refers to the view of Devasvāmin on *śraddha* and *āśauca*. Hemādri[604] (vol. III, part 2, p. 324) and Mādhava (on Parāśara, vol. I, part 2, p. 328) also quote Devasvāmin. The Smṛticandrikā quotes the views of Devasvāmin on vyavahāra and āśauca several times. For example, Devasvāmin[605] explained the word Yautaka differently from the Nighaṇṭu (which explained it as the wealth that was given to a woman when she was seated on the same seat with her husband at the time of marriage). Devasvāmin explained that the words of the Saṁgraha[606] that, when a son was born to one of several full brothers, he stood as a son to all and that the same rule applied to several co-wives when one of them had a son, meant that in both cases another son should not be adopted. Devasvāmin held the view (like Bhojadeva) that the word 'duhitṛ' in Yājñavalkya's verses on succession meant *putrikā*.[607] Devasvāmin explained

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603 देवस्वामिमाधवपारिजातकारमतयस्तु मासिके आशौचेनापहृते सूतकानन्तरशुद्धदिन एव कर्तव्यं पुरस्तदहरेव वेति । चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान p. 135 (Benares ed.).

604 यदि पूर्वाह्णे पर्वसन्धिः समाप्येत तदा नित्यामेव च शोभनं यदि पुनरपराह्णे रात्रौ वा तदहरुपोष्य श्वोभूते याग इति । हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III. 2, p 324 ; vide pp. 496 and 565 of the same volume for mention of देवस्वामी.

605 देवस्वामी तु पितृगृहाल्लब्धं भर्तृगृहाल्लब्धापेक्षया पृथग्धनतया मातृयौतकं मातृधनं मातुर्-वेत्याह तच्चिन्त्यम् । स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 285 ; *vide* वीर॰ p. 696 'भर्तृगृहलब्धात्पृथग्धनतया पितृगृहलब्धं मातृधनं यौतुकम् । यौतशब्दस्यामिश्रणमप्यर्थः । यु मिश्रणामिश्रणयोरिति धातुपाठात् । युतसिद्धाविति प्रयोगाच्चेति देवस्वाम्याह तदसत् । '.

606 The verses of the संग्रह are : यद्येकजाता बहवो भ्रातरस्तु सहोदराः । एकस्यापि सुते जाते सर्वे ते पुत्रिणः स्मृताः ॥ बह्वीनामेकपत्नीनामेष एव विधिः स्मृतः । एका चेत्पुत्रिणी तासां पिण्डदस्तु स इष्यते ॥. The स्मृतिच॰ (II, p. 289) says 'तस्य पूर्वोक्तेन सहाविरोधाय देवस्वामिना तात्पर्यार्थ उक्तः उभयत्र नान्यः प्रतिनिधिः कार्य इति यत्नेन '. The same words occur in the स. वि. (para 392 and p. 305) and in the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 42).

607 एवं सोपपत्तिकां पत्न्यभावे दुहितृगामितां भवता बृहस्पतिनैव यद् दुहितृगामि धनमिति विधायकं वचनजातं तत्पुत्रिकाविषयमेव न पुनरपुत्रिकादुहितृविषयमिति धारेश्वर-देवस्वामिदेवरातमतं स्मृतितन्त्रत्वाभिमानोन्मादकल्पितं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् । स्मृतिच॰ II. 295.

Manu[608] 9. 141 as saying that the adopted son (in the particular case mentioned by Manu) took all the wealth and the *gotra* of his adoptive father. Vide Smṛticandrikā (Mysore ed.) on āśauca p. 22. The Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita (on Viṣṇu 22. 32) quotes the view of Devasvāmin that on the death of unmarried daughters mourning was to be observed for ten days.[609] The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse from Devasvāmin[610] on śrāddha also.

In the Prapañcahṛdaya (Tri. S. series, p. 39) we are told that Devasvāmin composed a brief gloss on the 12 adhyāyas of the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra and the four adhyāyas of the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa, seeing that the bhāṣyas of Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa were vast. The Govt. collection of Mss. at Madras has Devasvāmin's bhāṣya on the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa (*vide* Tri. Cat. vol. III, part I, Sanskrit C, p. 3841). There are not sufficient data available to establish the identity of this writer with Devasvāmin, the writer on dharmaśāstra.

As the Smṛticandrikā quotes Devasvāmin so profusely, he cannot be later than 1150 A. D. His earlier limit can be determined in several ways. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa's comment on Āśvalāyanaśrauta (II. 1. 14) is quoted by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, who is himself quoted by Hemādri. Therefore Gārgya Nārāyaṇa could not have flourished later than 1100 A. D. (vide Bhandarkar's Report on search for mss., 1883-84, pp. 30-31). Therefore Devasvāmin probably flourished about 1000-1050 A. D., if not earlier. The fact that Devasvāmin held certain views similar to Bhojadeva's also corroborates the chronological position thus assigned to him.

66. Jitendriya

Jitendriya is one of those writers who at one time held an eminent position but in course of time sank into unmerited oblivion. The works of Jīmūtavāhana bear abundant testimony to the fact that Jitendriya wrote an extensive work on dharmaśāstra. In his Kālaviveka (p. 380) Jīmūtavāhana says that Jitendriya[611] wrote on the

608 अत्र तृतीयपादार्थो देवस्वामिना विवृतः तदीयं सर्वं रिक्थं गोत्रं च हरेतैवेति ।

609 देवस्वामी स्वप्रत्तास्वपि दशाहमाह.

610 श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने अन्तरा मृतसूतके । अमावास्यां प्रकुर्वीत शुद्धिमेके मनीषिणः । स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 385.

611 जितेन्द्रियधराधुरन्धरसंभ्रमहरिवंशचपलयोग्लोकैः । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःसारतां याति ॥

topic of *kāla* (i. e. on determining doubtful points about the months, the tithis, saṁkrāntis, &c. and the religious rites to be performed on them). In several passages of the Kālaviveka the very words of Jitendriya are quoted. Jitendriya said that a rite that occupies in performance only a short time must be performed at the principal time indicated for it[612] (and not at a *gauṇa* time). From another quotation it appears that Jitendriya controverted the views of a predecessor Sambhramabhaṭṭa.[613] Jitendriya is said to have enumerated the names of the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day from the Matsyapurāṇa[614] ; vide pp. 257, 367 of the Kālaviveka for other places where the views of Jitendriya on *kāla* occur. In the Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana also Jitendriya is frequently mentioned. The Dāyabhāga says that, if a man takes another's gold believing it to be iron or takes what is another's believing (in good faith) that it is his own, Jitendriya held in his remarks on the section of *prāyaścitta* that he is not guilty of theft.[615] The peculiar doctrine of the Dāyabhāga that the widow of a person, whether he was separate or a member of a joint family, succeeded to her deceased husband's estate had been already expounded by Jitendriya.[616] The view of Jitendriya was that whatever is acquired by a person without using means or materials jointly owned by all members of a family is his exclusive property and that *maitra* (gifts of a friend) and *audvāhika* are

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612 तथा जितेन्द्रियेणाप्युक्तं यत्पुनरल्पकालीनमेव कृत्यं स्वकाले समापयितुं शक्यते तत्रो-त्कर्षहेतोः कर्मयतत्यस्यासामर्थ्यस्याभावान्मुख्यकाल एव कर्मानुष्ठानमित्यन्नम् । कालविवेक p. 489.

613 अन्यान्यपि एवंविधानि संभ्रमभट्टकल्पितान्युपेक्षणीयानि इत्येवन्तं, तदयमतिमन्दतमो वादः कथं सुन्दरमतिना जितेन्द्रियेणाभिनन्दितः । कालविवेक p. 255.

614 अत एव जितेन्द्रियेण ' रौद्रश्चैत्रश्च मैत्रश्च ... भटः पञ्चदश स्मृताः ॥ ' एतान्मत्स्य-पुराणोक्तानेकैकमुहूर्तपरिमितान् यावन्नियतक्रमसंज्ञानभिधाय दर्शितम् । कालविवेक p. 370.

615 अत एव प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डे जितेन्द्रियेण भणितं यदि स्वर्णमेव परकीयं लोहमितिबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति असुवर्णं सुवर्णबुद्ध्या आत्मीयसदृशं परकीयमेवात्मीयबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति सर्वत्र नापहारनिष्पत्तिः सर्वत्र यथावस्तु परकीयबुद्धेरभावात् । दायभाग p. 350 (ed. of 1829 , p. 224 of Jivananda).

616 अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तत्वाद्यनपेक्षणैवापुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जिते-न्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः । दायभाग p. 256.

only cited (by Yāj.) as examples of this proposition.[617] Jitendriya held the daughter's son entitled to succeed after the daughter, just as Viśvarūpa, Bhoja and Govindarāja did. In the Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana also Jitendriya's views are cited (on pp. 302, 334). This shows that he wrote also on procedure in law courts. Jitendriya is also referred to in the Dāyatattva of Raghnnandana.[618] But no other early writer quotes Jitendriya. Therefore it appears that Jitendriya was probably a Bengal writer and flourished about 1000–1050 A. D. and that was completely eclipsed by the brilliant Jīmūtavāhana.

67. Bālaka.

Bālaka like Jitendriya is no more than a name to us. Jīmūtavāhana's works make frequent reference to him. He held the view that the daughter's son, not being expressly mentioned as an heir by Yāj., came in after those expressly mentioned from the widow to the brother.[619] The Dāyabhāga notices that Bālaka read a text of Āpastamba in a wrong way.[620] Bālaka said that the words of Śaṅkha 'svaryātasya-aputrasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam. . . jyeṣṭhā vā patnī' apply either to a widow belonging to a caste other than her husband's or to a very young widow or in case her husband was undivided or re-united.[621] Bālaka says that when some property is acquired by one brother by means of learning, other brothers are not entitled

617 जितेन्द्रियेणापि बहुप्रकारं विमृश्योक्तं तदस्य यावदुक्तप्रपञ्चस्य संक्षेपेणायमर्थः प्रत्येतव्यः यत्किंचिद्धनमसाधारणोपायार्जितं तदसाधारणं प्रदर्शितमित्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 189.

618 अत एव परकीयत्वेन विशेषतो जानतस्तदपहारे स्तैन्यं न तु स्वद्रव्यभ्रमेण परद्रव्यव्यवहर्तुरपीति जितेन्द्र-(जितेन्द्रिय !)दायभागप्रायश्चित्तविवेककृन्मतम् । दायतत्त्व p. 182 (vol. II of Jivananda's ed.); compare the view of बालक set out below from the दायभाग (note 623.).

619 यत्तु बालकवचनं पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा इत्यादि नियतक्रमादधस्तन एव दौहित्रस्याधिकार इति तद् बृहस्पतिविरोधाद् बालवचनमेव । दायभाग p. 282.

620 इदं बालकेनाकुलीकृत्य पठितं यस्तु धर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठस्तं पितृसमभागं कुर्वीतेति तदनाकरम् । दायभाग p. 161. The sūtra is Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 15 ' यस्त्वधर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठोपि तमभागं कुर्वीत. '

621 यच्च बालकेनोक्तं— असवर्णाविषयं वा युवत्यभिप्रायं वा अविभक्तसंसृष्टविषयं वा शङ्खवचनं इति तेनाव्यवस्थितशास्त्रार्थकथनेनात्मनो बालरूपत्वमेव प्रकटीकृतं सन्देहादेकतरानुष्ठानानुपपत्तेः । दायभाग p. 262. Here there is a play on the word बालक.

to that wealth.[622] The Dāyabhāga refers to a passage from Bālaka in which the latter relies on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā example of *mudga* and *māṣa*.[623] In the Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana (p. 346) it is stated that Bāla held the same views as those of Śrīkara-miśra on a certain point. In the Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa of Bhavadeva a writer named Vāloka is mentioned (vide JASB 1912 at p. 336). This seems to be a Bengali scribe's way of pronouncing the name Bālaka. Bālaka is mentioned in Raghunandana's Vyavahāratattva (p. 47) also as holding the view with Śrīkara and others that adverse possession for twenty years conferred ownership in the case of immovable property.[624] Śūlapāṇi in his Durgotsaviveka twice quotes the views of Bālaka and once refutes the latter.[625] Hence it appears that Bālaka was an eastern or Bengal writer, composed a work on several branches of dharmaśāstra (such as vyavahāra and prāyaścitta) and flourished before 1100 A. D.

68. Bālarūpa.

In the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a ff) there is a long passage setting out the views of Bālarūpa on the question of the succession to a childless man. In the Vivādacandra[626] of Misaru-miśra the opinions of Bālarūpa (Bālarūpamata)

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622 बालकेनाप्युक्तं न ह्येकेन भ्रात्रा विद्यार्जिना लब्धेऽपरेषामधिकारसंभवः प्रमाणाभावादित्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 190.

623 अतो यद् बालकवचनं यथा मुद्गापचारे माषप्रतिनिधौ मुद्गानां माषाणां च ग्रहसंबन्धे— अयाज्ञिया वै माषा—इति माषा निषिद्धाः, तथात्मीयानात्मीयहरणेऽपि अनात्मीयापहारो निषिद्धः, तद्बालवचनमेव पूर्वव्याहृतस्य स्तेयपदार्थस्यैवाभावात् । दायभाग p. 356.

624 तस्माद्याज्ञवल्क्यादिवचनाद्विंशतिवर्षदशवर्षादिकालभोग एव स्वत्वं जनयति तथा कालप्राप्तिबलेन बीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरवश्च कुसुममिति स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तेऽपि शास्त्रोक्तकालीनभोगात्स्वाम्यमन्यस्य भवति यथा जयेन राज्ञः परराष्ट्रधने इति । एवमेव श्रीकरबालकजोग्लोकभवदेवभट्टशूलपाणिकुल्लूकभट्टचण्डेश्वरमिश्रनव्यवर्धमानोपाध्यायप्रभृतयः । व्यवहारोऽपि तादृगेव । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 223 (Jivananda vol. II).

625 इति आश्विनाधिकारीयविष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनमात्रदर्शिना बालकेनात्र विषये पूर्वदिने नवमीकृत्यं युग्मादिति यदुक्तं ' भगवत्याः प्रवेशादिविसर्गान्ताश्च याः क्रियाः ' इत्यादि वचनेन विरोधात्तद्धेयम् । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक p. 16 (Sanskrit Sāhityapariṣad ed.). Vide p. 9 also for reference to बालक's view on देवीपूजा.

626 दुहितॄणामभावे तदन्वयस्तत्सुताद्विभजेदित्यर्थः । मातुरन्वय इति बालरूपकृतः । विवादचन्द्र (D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84) folio 33a ; बालरूपमते तु संसृष्टसहोदरत्वमपि संसृष्टविभागग्रहणे हेतुः । *ibid.* folio 35a.

that the words of Yāj. (II. 117 tābhya ṛte'nvayaḥ) mean the offspring of the mother and on the succession to reunited coparceners are cited. In the Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati[627] the views of Bālarūpa are frequently cited. Relying on the words of Parāśara, Bālarūpa held that an unmarried daughter was entitled to preference over a married one as an heir to a sonless man. As regards the verse of Hārita that if a young widow was *karkaśā* (quarrelsome, 'suspected of unchastity' according to others), then she was to be given maintenance alone (out of her husband's estate), Bālarūpa's view was that it refers to the widow of a re-united coparcener.[628] Bālarūpa was of opinion that *ātmabandhus, pitṛbandhus* and *mātṛbandhus* succeeded in the order stated.[629] The Kāladarśa of Ādityabhaṭṭa names Bālarūpa among the authorities on which it relies. This shows that Bālarūpa wrote not only on *vyavahāra* but also on *kāla*.

As Harinātha and the Vivādacandra mention Bālarūpa he is certainly earlier than about 1250 A. D. The important question is whether Bālaka and Bālarūpa are identical. I think, though with some hesitation, that they are identical. The difficulty is caused by the fact that Harinātha speaks of 'the author of Bālarūpa,' which implies that Bālarūpa is a *work* and *not* an *author*, while the others speak of Bālarūpa as an *author*. The Dāyabhāga always speaks of Bālaka and never of Bālarūpa, while the Mithilā writers, Misaru-miśra, Vācaspati and Harinātha, speak of Bālarūpa and not of Bālaka. Bālaka is not mentioned by any writer belonging to a province other than Bengal. It is not likely that there were two early authors belonging to the same locality on *vyavahāra* bearing two names so nearly the same as Bālaka (or Bāla) and Bālarūpa. Moreover if we read one quotation from the Dāyabhāga between the lines (vide note 621) where Jīmūtavāhana makes fun of Bālaka by charging him with having exposed his *Bālarūpatva* (being Bālarūpa, being childish) it appears that the Dāyabhāga looked upon Bālaka and Bālarūpa as identical. If so Bālaka or Bālarūpa

627 अपुत्रस्य कुमारी रिक्थं गृह्णीयात्तदभावे चोढा चेति पराशरवचनादप्येवमत्र क्रम इति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 153.

628 संसृष्टिपत्नीपरमिति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 152.

629 एतेषां क्रमेणाधिकारः । बालरूपोऽप्येवम् । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 155.

becomes an ancient writer, who flourished certainly before 1100 A. D. As he held the same views as Śrīkara and an antiquated view about the rights of the daughter's son he must not be later than 1050 A. D.

69. Yogloka

Yogloka like Jitendriya and Bālaka is a writer about whom we know only from the works of Jimūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He is the last of the series of writers enumerated in one place by the Kālaviveka as having dealt with the subject of *kāla* (vide note 611 above). The Vyavahāra-mātṛkā of Jimūtavāhana very frequently[630] cites the views of Yogloka and generally twits him with thinking himself as being a logician or a new-fangled (*nava-tārkikaṁ-manya*) logician. Both in the Kālaviveka and the Vyavahāramātṛkā Yogloka is generally cited for being refuted (e. g. pp. 457-58, 465, 483 of the Kālaviveka). It is only very rarely that Jimūtavāhana agrees with Yogloka (as on p. 369 of the Kālaviveka). From certain passages of the Kālaviveka it follows that Yogloka composed two works, one called Bṛhad-Yogloka (larger work) and the other styled Svalpa-Yogloka (a smaller-work).[631] It appears that Yogloka was later than Śrīkara and accepted certain illustrations given by the latter.[632] The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana informs us that like Śrīkara and Bālaka, Yogloka held the view that twenty years' adverse possession of immoveables conferred ownership (vide note 624 above). The same work tells us that the Maithilas followed the view of Yogloka that the verse of Kātyāyana (yadyekadeśa-vyāptāpi ... nṛṇām) was intended to apply to a case where a litigant threw down the challenge that if even one out of several

630 Vide pp. 291, 293, 295, 310, 312, 313, 347.

631 योग्लोकेन तु स्वल्पबृहद्ग्रन्थभेदेन द्वयमेवोक्तं बलाबलनिरूपणाक्षमत्वात् । कालविवेक p. 365 : तस्मान्मूर्धाभिषिक्तकल्पितं योग्लोकस्य बृहद्ग्रन्थे प्रक्षिप्तम् । अस्यैव स्वल्पग्रन्थे अन्येषु च निबन्धेषु दर्शनात् योग्लोकीयबृहद्ग्रन्थपुरातनपुस्तकाभावात् । तस्मात्स्वयमेवैतद् योग्लोकेनापि बृहद्ग्रन्थे लिखितम् । कालविवेक p. 273 ; vide also pp. 177, 221 490 for references to योग्लोक.

632 यत्तु दुर्बलोदाहरणं तार्किकंमन्यस्य योग्लोकस्य मदीयेयं क्रमागता भूरिति भाषाया मदीयेयं दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वात् इति श्रीकरोदाहरणस्वीकरणं तदसंगतम् । व्यवहारमातृका p. 302.

items of property charged were brought home to him as having been stolen by him, he would restore all the items claimed.[633]

The foregoing establishes that Yogloka wrote at least on *kāla* and *vyavahāra* and composed two treatises on *kāla*.

Jīmūtavāhana[634] says that a predecessor of his styled Dīkṣita criticized a certain reading of Yogloka's, i. e. Yogloka preceded Dīkṣita, who was a predecessor of Jīmūtavāhana. Jīmūtavāhana further refers to ancient (*purātana*) mss. of Yogloka's work. Hence Yogloka must have preceded Jīmūtavāhana by at least a hundred years. He is later than Śrīkara (note 632 above). Therefore he must have flourished between 950-1050 A. D.

70. Vijñāneśvara

The Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara occupies a unique place in the Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali in grammar or to that of the Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa in Poetics. It represents the essence of dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years and it became the fountain head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. Under the decisions of the Courts in British India, the Mitākṣarā is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law (such as adoption, inheritance, partition etc.) throughout India except where, as in Bengal, the Dāyabhāga prevails.

The Mit. professes to be a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. In the colophons of several mss. it is described as Ṛju-mitākṣarā, Pramitākṣarā or simply Mitākṣarā. These names are probably due to some of the verses appended at the end of the commentary.[635] The Mit. is not only a commentary explanatory

633 व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 217 (Jivananda vol. II) 'न च यदेषां मध्ये एकमपि मया गृहीतं विभावयसि तदा सर्वमेव दातव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञाविषयत्वमेकदेशविभावितत्वं वचनस्येति जोग्लोकमतानुसारिमैथिलमतं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ।'.

634 श्रावण इति तु पठितं योग्लोकेन तद्बहुव्यदर्शान्न भवतीति दीक्षितेनोक्तम् । कालविवेक p. 280.

635 इति याज्ञवल्क्यमुनिशास्त्रगता विवृतिर्न कस्य विहिता विदुषः । प्रमिताक्षरापि विपुलार्थवती परिषिञ्चति श्रवणयोरमृतम् ॥ गम्भीराभिः प्रसन्नाभिर्वाग्भिर्यस्ता मिताक्षरा । अनल्पार्थाभिरल्पाभिर्विवृतिर्विहिता मया ॥

of the verses of Yājñavalkya, but it is in the nature of a digest of smṛti material. It brings together numerous smṛti passages, explains away contradictions among them by following the rules of interpretation laid down in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system, brings about order by assigning to various dicta their proper scope and province (*viṣayavyavasthā*) and effects a synthesis of apparently disconnected smṛti injunctions.

The Mit. quotes a host of smṛti writers[636] and six predecessors, who were commentators and authors of digests on dharmaśāstra, viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Śrīkara, Bhāruci and Bhojadeva. Besides it quotes Vedic works (like the Kāṭhaka), the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, the Garbhopaniṣad, the Jābālopaniṣad, the Nirukta, Bharata (author of Nāṭyaśāstra), Yogasūtra, Pāṇini, Suśruta, the Skandapurāṇa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Amara, Guru (i.e. Prabhākara).

The author styles himself Vijñānayogin in the concluding verses of his commentary and later writers frequently refer to him in that way. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and was son of Padmanābhabhaṭṭa. He was a *paramahaṁsa* (i. e. an ascetic) and was the pupil of Uttama. He tells us that when he wrote the Mitākṣarā, king Vikramārka or Vikramādityadeva was ruling in the city called Kalyāṇa[637] (now in the Nizam's dominion). The verses at the

636 The स्मृतिs and स्मृतिकारs quoted by name are: अङ्गिरस्, बृहदङ्गिरस्, मध्यमाङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, उपमन्यु, उशनस्, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, कश्यप, काण्व, कात्यायन, कार्ष्णाजिनि, कुमार, कृष्णद्वैपायन, क्रतु, गार्ग्य, गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, गोभिल, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत, च्यवन, छागल (or छागलेय), जमदग्नि, जातूकर्ण्य, जाबाल (or -लि), जैमिनि, दक्ष, दीर्घतमस्, देवल, धौम्य, नारद, पराशर, पारस्कर, पितामह, पुलस्त्य, पैङ्ग्य, पैठीनसि, प्रचेतस्, बृहत्प्रचेतस्, वृद्धप्रचेतस्, प्रजापति, बाष्कल, बृहस्पति, वृद्धबृहस्पति, बौधायन, ब्रह्मगर्भ, ब्रह्मवध, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु, बृहन्मनु, वृद्धमनु, मरीचि, मार्कण्डेय, यम, बृहद्यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, लिखित, लौगाक्षि, वसिष्ठ, बृहद्वसिष्ठ, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, विष्णु, बृहद्विष्णु, वृद्धविष्णु, वैयाघ्रपाद, वैशम्पायन, व्याघ्र (or व्याघ्रपाद), व्यास, बृहद्व्यास, शङ्ख, शङ्खलिखित, शाण्डिल्य, शातातप, बृहच्छातातप, वृद्धशातातप, शुनःपुच्छ, शौनक, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संवर्त, बृहत्संवर्त, सुमन्तु, हारीत, बृहद्धारीत, वृद्धहारीत.

637 नासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरं नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविक्रमार्कोपमः । विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किंचान्यदन्योपममाकल्पं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेतत्त्रयम् ॥ 4th verse at the end.

end containing the personal history appear to be genuine. They occur in the oldest Mss. of the Mit. such as the Government of Bombay Ms. dated *śakasaṁvat* 1389.

The author of the Mit. was a profound student of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system. Throughout the Mit. discussion of Pūrvamīmāṁsā *nyāyas* and their application to dharmaśāstra are sown broadcast. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 (whether it is a *niyama* or *parisaṁkhyā*), I. 86, II. 114, II. 126, II. 265 &c., may be consulted. The Mit., as the very name implies, is generally concise and to the point. But in his desire to make his work a repository and synthesis of varied smṛti dicta the author does not mind if he has occasionally to expand his commentary to enormous lengths. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 and 290 occupies several pages of closely printed text.

As the Mitākṣarā names Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, it must have been composed after 1050 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā[638] of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (which as will be seen later on was composed about 1200 A. D.) several times criticizes the views of the Mit., viz. the latter's remarks that the giving of an additional share to the eldest son is disapproved of by the people, the reasons given for preferring the mother to the father and the definition of *dāya*. Vijñāneśvara is named in the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara[639] (composed in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century). This shows that the Mit. was composed before 1120 A. D. A greater approximation can be arrived at in several ways. The Kalpataru mentions

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638 यत्पुनर्विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं सत्यमयं विषमो विभागः ... हेयः । एतदपि वाक्यात्रेणैतद्बुद्धारविषमविभागादौ लोकविद्वेषोस्ति प्रत्युत विद्यागुणपुण्यकर्मसंपन्नज्येष्ठादौ भागाधिक्ये लोकानुरागो दृश्यत इति यत्किंचिदेतत् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 266 ; ' न च दायशब्देन यद्धनं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव ... तदुच्यत इति दायादिशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम् ' स्मृतिच. II. p. 267 ; ' पिता सपत्नीपुत्रेष्वपि साधारणो माता तु न साधारणीति प्रत्यासत्त्यतिशयोस्तीति विप्रलम्भसदृशमिदं न हि जननीजनकयोर्जन्यं प्रति संनिकर्षतारतम्यमस्ति । ' स्मृतिच० II. p. 297.

639 ' क्षत्रधर्मस्तु ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणं दासकर्माणि न कारयेदिति विज्ञानेश्वरस्वरसः ' folio 380 of the Benares Sanskrit College transcript of कल्पतरु (on व्यवहार).

Vādibhayaṁkara[640] who, the Vīramitrodaya[641] tells us, was an admirer and follower of Vijñāneśvara and yet found fault with his explanation of Yāj. II. 51 (rikthagrāha ṛṇam &c.). Therefore the Mit. must have been composed at the latest before 1100 A. D. Among the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the only king named Vikramārka or Vikramāditya during whose reign Vijñāneśvara could have flourished is Vikramāditya VI who reigned for over fifty years from about 1076 to 1127 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, part 2, pp. 446-453, I. A. vol. 48 p. 6 (for pedigree of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa with dates), I. A. vol. 12 p. 212 (for an inscription of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla dated *śake* 1047) and I. A. vol. 22, pp. 296-298. From all these considerations it follows that the Mit. was composed between 1070-1100 A. D.

Out of the numerous commentaries on the Mit. those of Viśveśvara, Nandapaṇḍita and Bālambhaṭṭa are the most famous. *Vide* sections 93, 105, 111. Considerations of space preclude any detailed statement of the doctrines peculiarly associated with the name of Vijñāneśvara. There are however some which must be mentioned. He laid down (on Yāj. I. 52) that wherever the word *sapiṇḍa* occurred, it denoted either directly or mediately connection with particles of one body (i. e. blood-relationship with an ancestor). He also strictly adheres to the principle that propinquity is the guiding principle in matters of inheritance and succession. He divides *dāya* into *apratibandha* and *sapratibandha* and affirmed that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons acquired by birth ownership in ancestral property. On all these matters he is diametrically opposed to Jīmūtavāhana.

Aufrecht in his great catalogue makes conflicting statements about a work called Āśaucadaśaka. On I. p. 55 he notes that Āśaucadaśaka is a work of Harihara with a commentary by Vijñāneśvara and again on I. p. 571 he ascribes Āśaucadaśaka-ṭīkā to Vijñāneśvara. On I. p. 762 he ascribes the Āśaucadaśaka and Daśaślokivivaraṇa to Harihara and appears to distinguish him from that Harihara who

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640 शोध्यस्य जननी तातः पुत्रो वा तत्सहोदरः । भार्या पुत्रवती धर्म्या ज्ञातयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ इति वादिभयंकरे बृहस्पतिवचनात् । *ibid.* folio 230.

641 विज्ञानेश्वरानुयायी यथात्र वादिभयंकरस्त्वाह । अहो बत जगत्ख्यातविज्ञानेश्वरयोगिनः । पूर्वापरविरोधेऽपि नानुसंधानमकृतम् ॥ वीरमित्रोदय p. 350 (Jivananda).

composed a bhāṣya on Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra. On I. p. 795 he corrects himself by saying that Harihara wrote only the commentary on the Āśaucadaśaka and that the latter is identical with the Daśaślokī-vivaraṇa. On III. p. 121 he is doubtful whether the Āśaucadaśaka is a work of Vijñāneśvara. In the Deccan College collection there is an ancient Ms. (No. 196 of 1884–1887) of the Āśaucadaśaka.[642] It was copied in *saṁvat* 1578 Mārgaśīrṣa (i. e. December 1522 A. D.). It distinctly says that Vijñāneśvarayogin composed in ten Śārdūla-vikrīḍitā stanzas a work on *āśauca* and that Harihara composed a commentary on it. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is an old Ms. of the Āśaucadaśaka, the colophon of which ascribes the work to Vijñāneśvara. Vide I. O. cat. p. 565, No. 1749 for a ms. of Āśaucadaśaka with Harihara's commentary dated *saṁvat* 1589 (1532-33 A. D.) That the Āśaucadaśaka was a very popular work follows from the several commentaries thereon that are available even now. Raghunātha[643], son of Mādhava and nephew of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, composed a commentary on the Daśaślokī in śake 1500 (D. C. No. 82 of A. 1882-83). There is another commentary on the same work by Bhaṭṭoji (D. C. No. 99 of 1582-83). Harihara quotes in his bhāṣya, besides several well-known smṛtikāras, a work called Viśvādarśa (folio 4b).[644] Harihara, the commentator of the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra, is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara in several mss. Harihara in his bhāṣya on Pāraskaragṛhya quotes Vijñāneśvara and Kalpataru. The Viśvādarśa praises Vijñāneśvara very highly.[645] Therefore it appears that

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642 The ms. begins: अथ विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितमुनिज(न)वाक्यैर्मिताक्षरामभ्यात् । आशौचदशकवृत्तिं वदति हरिहरो हरिं नत्वा ॥ अत्र तावद्विज्ञानेश्वरयोगीन्द्रश्चतुर्वर्णात्मकस्य जन्मनि सूतौ भवं सूतकं मरणे शवे भवं शावं सूतकशावसिद्ध्यर्थं वृत्तदशकं शार्दूलविक्रीडितेन चकार तत्राद्यं वृत्तमाह मातुर्गर्भविपत्स्वघं &c. The colophon at the end is इत्याशौचदशकभाष्यं श्रीहरिह(र)विरचितं समाप्तम् ।

643 रघुनाथ criticizes विज्ञानेश्वर 'यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरेण प्रतिलोमानां त्वाशौचाभाव एवेत्युक्तं तद्वचनविरोधादुपेक्षणीयम् । प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इत्येतत्तु पाकयज्ञाद्यभिप्रायम्' folio 19b.

644 संप्रति विशेषो विश्वादर्शात् 'प्रत्तस्त्रीणां त्रिरात्रं पितृविपदि भवेत्'.

645 यथा वै विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितेयापि महतो महीभर्तुः कीर्तिस्त्रिजगति यथा पुण्यकृद्दिति । यथा (तथा ?) श्रीमन्नागार्जुनतनुज धन्य प्रतिगृहं स्फुरद्विश्वादर्शे स्फुरतु तव कीर्तिः सुकृतिनः ॥ IV. 52; श्रीरामस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य च यथा रामायणे भारते कीर्तिर्भाति यथा च मुञ्जनृपतेः सा कारिका भूषणम् । श्रीमद्धन्य मिताक्षरादिषु यथा श्रीवृद्धभर्तुस्तथा विश्वादर्शनिबन्धने तव शुभश्लोका जयन्त्यूर्जिताः ॥ ms. of विश्वादर्श (in Bhadkamkar collection).

Vijñāneśvara composed the Āśaucadaśaka *alias* Daśaślokī and that Harihara, who was either Vijñāneśvara's pupil or not very far removed from him (as he is quoted by Hemādri) composed a commentary thereon. The first verse of the Daśaślokī is cited below as a specimen of the concise style attempted by the author.[646]

Aufrecht (II. p. 50 and I. p. 236) credits Vijñāneśvara with a bhāṣya on Triṁsat-ślokī, a work in thirty Sragdharā stanzas on *āśauca*. This work together with the commentary was printed in *pothi* size at Benares in *saṁvat* 1918 (1861-62 A. D.). The printed text contains[647] the same colophon at the end and date as the D. C. ms. No. 217 of 1879-80, which was copied in *saṁvat* 1711 *Caitra* (i. e. April 1655 A. D.). It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Vijñāneśvara wrote a bhāṣya on the Triṁśat-ślokī. In the bhāṣya Vijñāneśvara and the Mitākṣarā are cited by name.[648] The manner of referring to them rather suggests that the commentary on the Triṁsat-ślokī was composed by some person other than Vijñāneśvara, who, however, drew largely on the Mit. There is a ms. of the Triṁśat-ślokī with a commentary in the Bhau Daji collection which is ascribed to Hemādri on the cover (vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 209, No. 667).

In the Madras Govt. mss. library there is a ms. of the Vyavahāra-śiromaṇi of Nārāyaṇa, who says that he learnt dharmaśāstras under Vijñāneśvara (adhītya dharmaśāstrāṇi Vijñāneśvara-sadguroḥ). The work deals with the *vyavahāra* portion and was composed for the benefit of the un-initiated (bālabodhārtham). The ms. contains the portion dealing with the king's duty to look into the disputes of people, the time for doing that, sabhā, definition of prāḍ-vivāka (judge), the plaint and its defects, āsedha (restraint of the

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646 मातुर्गर्भविपत्त्यघं त्रिदिवसं मासत्रयेतो यथा मासाहं त्रिषु सूतकावधिरतः स्नानं पितुः सर्वदा । ज्ञातीनां पतनादि जातमरणे पित्रोर्दशाहं सदा नाम्नः प्राक् तदपीति सूतकवशान्मातुर्दशाहं परम् ॥

647 The colophon is इति विज्ञानेश्वरकृते त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीयभाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।

648 त्रिरात्रं दशरात्रं वा ... सूतकं मातुरेव हि ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यानसमये विज्ञानेश्वराचार्यैः स्पष्टीकृतम् ॥ p. 3b of the printed text and 2b of the ms. The verse referred to is याज्ञ. III. 18. On verse 14 of the त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी we have 'एतच्च आचार्यविन्मुपाध्यायान् ... न च तैः सह संविशेत् ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यानमिताक्षरायां स्पष्टीकृतम्' p. 9b of the printed text and 5a of the ms.

defendent), means of proof the eighteen titles of law, ṛiṇādāna, nikṣepa, saṁbhūya-samutthāna, dattapradānika, abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā, vetanasya-anapākarma, asvāmivikraya, vikrīyāsaṁpradāna, krītvānuśaya, samayasyānapākarma, sīmāvivāda, strī-puṁsayoga, dāyavibhāga. The work breaks off in the middle of the explanation of the verse 'patnī duhitaraścaiva'. He closely follows the Mitākṣarā in all that he says; but in one place he expressly differs from his teacher, viz. whereas the Mitākṣarā mentions four different times for partition, Nārāyaṇa says that there are really two times of partition, when the father desires partition and when the son or sons desire it.[648a] On *saṁbhūyasamutthāna* he quotes a passage from Kauṭalya (the ms. uses this form), which agrees closely with the printed text (vide Arthaśāstra III. 14, p. 186, ed. by Shama Sastrī).[648b]

71. Kāmadhenu

This was an ancient digest on the various branches of Dharmaśāstra. Unfortunately no ms. of this work has yet come to light. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara refers to the view of Kāmadhenu and others that what was bestowed upon a slave (*dāsa*) by his master through favour was also under the control of the master.[649] The Hāralatā which was composed in the third quarter of the 12th century several times mentions the views of Kāmadhenu.[650]

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648 a अनया चातुर्विध्यमस्मद्गुरुचरणैर्मिताक्षरायां प्रतिपादितं पितुरिच्छायां पुत्रेच्छायां च विभागः संभवति नान्यथेति कालद्वयमेव विभागस्येति तु युक्तम् । न च पित्रनन्तरकाल एक इति त्रैविध्यमिति वाच्यं पित्रनन्तरकालेपि पुत्राणामिच्छाभावे विभागस्यैवाभावेन उक्तकालद्वय एवानन्तरकालस्याप्यन्तर्भावात् ।

648 b अत्र विशेषमाह कौटल्यः । अग्निष्टोमादिषु दीक्षणीयाया ऊर्ध्वं य आपन्नः पञ्चममंशं लभेत सोमविक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थं प्रवर्ग्योद्वासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयमग्निषोमीयादूर्ध्वं पादोनं माध्यंदिनादूर्ध्वं समग्रं नीतासु दक्षिणासु भवतीति ।

649 On the verse of कात्यायन 'दासस्य हि धनं यत् स्यात् स्वामी तस्य प्रभुर्मतः' the कल्पतरु says ' यदा प्रसादे स्वामिना दासस्य कृते दत्तं तत्र दासधनेपि स्वामी प्रभुरिति प्रकाशहलायुधकामधेनुपारिजातप्रभृतयः । ' folio 876 of the कल्पतरु (Benares College transcript).

650 e. g. on p. 41 'अत एव जातमृते मृतजाते वा कुलस्य त्रिरात्रमिति हारीतवचनं कामधेनुकृता गर्भस्रावाशौचप्रकरणे लिखितम् । '. Vide pp. 117, 174, 200 also for other references to the कामधेनु and note 596 above,

Śrīdharācārya, in his Smṛtyarthasāra,[651] enumerates the Kāmadhenu among the works and writers who dwelt upon the teachings of the Smṛtis. The Vivādratnākara[652] of Caṇḍeśvara speaks of the Kāmadhenu several times. In the Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī certain verses from the Kāmadhenu are cited in connection with the rites on certain *tithis* of the month of Āśvina (p. 261). Śūlapāṇi in his Śrāddhaviveka names as his authorities the Kāmadhenu and other digests after the smṛtis.[653] The Samayapradīpa[654] of Śrīdatta notices that the Kāmadhenu read 'dvitīyā caitramāsasya,' while the Kalpataru read 'tṛtīyā.' The same reading of the Kāmadhenu is noticed in the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha (I. O. cat., No. 634, folio 79b). In the Rājanītiratnākara the Kāmadhenu is quoted on the definition of 'rājā' and on the two varieties of rulers (pp. 2 and 5). In Hemādri there is a quotation from Smṛtikāmadhenu (vol. IV, p. 992) about the freedom in *kali* from incurring sin on account of contact with great sinners.

The question arises who is the author of the Kāmadhenu. If we rely upon a highly paronomastic passage of the Vyavahāraratnākara[655] of Caṇḍeśvara, Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. In the Rājanītiratnākara (p. 81) Gopāla is said to have held, with

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651 कामधेनौ प्रदीपेऽब्धौ कल्पवृक्षलतासु च । शम्भुद्रविडकेदारलोल्लटाद्येश्च भाषितम् ॥ मन्वाद्यनेकस्मृतिषु व्याख्यातृप्रतिपादितम् । स्मृत्यर्थसारं वक्ष्यामि सुखानुष्ठानसिद्धये ॥ Intro. verses 4-5 (Ānandāśrama ed.). प्रदीप्ते is a wrong reading for प्रदीपे.

652 यं कामधेनुरनुयाति स कल्पवृक्षो(क्षः ?)यं सेवते निजफलाय स पारिजातः । तं वैरिगोत्रभिदमुच्चसहस्रदृशिं चण्डेश्वरं तुलयितुं कतमे भवन्तु ॥ विवादरत्नाकर (verse at the end) ; there is a play on the words कामधेनु, कल्पवृक्ष (कल्पतरु) and पारिजात which are names of works on धर्मशास्त्र also; vide विवादरत्नाकर pp. 78, 80, 135, 498, 651 for other references to the कामधेनु.

653 The श्राद्धविवेक begins विलोक्य धर्मशास्त्राणि कामधेन्वादिसंग्रहान् । विवेकः पार्वणादीनां क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥

654 अत्र च कामधेनौ द्वितीया चैत्रमासस्येति लिखितं कल्पतरौ तृतीयेति लिखितं तदत्र पाठद्वैधे ज्योतिःशास्त्रे मघौ तृतीयेति पाठाच्चैत्रतृतीयैव ग्राह्या । समयप्रदीप D. C. ms. No. 471 of 1875-76, folio 53b.

655 मन्व्याद्यामृतसेचनात्तफलतां पुष्णाति कल्पद्रुमः सद्यः पल्लवमातनोति नितरां श्रीपारिजातोऽपि सः । गोपालस्य च कामधेनुरमणं काम्यार्थदुग्धं स्वयं संदुग्धे स्वयमेव कस्य भवने सेव्यो न रत्नाकरः ॥ व्यवहाररत्नाकर (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 66). कल्पद्रुम (कल्पतरु), पारिजात, कामधेनु and रत्नाकर have two senses,

Lakṣmīdhara and Śrīkara,[656] the view that on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many (and not by one). The same work (p. 84) cites the opinion of Gopāla that the coronation rites mentioned in works on *rājanīti* are merely illustrative and that according to the particular usages of countries and families a king may be proclaimed without those rites by merely being seated on a throne.[657] The Pitṛbhakti of Śrīdatta expressly mentions that it is based on the works of Gopāla and others. The Vīramitrodaya cites the view of Gopāla that vyavāhara comes under what is called *jalpa* in the technique of the Nyāya system and that the view of Miśra that Vyavahāra is comprised under the term *vāda* of the same system is wrong. Whether the Gopāla mentioned by Mitramiśra is the same as the author named by Caṇḍeśvara it is difficult to say. But it seems to me that they are identical. Aufrecht in his great catalogue (I. 93) ascribes the authorship of the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. Whence he derived this information is not clear. The authors and works cited by him do not, so far as I know, ascribe the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. It is true that Śambhu is credited by the Smṛticandrikā with a digest on *dharmaśāstra* (vide note 563 above) and the Smṛtyarthasāra also names him as one of the authorities on which it relies. Hemādri[659] also tells us that Śambhu was a *nibandhakāra* and refuted the views of Medhātithi on Manu III. 125. The Smṛticandrikā frequently cites the views of Śambhu on vyavahāra and generally refutes them. For example, on the word 'pitarau' occurring in Yāj. II. 135 Śambhu remarked that no difference should be made between the parents (father and mother) as heirs, since whoever out of the two took the wealth of their son it would come

656 Vide note 565 above.

657 गोपालमते त्वभिषेकादिपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तद्व्यवहारादिति ।

658 यत्तु गोपालेन तत्त्वनिर्णयेषु कथात्वाद्वादत्वमेवास्येति मिश्रमतत्वेनोपन्यस्य जयभङ्गफलकत्वात् स्थापनावसानत्वाच्च जल्प एवायमिति तन्निरस्तं तद् द्वयमप्ययुक्तम् । वीर० p. 3.

659 द्वौ दैवे ... कमुभयत्र वा ॥ यद्यप्येकैकमुभयत्र वेत्ययं विधिरेव न भवतीति तेनैवोक्तं तत्तु शम्भुप्रभृतिभिर्निबन्धकारैः पराकृतमिति अस्माभिर्नाद्रियते । चतुर्वर्ग० III. I p. 1148 ; तदेवं तावद् दक्षिणाग्नौ होमस्तदभावे तूपासनाग्नाविति शम्भुप्रभृतयः चतुर्वर्ग III. 1. p. 1331.

to both.[660] Vide also Smṛticandrikā II, pp. 205, 216. Therefore Śambhu also, being mentioned by the Smṛticandrikā and the Smṛtyarthasāra, is certainly earlier than 1150 A. D. In this state of the authorities I am doubtful whether Śambhu was the author of the Kāmadhenu. I am inclined to hold that he was not the author of that work and that Gopāla was the author. This conclusion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the Smṛtyarthasāra mentions both Kāmadhenu and Śambhu as authorities on which it relies. If Śambhu had been, in the opinion of the Smṛtyarthsāra the author of the Kāmadhenu, the mention of both would have been superfluous. Mr. Jayasval (in JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts 3-4, p. VII) ascribes the Kāmadhenu to Bhoja, but this is wrong (vide p. 277, note 576).

As the Kāmadhenu is named as an authority by the Kalpataru and the Hāralatā it is certainly not later than 1100 A. D. It cannot be very much earlier since it is not mentioned by Medhātithi and the Mitākṣarā. It may therefore be assigned to the period between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

72. Halāyudha

The Kalpataru[661] of Lakṣmīdhara in its vyavahāra section quotes the views of a jurist Halāyudha several times. The Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara mentions Halāyudha dozens of times. In the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha[662] Halāyudha-nibandha on possession is quoted. The Smṛtisāra also says (folio 140 a) that Halāyudha favoured *niyoga* by the widow of a son-less deceased person and deprived the widow of succession to her deceased husband if she did not submit to *niyoga*. This was the view of Dhāreśvara also. According to Halāyudha[663] parents succeeded before brothers to a deceased person

660 यत्तूक्तं शम्भुना अव्यक्तधनत्वाद् दम्पत्योर्येन केनचिद्ग्रहणमुभयार्थमिति न विशेषो वक्तव्य इति तदयुक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 298.

661 Vide note 649 above ; and folio 380 (of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

662 अत्र हलायुधनिबन्धे स्वरसः । आगमस्मरणार्हकाले सागमैव भुक्तिः प्रमाणं त्रैपुरुषिकभोगे तु आगमास्मरणे भुक्तिः प्रमाणं स्मार्तकाले क्रिया भूमेः ... पुरुषागता इति कात्यायनवचनात् । हानिप्रतिपादकानां च वाक्यानां प्रमाणपरिपालनकर्तव्यताशेषत्वात् । स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 107 b).

663 याज्ञवल्क्येन पितरौ भ्रातर इति भ्रातृसद्भावेपि पित्रोरधिकार उक्तः स पितृपितामहार्जितधनविषयः । यत्पितृद्रव्याविरोधार्जितं तत्पित्रोः सद्भावेपि भ्रातॄणामेव । स्मृतिसार folio 140 b.

if the property in the hands of the deceased was ancestral, but that if it was acquired without detriment to ancestral property then brothers succeeded even before parents. Halāyudha is cited in the Vivādacintāmaṇi also, e. g. Halāyudha[664] held the view that the verse of Yāj. (II. 126) was intended to convey that where joint property was concealed by a member and was discovered after partition, he did not incur the guilt of theft. This same view was held by Jitendriya and others. Raghunandana quotes Halāyudha in his Divyatattva, Dāyatattva and Vyavahāratattva. The Vīramitrodaya[665] also quotes Halāyudha.

The foregoing shows that the work of Halāyudha, the jurist, was a very valuable one. This Halāyudha must have flourished before 1100 A. D., since the Kalpataru (1125-1150 A. D.) looked upon him as an authority. As Halāyudha is not mentioned by any of the early commentators like Medhātithi and by the Mit. and as he held opinions similar to those of Dhāreśvara, Jitendriya and others, he cannot well be placed earlier than 1000 A. D. Therefore he flourished between 1000 and 1100 A. D. He was probably a Maithila or Bengali writer, as, among the comparatively early writers on dharma, it is the writers of the north, particularly of Mithilā and Bengal, that rely upon him as a great authority.

The name Halāyudha (an epithet of Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa) was a common one in India. It seems to have been borne by several eminent writers and this fact has created a great deal of confusion. There is one Halāyudha who was the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā (edited by Aufrecht), the Kavirahasya (edited by Sourindra Mohan Tagore in 1879 and by Heller in 1900) and probably the Mṛtasañjīvanī, a commentary on the Chandaḥ-sūtra of Piṅgala. In the Kavirahasya he gives the various forms of roots in the several conjugations and connects all verses with Kṛṣṇa, the

664 अन्योन्यापहृतं . . . स्थितिः ॥ अत्राविभक्तत्वादेव विभागे प्राप्ते वचनारम्भोऽत्र चौर्यदोषाभावं ज्ञापयतीति हलायुधः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 143. *Vide* दायतत्त्व (p. 182 Jivananda, vol. II) for the same view of हलायुध.

665 'अक्षः पादस्तम्भयोरुपरि निहितस्तुलाधारपट्ट इति मिताक्षरा । दार्ढ्यप्रयोजकः कीलक इति हलायुधः ।' वीर० p. 254; वीर० p. 572 says हलायुध read in मनु 9. 207 स निर्वात्यः for स निर्वास्यः (निर्भाज्यः).

emperor of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha).[666] This Kṛṣṇarāja was most probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 940 A. D. to 959 A. D. (*vide* JBBRAS, vol. 18, page 239 ; Bom. Gazetteer I., part 2, p. 210 ; I. A. vol. 11, p. 109 and Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 8-9.). In the colophon to the Mṛtasañjīvanī the author is described simply as bhaṭṭa-Halāyudha. In that commentary verses are quoted as illustrations wherein Muñja alias Vākpatirāja is highly extolled.[667] Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. Hence Halāyudha, the author of the commentary on Piṅgala, must not have flourished much earlier than the latter half of the 10 century. It is not unlikely that Halāyudha after being at the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas migrated to Avanti when the star of Muñja, who was himself a scholar, rose on the horizon of central India and when the fortunes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas waned. But this Halāyudha who hailed from the Deccan cannot be the first Halāyudha who appears to have flourished in Mithilā or Bengal.

There is another Halāyudha, author of a famous work called Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva printed at Benares in saṁvat 1935. But this was not available to me and hence I used a Ms. of it in the Deccan College collection (No. 9 of A 1883-84). He gives some account of himself and his family in the introductory verses. He belonged to the Vātsya gotra and was a son of Dhanañjaya who is described as *dharmādhyakṣa* (judge). Lakṣmaṇasena, the king of Bengal, gave him dharmādhikāra (i. e. made him judge).[668] He had two elder brothers[669] Paśupati and Īśāna of whom the former composed Śrāddha-kṛtya-paddhati and Pākayajña-paddhati and the latter the

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666 अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे । कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्य-दीक्षितः ॥ verse 6 (Heller's ed.). Verse 164 (Heller) describes him as राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्वह.

667 e. g. जयति भुवनैकवीरः सीरायुधतुलितविपुलबलविभवः । अनवरतवित्तवितरणनिर्जित-कम्पाधिपो मुञ्जः ॥ स जयति वाक्पतिराजः &c.—मृतसञ्जीवनी 4th chap.

668 बाल्ये ख्यापितराजपण्डितपदः श्वेतांशुबिम्बोज्ज्वलच्छत्रोत्सिक्तमहामहत्तनुपदं दत्त्वा नवे यौवने । यस्मै यौवनशेषयोग्यमखिलक्ष्मापालनारायणः श्रीमॉल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवनृपतिर्धर्मा-धिकारं ददौ ॥ verse 12 ; vide also Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss. p. 138, extract No. 356.

669 भ्राता पद्धतिमग्रजः पशुपतिः श्राद्धादिकृत्ये व्यधादीशानः कृतवान् द्विजाह्निकविधौ ज्येष्ठोपरः पद्धतिम् । verse 24.

Dvijāhnika-paddhati. He tells us in the Brāhmaṇasarvasva that he composed Mīmāṁsāsarvasva, Vaiṣṇavasarvasva, Śaivasarvasva, Paṇḍitasarvasva.[670] Unfortunately no Ms. of any of these works has so far been discovered. The chief object[671] of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva is to explain the meaning of the *mantras* used by Brāhmaṇas in daily observances from the brushing of the teeth to going to sleep and in the *saṁskāras* on birth, marriage, death etc. He wrote for the Vājasaneya Kāṇva Śākhā and acknowledges[672] his debt to Uvaṭa who wrote a bhāṣya on the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā in Avanti while Bhoja ruled the earth (mahīṁ Bhoje praśāsati). In some introductory verses and the several colophons of the sections of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva Halāyudha styles himself *āvasathika*, *mahādharmādhyakṣa* or simply *dharmādhyakṣa*, *dharmādhikārin* and his brother Paśupati also is styled *āvasathika*. It is very difficult to say what is the exact meaning of this last word. It probably means one who regularly performs all the *gṛhya* rites.[673] Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922, pp. 5165 for a ms. of Paṇḍita-sarvasva which deals with the usages of varṇas and āśramas, tithi, śuddhi, the time for śrāddha, jyotiḥśāstra, marriage, gifts, prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā &c. But whether it is Halāyudha's work it is difficult to say from the extracts given.

The time when Halāyudha the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva flourished can be easily settled as he was the dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The Adbhutasāgara was begun in *śake* 1090[674]

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670 मीमांसासर्वस्वं वैष्णवसर्वस्वमकृत शैवसर्वस्वम् । पण्डितसर्वस्वमसौ सर्वस्वं सर्वधीराणाम् ॥ verse 19.

671 दन्तधावनमारभ्य यावदन्त्येष्टिमीरिता । मन्त्राणां तावता तस्मिन् व्याख्यानमुपदर्शितम् ॥

672 व्याख्यातो मतिशालिनायमुवटाचार्येण वेदः परम् । अस्पष्टं तदपीत्यनेन विदुषा विश्वप्रसिद्धैः पदैः । सन्ध्यादिद्विजकर्ममन्त्रवचसां व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् &c.

673 Compare पारस्करगृह्य I. 2. 1-2 ' आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले । दायाद्यकाल एकेषाम् ।'

674 शाके खनवखेन्द्वब्दे आरेभेऽद्भुतसागरम् । गौडेन्द्रकुञ्जरालानस्तम्भबाहुर्महीपतिः ॥ ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनयं साम्राज्यरक्षामहादीक्षापर्वणि दीक्षणान् निजकृतेर्निष्पत्तिमभ्यर्थ्य सः । नानादानचिताम्बुसंचलनतः (?) सूर्यात्मजासङ्गमं गङ्गायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥ श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुद्योगतो निष्पन्नोऽद्भुतसागरः कृतिरसौ बल्लालभूमिभुजः ॥ &c. folio 3a of D. C. ms. No. 231 of 1887-91.

(i. e. 1168-69) by Ballāla-sena and it was ultimately finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. That these verses are not spurious follows from a reference in the Ṭoḍarānanda-saṁhitā-saukhya about the position of the constellation of the Great Bear according to the Adbhutasāgara in the *śake* year 1082 (1160-61 A. D.) while Ballālasena was ruling.[675] The Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa[676], who was a contemporary of Lakṣamaṇasena, furnishes us with the exact year of the accession of Lakṣamaṇasena viz: that *śake* 1127 corresponded with the 27th year of Lakṣamaṇasena's reign, i. e. he began to reign in 1178-79 A. D. Therefore the literary activity of Halāyudha, the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva, lies between 1175-1200 A. D. There is, I am aware, a very heated controversy about the dates of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣamaṇasena, but I am inclined to hold, particularly on account of the explicit reference contained in the body of the Adbhutasāgara[677] itself and in the Ṭoḍarānanda, that Lakṣamaṇasena came to the throne about 1178-79 A. D. The Brāhmaṇasarvasva and the Paṇḍitsarvasva of Halāyudha are quoted by Raghunandana in the Āhnika (pp. 389, Jivānanda, vol. I), Prāyaścitta (pp. 531, vol. I for Paṇḍitasarvasva) and other Tattvas. Sourindra Mohan Tagore (introduction to Kavirahasya p. I-II) says that Ādiśūra brought to Bengal five Brāhmaṇas from Kanoj of whom Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was the most famous and was the author of the Prayogaratna and also of the Veṇīsaṁhāra and that Halāyudha was 16th in descent from that Nārāyaṇa. These traditions of the matchmakers of Bengal and panegyrists of big families are entirely worthless for literary and chronological purposes,

675 'अस्मिन्नार्याभिप्रायेण चाद्भुतसागरे भुजवसुदशमिते १०८२ शाके श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनराज्यादौ वर्षैकषष्टिभोगा मुनयस्त्वासन् विशाखासु तस्य चाभिप्रायेणम' folio 39b of टोडरानन्दसंहितासौख्य D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92.

676 शाके सप्तविंशत्यधिकशतोपेतदशशते शरदाम्। श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षितिपस्य रसैकविंशेऽब्दे ॥ सवितुर्गत्या फाल्गुनविंशेषु परार्थहेतवे कुतुकात्। श्रीधरदासेनेदं सदुक्तिकर्णामृतं चक्रे ॥ Vide Indian Historical Quarterly, 1927, vol. III, p. 186; vide also JASB 1921, p. 7, Ind. Ant. vol. 48 (for 1919) at 171-176 and Ind. Ant. 1922, p. 146, 158 for discussion of the date of लक्ष्मणसेन. Vide E. I., vol. XV. p. 278 for the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji who holds that लक्ष्मणसेन ascended the throne in 1118-19 A. D.

677 In the printed edition of the अद्भुतसागर (at p. 235) we have अतस्तत्र नेनैतद् ग्रन्थारम्भशकाद् वर्षाधिपगणनं भनवदशशोपशाके &c. (published in 1905 by Prabhakari and Co.).

particularly for events of comparatively early times. In their zeal to extol their patrons' families to the skies they were most unscrupulous and threw to the winds all chronology. The Prayogaratna was composed at Benares by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa whose family migrated from Paithan in the 16th century, while the Veṇīsaṁhāra was composed about a thousand years earlier. Yet both works are fathered upon Nārāyaṇa, the ancestor of the rich and influential Tagore family.

There is yet another Halāyudha. On the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana a commentary called Prakāśa was composed by Halāyudha, son of Saṅkarṣaṇa (vide BBRAS cat. No. 518, p. 170). In this commentary he refers to Karka, Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Govindarāja, Lakṣmaṇopādhyāya, Mitākṣarā, Śaṅkhadhara and Paśupati. He is therefore later than 1150 A. D. He cannot be identified with the author of the Kavirahasya, as the latter flourished much earlier under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Nor can be the same as the jurist Halāyudha, since the latter is named in the Kalpataru, which in its turn is quoted in the Prakāśa. The dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣmaṇasena was a son of Dhanañjaya, while the author of the Prakāśa was a son of Saṅkarṣaṇa. The Śrāddhakāśikā of Kṛṣṇa (Gujarati Press ed. p. 430) on the Navakaṇḍikā or Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana says that first Karka[678] explained the sūtra in pregnant words and then Halāyudha explained it and yet it remained as difficult as before. Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Śrāddhamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha. Therefore Halāyudha, the author of the Prakāśa on Kātyāyana must have flourished before 1509 A. D. and later than 1150 A. D.

Vide J. A. S. B. 1915 pp. 327-336 where M. M. Chakravarti brought together interesting information about Halāyudha.

73. Bhavadevabhaṭṭa

The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana and the Vīramitrodaya tell us that Bhavadevabhaṭṭa composed a work called Vyavahāratilaka on judicial procedure. The Vyavahāratattva[679] tells us that Bhavadeva

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678 कर्को व्याख्यदिदं गभीरवचनैः सूत्रं यतोऽस्मादभूद् दुर्बोधं च ततो हलायुध इति व्याख्यत्तथाप्यस्फुटम् ॥

679 'अस्तव्यस्तपदव्याप्ति अनन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्यवहारतिलके भवदेवभट्टः'। व्यवहारतत्त्व (p. 207, vol. II, Jivananda); भवदेवेन तु अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापीति पाठं लिखित्वानन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्याख्यातं व्यवहारतिलके । वीर० p. 85.

read 'astavyastapadavyāpi' instead of 'yadvyastapadamavyāpi' in Kātyāyana's verses enumerating the blemishes of *uttara* (defendant's reply). The Vyavahāratattva[680] mentions Bhavadevabhaṭṭa's discussion and illustration of a reply (uttara) with a weak plea (kāraṇa). The same work informs us that Bhavadeva held the same views on adverse possession as Śrīkara, Bālaka and others did (vide note 624 above). The Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra[681] several times refers to the views of Bhavadeva. The Vīramitrodaya[682] gives in great detail the remarks of Bhavadeva on the well-known text of Sumantu about killing an *ātatāyin*. The Sarasvatīvilāsa[683] and the Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita quote the very same views of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on Sumantu's text.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that Bhavadeva's Vyavahāratilaka must have been a valuable work on judicial procedure. Unfortunately that work has not yet come to light.

Bhavadeva also wrote several other works.

In the Deccan College collection there are two Mss. (No. 9 of 1895-98 and No. 263 of 1887-91) of a work of Bhavadeva variously named Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarma-paddhati or Daśakarma-dīpikā. M. M. Chakravarti in his informing article on Bhavadeva (J. A. S. B. 1912, pp. 333-348) says that the work has often been printed. I was not able to secure a copy. That work[684] deals with

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680 दुर्बलकारणोत्तरं यथा ममेयं भूः क्रमागतत्वादिति वादुक्ते ममेयं भूर्दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वादिति प्रत्युत्तरं तत्तु धनमात्रप्रयुक्तं पश्यतोऽब्रुवतो हानिर्धनस्य दशवार्षिकीति याज्ञवल्कीयं वचनं किं तु नैतद्युक्तं परेण भुज्यमानाया भूमेर्विंशतिवार्षिकीति भूमिमात्रविषयकं तत्परार्थेनापादितत्वादिति भवदेवभट्टाः । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 208.

681 यस्य दृश्येत सप्ताहादुक्तसाक्ष्यस्य साक्षिणः । अत्र यद्यपि भवदेवेन कृतदिव्यस्येति लिखितं तथाप्युक्तसाक्ष्यस्येत्यभिधानादकृतदिव्यस्यापि द्रष्टव्यं कृतदिव्यस्येति प्रायोवादः । विवादचन्द्र (folio 51a of D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84); 'भवदेवेन तु न रोगाभिघातमरणं शुद्धिं तस्य विनिर्दिशेदिति लिखितम् ।' *ibid* (folio 55 b).

682 अत्र भवदेवभट्टः । न च सुमन्तुवचनेन नाततायिवधदोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणादित्यनेन विरोधः सूत्रच्छेदापरिज्ञानात् । तथाहि सूत्रद्वयमिदम् । आततायिवधे नेत्येकम् । दोषोऽन्यत्रेत्यपरम् । गोब्राह्मणात्स्नातः प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यादित्यन्यत् । वीर० p. 22.

683 Vide स. वि. p. 154 (Mysore ed.). and वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 5. 189 (I. O. cat. No. 915 folio 50a).

684 It begins चतुर्वदनसद्वारश्चतुर्वेदकुटुम्बिने । द्विजानुष्ठेयसत्कर्मसाक्षिणे ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ गृह्यसूत्रार्थमालोक्य छन्दोगानामियं क्रमात् । कृता श्रीभवदेवेन कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धतिः ॥

the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Brāhmaṇas who study the Sāmaveda. The principal subjects are :—The *Homa* to the nine planets (*Navagraha-homa*), *mātṛpūjā*, *pāṇigrahaṇa* and other essential rites of marriage, *homa* on the fourth day after marriage, garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, soṣyantīhoma (*homa* when a woman is on the point of delivery), jātakarma, niṣkramaṇa, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, samāvartana (the student's returning from the teacher's house after finishing his studies), Śālākarma (first entrance in a new house).

Another work of Bhavadeva, who is styled Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga therein, is the Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa (I. O. cat. No. 1725 p. 554, Mitra's notices, vol. IX, No. 3138, pp. 214-15). In that work he mentions over 25 smṛtikāras, the Matsya and Bhaviṣya purāṇas, Viśvarūpa, Śrikara and Bāloka (? Bālaka). This work was held in high esteem, as the Smṛtiratnākara[685] of Vedācārya places Bhavadeva after Manu among the authorities on prāyaścitta that he follows. The Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda (B. I. series) quotes a text from Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on the prāyaścitta for eating in a solar or lunar eclipse (p. 106).

There is yet another work of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa called Tautātita-matatilak, a ms. of which exists in the India Office (cat. No. 1591). It is doubtful whether that ms. contains the whole of the work. That work is concerned with elucidating the doctrines of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā system from the standpoint of Kumārilabhaṭṭa (who is also called Tautātita). From the colophons at the end and elsewhere it appears that the work was intended to explain Jaimini I. 4 and II. 1, but in the body of the work contained in the Ms. only sūtras from the first *pāda* of the 2nd adhyāya are dwelt upon. Bhavadeva is styled Bālavalabhībhujaṅga here also and invokes a terrific curse[686] upon those who would borrow from his work without acknowledg-

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685 मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रार्थं भवदेवादिसंमतम् । प्रायश्चित्तमहं वक्ष्ये विज्ञाय पापनिष्कृतौ ॥ स्मृतिरत्नाकर (I. O. cat. p. 473).

686 The colophon at the end is इति श्रीबालवलभीभुजङ्गापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ तौतातितमततिलके द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः । यो नाम कश्चिदिह संविदितं प्रमेयं ग्रन्थान्तरे लिखति वा वदति स्वयं वा । मत्कर्तृतामननुकीर्त्य स कीर्तिलोपान्निःसंततिर्जगति जन्मशतानि भूयात् ॥

ing their debt. The work opens with the well-known sūtra 'bhāvārthāḥ karmaśabdāḥ &c. (Jaimini II. 1. 1). It goes on explaining the principal topics of Jaimini's 2nd adhyāya, first *pāda*. The sūtras explained are II. 1. 1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40 46-49. It mentions the bhāṣyakāra (Śabara), Vārtika (folio 12 a), Gurumata (17b), Prabhākara (21b), Vārtikakārapāda (22 b, in the plural). It frequently quotes kārikās from the Tantravārtika with the words 'taduktam.' Hemādri[687] quotes Bhavadeva's explanation of the words of Kumārila allowing an option between *jāghanya* and *ājya* and disapproves of it. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 5527 for the same work.

Unexpected light is thrown on the personal history of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa by an inscription found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District of Orissa edited by Kielhorn in E. I. vol. VI, p. 203, which eulogises Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bālavalabhībhujaṅga applied to the latter.[688] The eulogy is composed by a person called Vācaspatikavi. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvarṇa gotra of the Kauthumi school of the Sāmaveda. The family belonged to Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍha (west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges). Bhavadeva's remote ancestor Bhavadeva obtained in gift the *agrahāra* of Hastinibhiṭṭa from the Gauḍa king. The father of Bhavadeva was Govardhana, a warrior and a scholar. His mother was Saṅgokā, daughter of a Vandhyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa. With the advice of Bhavadeva king Harivarmadeva is said to have reigned long in prosperity. Bhavadeva is stated in the above mentioned inscription to have composed works on *horā* (astrology), *smṛti*, and *mīmāṁsā*. Bhavadeva is eulogised as a great builder. He constructed a reservoir of water in Rāḍhā, he set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa and founded a temple in which he placed images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, ann Nṛsiṁha. He also gave

687 तथा च जाघन्याधिकरणसिद्धान्ते जाघन्याज्ययोर्विकल्पे वार्तिककृतोक्ते भवदेवेनोक्तम्। इदं त्विह वक्तव्यम्। कथं सामान्यविहितेनाज्येन विशेषविहितजाघन्यविकल्पः सर्वत्र सामान्यविशेषशास्त्रयोर्बाध्यबाधकभावोपलब्धेः। नैतत्। द्वयोरपि विशेषशास्त्रत्वात्। &c. चतुर्वर्ग० (कालनिर्णय) p. 120 Vide also p. 404 for another reference to भवदेव.

688 यस्य खलु बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नादृतं केन। मीमांसयापि सपुलकमाकर्णितवर्णितोद्गीतम्॥ verse 24.

to Harimedhas female attendants, dug a tank and laid out a garden. Neither Kielhorn nor Chakravarti has attempted any explanation of the epithet Bālavalabhībhujaṅga. I hazard an explanation. Bhavadeva probably made some innovation in the structure of the roofs or balconies of the temples he built and he was therefore styled a lover (a gallant or paramour) of little (*bāla*-small sized or girlish) *valabhis*. From the nature of the character Kielhorn conjectured that the inscription belonged to the 12th century A. D.

The date of Bhavadeva can be approximately settled to be about 1100 A. D. as he is quoted by Hemādri, the Vivadacandra of Misaru and the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. He is certainly earlier than 1200 A. D. A period of at least half a century must have elapsed before a Bengal writer like Bhavadeva came to be looked upon as an authority on mīmāṁsā by Hemādri who wrote in distant Berar. It appears that he was quoted in the Karmopadeśini of Aniruddha (I. O. cat. No. 1853, p. 474). But that Ms. is bound up with another work by a later author and the reference in the cat. is not quite clear. If we rely on the Viramitrodaya, a work called Pradīpa criticised the views of Bhavadeva on the verse of Yāj. II. 24 (about adverse possession for 20 and 10 years). Bhavadeva held that twenty years' enjoyment of immovable property by a stranger implied that the real owner meant to abandon it for the benefit of the stranger enjoying it, that such abandonment for the enjoyment of another leads to the inference of the extinction of previous ownership and that the property being abandoned by the owner in favour of the stranger who takes hold of it, ownership also (of the stranger) arises. The Pradīpa[689] points out that it does not invariably follow

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689 भवदेवस्तु ... तस्मादेवं वाच्यं यदयं यथेक्तो भोगः पूर्वस्वामिनः भोक्तुरुद्देशेन त्यागात् तत्स्वत्वध्वंसमर्थापयति अनुमापयति वा । ... तथा च तदुद्देशेन त्यक्ते तत्परिग्रहणादेव परस्य तत्र स्वत्वमप्युपपद्यते । ... अत्र प्रदीपकृतः । यदा हि मत्कृत्ये- (ष्ये ?) दानीं नात्र फलसम्भावना तदधुना तावत्पर एव भुक्ता (भुंक्तां ?) पश्चादेतत्सकाशात्सफलोपभोगां भुवं ग्रहीष्यामीत्यभिसंधाय भूम्यादिस्वामी तत्र परोपभोगं क्षमते तत्रापि विंशत्यभ्यधिको भोगोस्ति स्वामिनस्तदुद्देशेन त्यागश्च नास्तीति व्यभिचारान्नेदृशभोगस्य पूर्वस्वामिस्वत्वत्यागे प्रामाण्यम् । किं च भूस्वामी सचेताः किमिति वृथैव तत्र स्वत्वं जह्यात् । न ह्यत्र दृष्टमुद्देश्यं नाप्यदृष्टं धर्मशास्त्रोक्तेतिकर्तव्यताविरहात् । ... नापि यदुद्देशेन यत्त्यज्यते तत्तस्य स्वामिति नियमः । उद्देश्येनागृहीते व्यभिचारात् । वीर० p. 212-14.

that, because a srranger is allowed to enjoy land, the owner intends to abandon the land for the stranger, nor is it an invariable rule that what is abandoned for another becomes the property of that other. It will be shown later on that the Pradīpa must have been composed before 1150 A. D. Hence it follows that Bhavadeva flourished about 1100. He cannot be very much earlier than that, as he is not mentioned by any writer of the 11th century and as he not only mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara, but also writers who criticised Prabhākara's views.

There were several other later persons named Bhavadeva who wrote on topics of Dharmaśāstra such as Bhavadeva, author of Dānadharmaprakriyā (middle of 17th century), and Bhavadeva, the author of Smṛticandrikā, who flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

On Bhavadeva's Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati there is a commentary called Saṁsārapaddhatirahasya.

74. Prakāśa.

A work called Prakāśa has been quoted by very early *nibandhakāras*. The Kalpataru quotes the interpretation of Prakāśa, Halāyudha and Kāmadhenu on a verse of Kātyāyana.[690] The Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites the views of Prakāśa scores of times (e. g. p. 131, 145, 456, 460, 462, 474, 485, 504 etc). Frequently Prakāśa is coupled with Pārijāta (e. g. p. 497). On page 518 of the Vivādaratnākara a remark of Prakāśa wherein both Asahāya and Medhātithi are named is cited.[691] The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes a passage of Saṁvarta with Prakāśa's explanation of it.[692] In the Śrāddhasaukhya of Ṭodarānanda Prakāśa's explanation

690 Vide note 521 above. On पणे जित:, one of the 15 kinds of *dāsas* enumerated by नारद, the कल्पतरु quotes the remarks of the प्रकाश ' यद्यस्मिन्विवादे पराजितो भवामीत्यादिपरिभाषणेन दासीभूत: स पणेजित इति प्रकाशपारिजातौ ।' (folio 368 of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

691 पित्रा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमात्रोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथी इति (॰ थी इति) प्रकाशकार: । वि. र. (on मनु 9. 198). Vide p. 509 of वि. र. where प्रकाश cites मेधातिथि alone ' पत्युरनुज्ञानेनाप्यदत्तोऽप्यलङ्कारो यो मण्डनार्थं धृत: सोपि दायादैर्न हर्तव्य इति मेधातिथिरिति प्रकाश: '.

692 ' संवर्त: । सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम् । हाटकक्षितिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥ गौर्यत्र गाव: प्रकरणात् । गौरी अष्टवर्षा कन्येति प्रकाश: । ' दानरत्नाकर (D.C. ms. No. 114 of 1884–86 folio 52 b).

of the word 'Yānevata' occurring in a passage of Śaṅkha about the fruits allowed in śrāddha is quoted.[693]

These quotations establish that Prakāśa was a work that not only dealt with vyavahāra, but also with such topics as *dāna*, *śrāddha* etc.

Whether the Prakāśa was an independent work or a commentary is somewhat doubtful. But from a passage of the Vivādaratnākara it seems to follow that it was a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. There we are told that the Kalpataru[694] read 'abhijānatā' for 'avijānatā' in Yāj. II. 258, but that since that reading is opposed to Yājñavalkya-prakāśa, Halāyudha and Pārijāta it must be, regarded as a wrong reading. As it is a reading of Yāj. himself that was being discussed, it would be somewhat strange if it were said that it was opposed to Yāj. and Prakāśa and therefore it is necessary to suppose that Yājñavalkyaprakāśa is one work.

The Vivādacintāmaṇi in several places gives the explanation of Prakāśa.[695] The Smṛtisāra[696] gives at great length the explanation of Prakāśa on the controversial verses of Yāj. (II. 138-139). The Vīramitrodaya[697] quotes at length Prakāśa's explanation of Manu (9. 207) and disapproves of it on the ground (among others) that the verse can more clearly be explained so as to convey

693 'आम्रान्यानेवतानिक्षुमृद्वीकाभव्यदाडिमान् । . . . श्राद्धकालोपपादयेत् ॥ यानेवतः काश्मीरे बोड इति प्रसिद्धः । प्राचीनामलकमिति प्रकाशकारः । ' श्राद्धसौख्य folio 42 a (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884–87).

694 कल्पतरौ तु अविजानतेति स्थाने अभिजानतेति पाठो दर्शितः स तु याज्ञवल्क्यप्रकाश-हलायुध-पारिजातविरोधात् प्रमादपाठ इति लक्षितः । वि. र. p. 198.

695 विद्ययापि साधारणधनानुपश्लेषेण यदार्जितं तदेवाविभाज्यमिति प्रकाशकारः । तन्न उभयोपादानानर्थक्यात् । वि. चि. p. 135 : ' परिसंख्यानयलात्पितृभ्रातृपितृव्यैरेव विभागपूर्वकं धनमेलनं संसर्ग इति प्रकाशः ।' वि. चि. p. 157 ; vide pp. 130, 140 also.

696 प्रकाशे तु मृतस्य संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्ट्यपहरेत् गृह्णीयात् । विभागकाले अज्ञातगर्भाया पितृभार्याया पश्चादुत्पन्नस्यासंसृष्टयेव दद्यात् । सोदरस्य तु संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्टी सोदरो गृह्णीयान्न भिन्नोदरः संसृष्ट्यपीति पूर्वोक्तस्यापवादः । अन्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी धनं गृह्णीयादिति शेषः । नान्योदर्यधनं हरेदिति संसृष्ट्यपीत्यनेन संबध्यते &c. स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 148 b).

697 Vide वीर० p. 572 ; the same also occurs in वि. चि. p. 130.

a meaning similar to that of Yāj. II. 116. The Prakāśa is mentioned in the Dāyatattva (vol. II, p. 173) and in the Śuddhitattva (vol. II, p. 288).

As the Prakāśa is quoted in the Kalpataru it is certainly earlier than 1125. It mentions Medhātithi. Besides the Mit. does not refer to it. There is room for thinking that it follows the Mit. Yāj. II. 116 is, according to the Vivādaratnākara,[698] explained by the Prakāśa in almost the same words as the Mit. It is possible that both borrow from the same original. At all events the Prakāśa must have been composed between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

Hemādri frequently cites a work called Mahārnavaprakāśa.[699] According to the latter the sandal unguents, flowers, incense, lamp presented in śrāddha are to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas invited and not to the *pitṛs*. In another place Hemādri quotes the explanation of the word '*nimantraṇa*'[700] given by the Mahārṇavaprakāśa. In some places Hemādri refers to a work called Smṛtimahārṇava or simply Mahārnava.[701] It appears to me that all these three are the names of the same work. The question then arises whether the Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa is the same as the Prakāśa mentioned by the Kalpataru and Caṇḍeśvara. In the present state of our knowledge it appears that they are identical. The Madanapārijāta (p. 93) quotes a verse from the Smṛtimahārṇava about *upākarma*.

75. Pārijāta.

Several works bear the appellation Pārijāta such as the Vidhānapārijāta (composed in 1625 A. D.), the Madanapārijāta (about 1375 A. D.) and the Prayogapārijata (between 1400-1500). But

698 अत्रापि प्रकाशः किंचिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कर्तव्यः तत्पुत्राणां विवादनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति । वि. र. p. 485 ; यत्किंचिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कार्यः पित्रा । तत्पुत्रादीनां दायजिघृक्षा मा भूदिति । मिताक्षरा.

699 किं गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपाच्छादनानि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयान्युत पितृभ्य इति । तत्र तावद्वचनार्थदर्शनन्यायोपलब्धेर्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयानीति महार्णवप्रकाशकारो मन्यते । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 1031.

700 निमन्त्रणं नाम दैवपित्र्यकार्यार्थोऽवश्यागन्तव्यो नियोग इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः । अध्येषणपूर्वकमभ्युपगमसंपादनमिति मेधातिथिमहार्णवप्रकाशकारौ । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 1131 ; vide also p. 1151 for another reference to महार्णवप्रकाश.

701 तथा च स्मृतिमहार्णवे आह बुधः । गर्भाष्टमे वर्षे वसन्ते ब्राह्मण आत्मानमुपनाययेत् । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 112 ; on pp. 183, 545 of the same only महार्णव occurs.

there was an ancient work called Pārijāta quoted by even some of the earliest *nibandhakāras*. The Kalpataru several times quotes the views of a work called Pārijāta. The Prakāśa and Pārijāta are frequently mentioned[702] together in the Kalpataru and the Vivādaratnākara. The latter regarded the Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Halāyudha and Prakāśa as its most eminent predecessors.[703] The Dānaratnākara[704] quotes several times the views of Pārijāta on gifts. The Smṛtisāra of Harinātha sets out at length the order of succession to a sonless man according to the Pārijāta (vide I. O. Ms. No. 301, folio 134 a). One of the striking opinions of the Pārijāta was that the widow of a sonless man should raise offspring by *niyoga* and give the wealth of the deceased to the son so born.

From the above it appears that the Pārijāta was an independent work on *vyavahāra*, *dāna* and other topics. Being quoted by the Kalpataru it was earlier than 1125 A. D. and as it held views similar to those of Bhojadeva and Halāyudha on the widow's rights and as it is not quoted by the Mit. or other earlier works it must be assigned to a date between 1000-1125 A. D. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 356 the learned judges hold that the Pārijāta frequently cited as an authority by the Vivādaratnākara is the Madanapārijāta. But this is entirely wrong. The latter work, it will be shown (*vide* sec. 93), was composed about 1375, while the Vivādaratnākara was composed about 1320 A. D. Hence the Pārijāta of the Vivādaratnākara is the ancient work mentioned in the Kalpataru.

76. Govindarāja.

The commentary of Govindarāja on the Manusmṛti was published by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik and a portion of it was published by

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702 कात्यायनः । विण्मूत्रोत्सर्जनं चैव नग्नत्वपरिमर्दनम् । प्रायो दासीसुताः कुर्युः कचादिग्रहणं च यत् ॥ नग्नत्वपरिमर्दनं परिधापनम् । नग्नत्वं परिमर्दनं संवाहनमिति पारिजातः । कल्पतरु folio 368 (Benares S. College Transcript) ; vide notes 649 and 690 above.

703 कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे । यत्सारमस्मादधिकं च यत्तद्बुधाति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ verse at the end of वि. र.

704 ऋत्विग्भ्यस्तु दक्षिणामात्रम् । भूपालसागरपारिजातादयोप्येवम् । दानरत्नाकर folio 28 a ; अथवा तुलापुरुषवदर्धं गुरवे निवेद्यार्धमृत्विग्भ्यो दद्यादिति पारिजातः । *ibid* folio 28 b (about कामधेनुप्रदान).

Dr. Jolly in the Manuṭīkāsaṁgraha. In his commentary[705] on Manu III. 247 and 248 he tells us that he has treated at greater length the subject of those verses in his own work called Smṛtimañjarī. Kullūka[706] in his comment on Manu IV. 212 twits Govindarāja with having explained '*ugra*' in one way in his commentary on Manu and in a different way in his Mañjarī. A Ms. of a portion of the Smṛtimañjarī exists in the India Office (cat. p. 471).

From these two works a brief account of the personal history of Govindarāja can be extracted. The colophons at the end of the Manuṭīkā describe Govindarāja as the son of bhaṭṭa Mādhava. The first verse[707] of the Smṛtimañjarī and one at the end (though somewhat corrupt) give the information that he was the son of Mādhava and grand-son of Nārāyaṇa and appears to have lived on the holy banks of the Ganges.[708] Those who like Sarvadhikari identify Govindarāja with Govindacandra, prince of Benares, are therefore entirely wrong since he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a Kṣatriya. The first verse[709] of his Manuṭīkā contains an obeisance to god (or Śiva) and states that he had received the śāstra of Manu in an unbroken tradition of teacher and pupil and that he had examined previous commentaries of Manu.

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705 'साधितं चैतत्सविस्तरं स्मृतिमञ्जर्यामृजुपञ्जिकायां च । इह तु ग्रन्थकारभयान्न प्रतार्यते (प्रस्तीर्यते ?)' on मनु III. 247 ; 'इति सपिण्डीकरणसांवत्सरिकेपि स्मृतिमञ्जर्यामृजुपञ्जिकायां विस्तरतो निरूप्येते' on मनु III. 248.

706 गोविन्दराजो मञ्जर्यामुग्रं राजानमुक्तवान् । मनुवृत्तौ च शूद्रायां क्षत्रियोत्पन्नमभ्यधात् ॥

707 स्मृतिविरचितैस्तैस्तैर्वाक्यैर्दुरुक्तिपराङ्मुखीमसिलकललभ्यालुप्तार्थामतो मतसंहतिम् । अति-सदसिलो गोविन्दाख्यश्चिरं गुरुसंश्रयादुपचिततनुर्ज्ञानामोदः स माधवनन्दनः ॥ स्मृतिमञ्जरी 1st verse.

708 स्मृतिमञ्जरी folio 150 b 'स्ववाहिनीपुलिनलाञ्छनलब्धकीर्तिर्नारायणस्य तनयात्मज उच्चिचकाय । वाक्यावलीमसिलसञ्चरणावतंसाद् (तंसा ?) गोविन्दराज इह माधव इह सूरिः (? इह माधवसूरिरार्यः) ॥'.

709 संसाराध्वगतागतक्रमतृषापीयूषमीशं शनैर्ध्यात्वानर्गलसंप्रदायगुरुतः प्राप्ते मनोः शासने । दृष्ट्वा ग्रन्थकृदाशयाननुसृतिं व्याख्यान्तराणामिमां टीकां [illegible]दाशयानुसारिणीं गोविन्दराजो व्यधात् ॥

The Smṛtis mentioned by him in the two works of his are given below.[710] Besides he mentions the Vāyupurāṇa (on Manu III. 232) and Purāṇa in general (on Manu I. 74 and 80). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras, also the Bahvṛcagṛhyapariśiṣṭa, the Yoga-sūtra. He says (on Manu 2. 23) that Mleccha countries like Āndhra and others were not fit for performing sacrifices. He appears to have held like Medhātithi the view that *mokṣa* was to be attained by a combination of *jñāna* and *karma*.[711] As compared with the bhāṣya of Medhātithi his commentary is very concise. Kullūka largely drew upon Medhātithi and Govindarāja, mentions them hundreds of times, criticizes[712] both of them and particularly holds up Govindarāja to ridicule often enough.[713] Kullūka notes that Govindarāja in opposition to Medhātithi and Bhojadeva arranged Manu 8. 181-184 differently (putting 8. 182 as the last of those four verses). In the printed edition there is no comment of Govindarāja on the verses of the 9th chapter from verse 72. But it appears that the Dāyabhāga had that part of the commentary, as it quotes the views of Govindarāja on the rights of the daughter's son which could have appeared only on Manu IX. 130-136.

A few words may now be said about the Smṛtimañjarī, Mss. of which are rare. At the end of the India office Ms. a summary of the contents of the whole work is given (for which see footnote

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710 अङ्गिरस्, आपस्तम्ब, उशनस्, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, काश्यप, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पैठीनसि, प्रचेतस्, बृहत्प्रचेतस्, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, वृद्धशातातप, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संवर्त, सुमन्तु, हारीत.

711 On मनु 2. 28 गोविन्दराज says ' ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयान्मोक्षावाप्तिः '.

712 Note the following where गोविन्दराज is criticized by कुल्लूक. मनु. II. 122, 127 ; III. 11, 53, 127, 129, 285 ; IV. 7, 162 ; VI. 14, 79, 86 ; VII. 94, 211 ; VIII. 37, 142-143, 184, 333 ; IX. 68, 136, 141, 162, 206 ; X. 3 ; XI. 82, 180 ; XII. 86.

713 On मनु II. 125, III. 50 and VIII. 37 गोविन्दराज is held up to special ridicule. इत्थं गोविन्दराजेन विशेषमविवृण्वता । व्युत्क्रमश्लोकनमृतौ स्वदारसुरतं यतेः ॥ on मनु III. 50 ; स्वेषु तिष्ठत्स्विति पदद्वितयं न विवक्षितम् । इमां गोविन्दराजस्य राजाज्ञां नाद्रियामहे ॥ on मनु V. 104. It should be noted that the printed text of गोविन्दराज on मनु V. 104 is corrupt as it reads ' स्वेषु तिष्ठत्सु विवक्षितम् '.

below).[714] It appears that the Smṛtimañjarī dealt with all principal topics of dharmaśāstra such as the saṁskāras, the daily duties viz: bath, saṁdhyā, brahmayajña, the duties of the student, householder, the forest hermit, and the *saṁnyāsin*, the duties of the four *varṇas*, gifts, the purifications of various materials, foods forbidden and allowed, impurity on birth and death, *sapiṇḍas* and *samānodakas*, funeral rites, *śrāddha* and its various details, prāyaścitta. The ms. in the India office deals with the *adhikārī* for prāyascitta, the *parṣat* (i. e. the assembly of learned men who are to determine what prāyaścitta is to be prescribed), the means of atoning for sins and violations of religious duties, the prāyaścittas for the *mahāpātakas* (viz. the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, drinking wine, theft of gold, incest) and for other lesser and similar sins, meaning of the word prāyaścitta, prāyaścittas for killing men of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra classes and for killing women, prāyaścittas for the killing of a cow and of various beasts and birds, prāyaścittas for eating forbidden or polluted food and for selling articles forbidden to be sold, secret *prāyaścittas*. The India Office Ms. which deals only with *prāyaścittas* contains 152 folios. This gives us an idea as to how extensive the whole work must have been

714 अस्य सम्प्रतिपत्तयं काण्डानि लिख्यन्ते । तत्रादौ परिभाषाकाण्डं गर्भाधानादि उपनयनादि । संध्योपासनविधिः । अन्ये ब्रह्मचारिधर्माः । अध्ययनादि । पुनरन्ये ब्रह्मचारिधर्माः । ब्रह्मयज्ञविधिः । विवाहादिगृहस्थधर्माः । शूद्रधर्माः । वृत्त्युपदेशाः । स्नानविधिः । यमनियमकाण्डम । प्रास्थानिकम् । दानविधिः स्वापविधिः प्रोषितभर्तृकाधर्माः । द्रव्यशुद्धिः मूत्रादिशौचं आचमननिमित्तानि द्विराचमननिमित्तानि आचमनापवादाः । आचमनविधिः । अत्रैव प्रतिषेध्याः । कमण्डलुचर्या । अन्यदाचमनगतम् । स्नानशुद्धिः । सचेलानि । प्रक्षालनादिशौचम् । इति कायिकम् । सौवर्णादिशौचं वेलादिशौचं तथा सिद्धान्नादि भूम्यादि उदकादि अशुद्ध्यपवादाः । भोजनविधिः । भक्ष्याभक्ष्यप्रकरणम् । प्रेतशुद्धिः । ब्राह्मणाशौचं क्षत्रियाद्याशौचं जननाशौचं, अनुजाताद्याशौचं स्त्रियाशौचं सपिण्डसमानोदकत्वं बीजसंबन्ध्याद्याशौचं देशान्तरमृताशौचमाचार्याशौचमनेकाशौचसंनिपाताद्याशौचम् । निर्हरणादि । अनुगमनाद्याशौचम् । उदकक्रियादि पिण्डदानादि । अस्थिसंचयः । उदकादिनिषेधः । स्पर्शाशौचम् । यमनियमाः । श्राद्धप्रकरणम् । कालादि । ब्राह्मणपरीक्षा । भोजनीयाः । वर्षाभिमन्त्रणादि । देशः कालः । अत्रेतिकर्तव्यता । ब्राह्मणसंख्या । पुनरन्येतिकर्तव्यता । अमावास्यादिश्राद्धम् । एकोद्दिष्टं सपिण्डीकरणम् । आब्दिकं मातृश्राद्धम । अन्ये श्राद्धधर्माः । वृद्धिश्राद्धम् । वानप्रस्थकाण्डं प्रव्रजितकाण्डम् । शूद्रधर्मकाण्डम् । अनुलोमप्रतिलोम । तद्वृत्त्युपदेशकाण्डम् । प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डम् ।

embracing as it did the entire field of dharmaśāstra. In the body of the work contained in the Ms. frequent references occur to other parts of[715] the Smṛtimañjarī such as saṁskārakāṇḍa, the abhakṣya-kāṇḍa, the śrāddhakāṇḍa. One interesting fact about Govindarāja is that, though a northerner, he permitted[716] marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter and said that the prohibition against marrying a girl of the maternal uncle's *gotra* applies only to the son of a *putrikā*. The Ms. in the India Office is an ancient one, being copied in *saṁvat* 1467, Aśvina dark half, Saturday (i. e. October 1411 A. D.) during the reign of Mahārāṇa Udayasiṁha at Vasurāvī (modern Vasravi in the territory of the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda).

Dr. Jolly (Manuṭīkāsaṁgraha, preface page 1 and R. u. S. p. 31) and Dr. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. cxxvii) assigned Govindarāja to the 12th or 13th century. But this date is not correct, as the following discussion will show. Kullūka (vide note 588 above) expressly says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja. Though Medhātithi is nowhere expressly named in his commentary by Govindarāja,[717] the latter appears to have several times criticised

715 पतिवित्त्यादयः संस्कारकाण्डे व्याख्याताः । folio 41 a ; व्रात्याः संस्कारकाण्ड उक्ताः । folio 106 a ; मांसादयो भक्ष्यकाण्डादौ व्याख्याताः folio 58.

716 मातुलस्य सुतामूढ्वा मातृगोत्रां तथैव च । समानप्रवरां चैव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ नियोगोत्पादितमातुलसुताग्रहणार्थं मातुलस्य सुतामित्येतत् । अन्यथैतन्मातृगोत्रां तथैव चेत्यनेनैव गतार्थं स्यात् । अत्र मातृगोत्रपरिणयननिषेधः पुत्रिकापुत्रविषयः । यतः पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारका इति । तथा पञ्चमीं मातृबन्धुभ्य इत्येवमादिवाक्यानां परस्परविरुद्धानि च वाक्यानि श्राद्धप्रकरणे उक्तानि । शिष्टैश्चानुष्ठितत्वात् । folio 95 a.

717 On मनु III. 126 गोविन्दराज says ' यत्तु न त्वेकं सर्वेषां पिण्डे व्याख्यातमिति गृह्यदर्शनात्, निमन्त्रयेत त्र्यवरान् (मनु III. 187) इति चेहाभिधानात्, एकैकमुभयत्र वा इत्यस्य विस्तरप्रतिषेधार्थवादत्वमाह तदसत्; ' मेधातिथि does quote the passage of the आश्वलायनगृह्य and the verse of मनु (III. 187); on मनु I. 103 गोविन्दराज says ' यथार्थवादार्थत्वमस्य श्लोकस्य केचिदुक्तं तदसिद्धयर्थप्रतीतेः (!) । यत्तु अधीयीरंस्त्रयो वर्णाः (मनु X. 1) इत्यादि स वेदविषयोनुवाद इति व्याख्यास्यामः '; मेधातिथि does take the verse as an अर्थवाद and says ' नात्र कश्चिद्विधिरस्ति '; on मनु XI. 178 मेधातिथि says ' वृषल्यत्र चण्डाल्यभिप्रेता ' and गोविन्दराज says ' यत्तु चण्डाल्यत्र वृषलीति व्याचक्षते तदसत् '. Vide also गोविन्दराज on मनु 2. 201, 3. 160, 4. 119, 4. 222, 5. 134, 8. 293, 10. 28.

Medhātithi. Another important circumstance is that though the Mit. mentions Medhātithi and Bhojadeva as great authorities it is silent about Govindarāja. Hence it follows that Govindarāja could not have flourished earlier than Bhojadeva, i. e. earlier than about 1050 A. D. In the Hāralatā of Aniruddha (which as we shall see later on must have been composed about 1160 A. D.) Govindarāja is quoted several times and is looked upon as a great authority like Viśvarūpa, Bhojadeva and Kāmadhenu.[718] This shows that Govindarāja could not have flourished later than 1125 A. D. The Dāyabhāga[719] (in *Duhitradhikāra*) disapproves of the view of Govindarāja who placed the daughter's son before a married daughter as an heir. In his Kālaviveka[720] also Jīmūtavāhana refers to Govindarāja in the same breath with Bhojarāja and Viśvarūpa. In his Vyavahāramātṛkā[721] he refers to Mañjarīkāra as having held the same view as Viśvarūpa. Mañjarī here must be taken to be the Smṛtimañjarī of Govindarāja, since Jīmūtavāhana in his other works refers to Govindarāja, since Kullūka also speaks of the Mañjarī of Govindarāja (vide note 706 above) and since there is no other known ancient work of that name on dharmaśāstra. This shows that the Mañjarī comprised a discussion on *vyavahāra* also. Hemādri[722] tells that the author of the work called Paṇḍitaparitoṣa refuted the views of Govindarāja on the performance of śrāddha on the 13th *tithi* by a man having a son. This shows that Govindarāja must have preceded Hemādri (who wrote in the latter half of the 13th century) by at least a century or more. The Smṛtyarthasāra[723] of Śrīdhara relies on the views of Govindarāja in its section on

718 Vide note 592 above. ' इति गोविन्दराजमतानि वृद्धपक्षेणैवबन्धनात् ' हारलता p. 166; गोविन्दराजविश्वरूपकामधेनुकृद्भिरप्येतन्मतमेव समर्थितम् । हारलता p. 174.

719 यथा गोविन्दराजेन मनुटीकायाम्–अपुत्रापुत्रसमवाये दौहित्र एवाधिकारी, मतः–उतदृष्टवचनबलेन ऊढायाः प्रागेव दौहित्रस्याधिकारो दर्शितः । न चायमर्थो न रोचते । दायभाग.

720 यद्यपि भोजराजविश्वरूपगोविन्दराजैरियं तथा न लिखितानि तथाप्युपन्यस्य व्याख्यायन्ते । कालविवेक p. 304

721 मञ्जरीकारस्यापि विश्वरूपसमानत्वमतम् समानमेव दूषणम् । व्यवहारमातृका p. 347.

722 पण्डितपरितोषकारस्त्वेवं गोविन्दराजमतं प्रतिक्षिप ... अस्मादृशैर्यावन्मनोज्ञे गोविन्दराजव्याख्याने नादरः कार्यः । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2. p. 481.

723 संन्यासस्य विधिं कृत्स्नं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः । गोविन्दराजस्य मतं बौधायनमतं यथा ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार । p. 96.

saṁnyāsa. A greater approximation as to the date of Govindarāja can be made if it can be held that a passage of the Kalpataru[784] refers to Govindarāja by the word 'Vṛttikāra' where he quotes the explanation of the word 'anapasara' occurring in Manu 8. 198 given by Bhāguri, Medhātithi and Vṛttikāra. Govindarāja does explain that word in that way. If Govindarāja is mentioned in the Kalpataru, the former must be earlier than 1100 A. D. Even if he be not mentioned as Vṛttikāra by the Kalpataru still he must have flourished before 1140 A. D. as he is named by the Hāralatā. Hence the period of Govindarāja is between 1050 to 1100 or 1140 A. D. Govindarāja will have to be pushed back between 1050-1080 A. D. if Jīmūtavāhana flourished between 1090 to 1140 A. D., as is held by many. But as the latter's date is a very controversial subject, no argument is based on his date in the preceding discussion.

77. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara

This work exercised great influence over the early writers of Mithilā, Bengal and northern India in general. It was a very extensive work, but unfortunately no complete Ms. of the whole work has yet been found, nor has any portion of it been printed.

The work was divided into several kāṇḍas. The Mss. generally point out the position of each kāṇḍa in the whole work, i. e. the rājadharmakāṇḍa is described as the 11th kāṇḍa and vyavahāra as the 12th. The whole work is described as Kṛtyakalpataru or simply Kalpataru and some times it is paraphrased into Kalpadruma or Kalpavṛkṣa (as in the Vivādaratnākara, note 652 above). The most complete Ms. at present known is that in the library of the Mahārāna of Udaipur (Peterson's First Report 1883, pp. 108-111) which contains 12 kāṇḍas (the first being incomplete) and has 1108 folios. I was able to see three kāṇḍas, viz. Rājadharma, Vyavahāra and Dāna.

In the colophons and introductory verses the author is said to be Lakṣmīdhara, son of Bhaṭṭa-Hṛdayadhara and to have been the minister for peace and war of king Govindacandra. The intro-

784 अनपसरः अपसारस्तत्त्वेन स्वामिनः सकाशाद्धनमिति प्रतिग्रहादिधनागमापायोऽपसरः स न विद्यते यस्य स तथा । एतच्च भागुरिमेधातिथिवृत्तिकाराणां मतम् । कल्पतरु folio 332 (of the Benares S. College transcript). This very passage of the कल्पतरु is quoted in the वि. र. p. 104, thereby showing that it is a genuine text.

ductory[725] verse to the Rājadharma-kāṇḍa says that it was the skilful statesmanship of Lakṣmīdhara that enabled Govindacandrā to vanquish his opponents. The colophon at the end of the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa conveys the information that Lakṣmīdhara was directed by king Govindacandra to compose the work. The work is in the nature of a digest. It brings together various passages of smṛtis, purāṇas and other works on the several topics of *dharma* with brief explanations and comments. Though the work is much vaster than the Mit. it is inferior to the latter in acumen, erudition, comprehensive grasp of principles and powers of exegesis. The kāṇḍas are arranged in the following order in the Mss. so far found :— (1) Brahmacāri, (2) Gṛhastha, (3) Naiyatakāla (or-kālikā), (4) Śrāddha, (5) Dāna, (6) Pratiṣṭhā, (7) wanting, (8) Tirtha, (9) wanting, (10) Śuddhi, (11) Rājadharma, (12) Vyavahāra, (13) Śānti (or Śāntika-pauṣṭika), (14) Mokṣa. M. M. Chakravarti suggests (JASB. 1915 pp. 358–359) that the 7th and 9th were probably Pūjā-kāṇḍa and Prāyaścitta-kāṇḍa. In the several Tattvas of Raghunandana ten of these kāṇḍas are named, viz. brahmacāri, naiyatakālika, śrāddha, dāna, pratiṣṭhā, tīrtha, prāyaścitta (in Prāyaścitta-tattva p. 522, vol. I), vivāda (in Prāyaścitta-tattva p. 533, vol. I), śāntika-pauṣṭika (in Malamāsatattva p. 796, vol. I) and uttaramīmāṁsā, i. e. mokṣa (in Ekādaśītattva p. 9, vol. II).

The Vyavahāra portion of the Kalpataru contained the usual topics, viz : the king's duty to look into the litigation of the people, the judge, the constitution of the *sabhā*, meaning of vyavahāra, the plaint (*bhāṣā*), the reply (*uttara*), the means of proof, enumeration of the titles of law, the various kinds of punishments, units of measures etc., *ṛṇādāna*, surety, sale without ownership,

725 न्याय्ये वर्त्मनि यज्जगद्गुणवती गेहे यदुन्निनो गतां मध्वनि यत्सद् अयं चयद्गोविन्दचन्द्रो नृपः । तत्सर्वं खलु यस्य मन्त्रमहिमाश्चर्यं स लक्ष्मीधरः काण्डं शंसति राजधर्मनिचयानेकादशं पुण्यधीः ॥ Intro. verse to I. O. ms. 852 ; ' इति श्रीगोविन्दमहाराजसान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीलक्ष्मीधरभट्टविरचिते कृत्यकल्पतरौ राजधर्मकाण्डः संपूर्णः ' colophon to above ; नानाशास्त्रवचोविचारचतुरे कल्पद्रुमे स्थापिते व्यवहारविषयं धार्मिकार्थशब्दास्त्वाम्नाः प्रगल्भा गिरः । यस्याकारि (?) विपश्चितां प्रतिगमं गंभीरमानन्दने काण्डं स व्यवहारमत्र तनुते लक्ष्मीधरो द्वादशं ॥ Intro. verse to ms. of व्यवहारकाण्ड ; इति महाराजाधिराजगोविन्दचन्द्रदेवादेशेन महासान्धिविग्रहिकेण भट्टहृदयधरात्मजश्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेण विरचिते कृत्यकल्पतरौ व्यवहारकाण्डादिकं समाप्तम् ।

partnership and the other titles of law. In the Rājadharma-kāṇḍa, the topics discussed are : eulogy of the institution of king, coronation, councillors, forts, palaces, the government of the country, treasury, punishments, allies, guarding the heir-apparent, settling of policy, the six expedients, marching against an enemy, festivals like Kaumudī and raising the *dhvaja* (banner), pūjā on Mahānavamī, gifts and letting loose of cows and bulls. In the Dānakāṇḍa the usual subjects are discussed, such as what should be donated and what not, the persons fit to receive gifts, the *mahādānas*, the lesser *dānas* &c. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. VI, p. 247 for the nitya-kālakriyā-kāṇḍa (3rd) and vol. VIII, pp. 296-297 for the Mokṣa-kāṇḍa.

The Kalpataru generally quotes only the smṛti writers, the epics and the purāṇas. It is only in the vyavahāra-kāṇḍa that several *nibandhas* and their authors are quoted. Among these are Medhātithi, a *bhāṣya-kara* on Śaṅkha-Likhita, Prakāśa, Pārijāta, Vijñāneśvara, Halāyudha, Kāmadhenu. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 35) had noticed that Lakṣmīdhara quotes only Medhātithi and did not know that he names so many authors.

The date of Lakṣmīdhara can be settled within very narrow limits. He quotes Vijñāneśvara and therefore he must be later than 1100 A. D. The Kalpataru is quoted by the Karmopadeśinī of Aniruddha written about 1160 A. D. (vide I. O. cat. p. 474-75). Hence it must have been written between 1100 and 1150 A. D., and probably in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century. A Ms. of the Kalpataru found in Nepal is dated *saṁvat* 1233 i. e. 1176-77 A. D. (Vide M. M. Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Mss. p. 106). The same date is arrived at in another way. He was the minister of king Govindacandra. This must be Govindacandra, the Gahaḍavāla or Rathor emperor of Kanoj, whose inscriptions range from 1104 A. D. to 1154 A. D. and who reigned from about 1114 to 1156 ; vide I. A. vol. 14, p. 103 (of *saṁvat* 1161), E. I. vol. II. p. 559, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 104-109, E. I. vol. V. pp. 16-20, E. I. vol. VIII. p. 149 ff (for five copper-plates the last of which is dated saṁvat 1207, i. e. 1150 A. D.), E. I. vol. IX. p. 319 (for the Sārnath inscription of Kumaradevi), I H Q. vol. V. p, 86 ff.

The influence the Kalpataru exercised on succeeding generations was very great. The most eminent Bengal writers, such as Aniruddha, Ballalasena, Śulapāṇi and Raghunandana quote him with

respect. In Mithilā his influence was felt perhaps even more than in Bengal. The Vivādaratnākara[726] of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the work hundreds of times and practically plagiarises much that was valuable in it. In fact he quotes the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra* and expressly names it as the first of his predecessors on whom he relies (vide note 703 above). The Smṛtisāra[727] of Harinātha quotes him frequently and so does the Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta. It made a deep impression even in Western and Southern India. Hemādri refers to it and the Sarasvatī-vilāsa[728] quotes the work frequently and applies the highly honorific epithet 'bhagavān' to Lakṣmīdhara. As better and more compact digests came to be composed in later times, the Kalpataru fell more and more into obscurity. It is for this reason that Mss. of the work are rare. Yet even the Dattakamīmāṁsā,[729] the Vīramitrodaya[730] and the Ṭoḍarānanda[731] make frequent mention of its views.

78. Jīmūtavāhana

Jīmūtavāhana is the first of the triumvirate of Bengal writers on *dharmaśāstra*, the other two being Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana. Only three works of his are known and they have all been printed viz: the Kālaviveka (B. I. series, 1905), the Vyavahāramātṛkā (published in the memoirs of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. III., No. 5, pp. 277-353, edited by the late Sir Asutosh Mukerji), the Dāyabhāga (published several times). It appears that these works

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726 वि. र. p. 130 refers to the गृहस्थकाण्ड of the कल्पतरु.

727 Vide I. O. cat. No. 301 where the स्मृतिसार (folio 145 b) sets out कल्पतरौ अपुत्रधनाधिकारः.

728 Para 709 (Foulke's edition) 'एतच्च लक्ष्मीधराचार्यमतमतिगम्भीरं विद्वत्प्रमदाहृतम्'; vide para. 628 for भगवांल्लक्ष्मीधरः; vide pp. 346, 421 of the Mysore edition.

729 On the verse of मनु 'माता पिता वा &c. (9. 168) the दत्तकमीमांसा says 'एतच्च शूद्रोपि किल पुत्रो भवतीत्यभिप्राय इति कल्पतरुव्याख्यानं तत्सजातीयेष्वयं प्रोक्तस्तनयेषु मया विर्धारित्युदाहृतयोगीश्वरवचनविरोधात् &c.'

730 Vide वीर०, pp. 303. 531, 606, 641 &c. for reference to the views of the कल्पतरु.

731 'व्यतीपातो गणितागतचन्द्रसूर्यक्रान्तिसाम्यकाल इति कल्पतरुः। योगविशेष इति मिताक्षरा।' श्राद्धसौख्य (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87).

were intended to form part of a vast treatise on dharmaśāstra called *Dharmaratna*, as stated in the Kālaviveka.[732] In this work I have used the edition of the Dāyabhāga printed in 1829.

The Kālaviveka as its name implies contains discussions as to the appropriate seasons, months and times for the performance of religious rites and duties, the determination of intercalary months, the question whether the month for certain festivals and rites was to be solar or lunar, the proper time for the cessation and starting of Vedic studies (Utsarjana and Upākarma), the rise of Agastya, the four months during which Viṣṇu was supposed to sleep on the ocean, the times for various festivals including the *Kojāgara* and the Durgotsava, the eclipses. The work is named Kālaviveka not only in the colophon, but also in the body itself.[733] Some of the sections of the work also are styled *viveka* (e. g. Amāvāsyā-viveka pp. 354-365, dvirāṣāḍhaviveka pp. 169-174). The object with which the work was composed is stated in the 2nd verse[734] as follows :—' *Kāla* ' (the topic of proper times for religious duties) has not been understood by some writers ; it has been based upon ancient texts and compressed into narrow compass by others ; therefore it is dealt with by me in such a way as to be easily understood even by dull-witted persons.' M. M. Chakravarti (JASB 1915 p. 314) draws from this the conclusion that ' no previous treatise specially dealing with *Kāla* alone was known to the author '. This is not a sound conclusion. All that Jīmūtavāhana claims is that he has made the subject of *Kāla* extremely easy. As a matter of fact in one verse he brings together seven predecessors[735] who dwelt upon *Kāla* in their works. As long

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732 बहुविधविवादतिमिरग्रस्तं ग्रहणं रवेः शशाङ्कस्य । तद्धर्मरत्नदीपालोकात्सकलं विलोकयत ॥ इति पारिभद्रीयमहामहोपाध्यायजीमूतवाहनकृतौ धर्मरत्ने कालविवेकः समाप्तः । last verse and colophon of कालविवेक ; similarly the colophon of the दायभाग is ' इति पारिभद्रीय ... धर्मरत्ने दायभागः समाप्तः '.

733 ' करतलगतामलकमिव कालं बालोऽपि वीक्षते येन । जीमूतवाहनकृतः **कालविवेकः** परं जयति ॥' p. 380.

734 कालः कैश्चिदबुद्धः (० बद्धः ?) कैश्चित्संक्षिप्तश्च वचनमिबद्धः । इति मन्दमतीनामपि सुबोधकरणो मया क्रियते ॥ 2nd verse of कालविवेक. The 2nd *pāda* has 19 mātrās. Should we read वचनबद्धः ?

735 जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधरान्धूक-संभ्रम-हरिवंश-धवल-योग्लोकैः । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःसारतां याति ॥ कालविवेक p. 380.

as the works of all these writers are not recovered it is impossible to assert that Jimūtavāhana had before him no previous work dealing specially with *Kāla*. Besides the astronomical and astrological works of ancient writers such as those of Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta, the ancient smṛtis and purāṇas, the important works and authors mentioned are enumerated in the note below.[736] Most of these *nibandhakāras* are quoted by him in his two other works also. Yogīśvara[737] seems to be an author different from Yājñavalkya who also is styled Yogīśvara, since the view ascribed to him is not found in Yāj. In some copies of the Mit. also an author[738] Yogīśvara is named who explained the conflicting texts about a widow's right to succeed to her husband. But Yogīśvara in the Mit. is probably a misprint or copyist's error for Dhāreśvara as some Mss. read Dhāreśvara. In the Kālaviveka Jimūtavāhana makes frequent and effective use of Pūrvamīmāṁsā maxims[739] and shows that he had made a profound study of that system. In the Durgotsaviveka[740] of Śūlapāṇi the Kālaviveka is quoted. It is also quoted in the Śrāddhacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, in the Śrāddhakaumudī (p. 328) and Varṣakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda and in several Tattvas of Raghunandana, e. g. Malamāsa p. 773, vol. I and Ekādaśī pp. 49, 341, vol. II.

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736 अन्धूक, अमरकोश, उत्पल, (p. 254), [illegible], जितेन्द्रिय, दीक्षित, (p. 98), धवल, पञ्जिकाकारमिश्र (p. 63), [illegible] (p. 290), [illegible] (p. 423), भागुरि (p. 14), योगीश्वर (p. 200), [illegible] (p. 79), [illegible] (p. 304), शङ्करगीता (p. 477), [illegible], [illegible], संघमभट्ट, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय (p. 102), हरिवंश.

737 'कन्यायां श्रावणकृष्णे प्रथमे शक्रोत्थानं [illegible] तु दुर्गाया इति योगीश्वरेण व्याख्यातो [illegible] स [illegible] इति मन्यामहे ।' कालविवेक p. 200; vide p. 237 also 'तत्र योगीश्वरमते वृश्चिके [illegible]' from which [illegible] differs.

738 एवमादीनां विरुद्धार्थानां वचनानां योगीश्वरेण (v. l. धारेश्वरेण) व्यवस्था दर्शिता । पत्नी [illegible] विभक्तधनानृक्थविषयम् । सा च यदि नियोगार्थिनी भवति । मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 135.

739 e. g. on p. 13 देशभेदेन चान्द्रं सौरं च प्रयोगदर्शनात् विशेषानवधारणात् । न च [illegible] प्रयोगाविरोधः । उभयोरपि तदविरोधात् ।. This refers to जैमिनि I. 3. 8-9.

740 कन्यासंस्थे रवौ [illegible] । [illegible] जीमूतवाहनः । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक (p. 6 Sanskrit Sahityaparisad ed.), vide कालविवेक p. 513 for this. The वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी p. 51 quotes a text from कालविवेक which occurs on pp. 443 and 447 of the latter.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā as its very name implies deals with the elements of vyavahāra (i. e. judicial procedure). It speaks of the eighteen titles of law, the derivation of the word prāḍvivāka (judge), the persons fit to be appointed judges, different grades of courts, duties of *sabhyas*, four stages of vyavahāra, pūrvapakṣa (plaint), pratibhū (surety), blemishes in a plaint, *uttara* (reply of the defendent), four kinds of *uttara*, blemishes in *uttara*, *kriyā* (proof or burden of proof), divine (*daivī*) and human (*mānuṣī*) proof (viz : ordeals, inference, witnesses, documents, possession), persons incompetent to be witnesses. Ordeals have not been dealt with by the author. The first verse of the work[741] styles it Vyavahāramātṛkā. The last verse[742] but one suggests the name Nyāyamātṛkā which practically is a synonym of Vyavahāra-mātṛkā and the colophon at the end of a ms. in the Deccan College collection calls it Nyāyaratnamālikā.

About twenty smṛtikāras[743] are mentioned in the Vyavahāramātṛkā. Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati and Nārada are the three smṛtikāras most frequently quoted, nearly two-thirds of the quotations in the entire work being derived from them. Among the *nibandhakāras* the following are named :— Jitendriya, Dikṣita, (p. 302), Bāla (p. 346, the same as Bālaka), Bhojadeva (pp. 284, 305), Mañjarikāra (i. e. Govindarāja), Yogloka, Viśvarūpa, Śrikara (pp. 292, 334 or Śrikaramiśra p. 342). About Viśvarūpa he says[744] ' I have put forward this conclusion of the ancient writers, I have

741 व्यवहारमातृकैषा सकलविवादेषु धर्मवादार्थम् । लोकद्वयेपि रक्षति सुनयिव कुसुमवत् माला ॥

742 पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमान् जीमूतवाहनः । विदुषां परितोषाय निर्ममे न्यायमातृकाम् ॥

743 They are उशनस्, कात्यायन, बृहत्कात्यायन, कौण्डिन्य, गौतम, नारद, पितामह, प्रजापति, बृहस्पति, मनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, लिखित, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, वृद्ध-शातातप, संवर्त, हारीत.

744 यथा मया निबन्धकृतामियं वापि (वाणी ?) पुरस्कृता । दूषणं विश्वरूपादेर्निराकृत्य प्रपञ्चितम् ॥ p. 332. M. M. Chakravarti is not right in taking (JASB 1915 p. 317) ' prācīm ' to mean ' eastern ' in this verse, as in the previous verse also जीमूतवाहन refers ' to all munis ' and ' former works ' ' इति सकलमुनीनां युक्तिवाक्यं विमृश्य स्वमतम् इह सोढा गम्यते न्यायमार्गः । स पुनरप-निबन्धो (न्धो ?) गृह्यतां बुद्धिमद्भिर्भवति यदि न आदावे सद्भ्या मातृकेषु ' ॥

refuted the objections of Viśvarūpa and others and dealt with them at length.' Yogloka and Śrīkara are generally quoted for being refuted and the former is frequently jeered at as 'tārkikaṁ-manya' or 'nava-tārkikaṁ-manya'. In this work Jīmūtavāhana displays great familiarity with the ancient dialectics. In some cases what the printed text exhibits[745] as prose really constitutes verses. Sir Asutosh Mukerji is not accurate when he says in the preface that 'Jīmūtavāhana refers to a number of jurists not mentioned by any other author, e. g. Jitendriya, Yogloka, Bālaka, Viśvarūpa, Śrīkara and Mañjarikāra.' It has been shown above that both Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara have been mentioned by the Mit. which is certainly earlier than Jīmūtavāhana and by a host of other writers who were either earlier than or contemporaries of Jīmūtavāhana. The Vyavahāramātṛkā is quoted in the Vyavahāratattva[746] (pp. 199, 214, vol. II) and the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana.

The Dāyabhāga is the most famous of Jīmūtavāhana's works. In matters of Hindu law such as inheritance, partition, *strīdhana*, re-union, it is of paramount authority in modern British Indian courts in Bengal, except in those cases where the Mitākṣarā is applicable. The names of more than a dozen commentators of it are known and Pandit Bharatacandra Siromani published it with seven commentaries (1863-1866). It was translated into English by Colebrooke. In many editions (such as that of Jivananda) it is divided into sections though there were no divisions in the original work. The contents of the Dāyabhāga are :— Definition of dāya; father's power over ancestral property; partition of father's and grand-father's property; division among brothers after their father's death; definition, classification and devolution of *strīdhana*; persons excluded from inheritance and partition on the ground of disabilities; property which is impartible (in its very nature or because it is self-acquired); order of succession to one dying sonless; re-union, partition of coparcenery property concealed but discovered afterwards, *indicia* of partition.

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745 e. g. on p. 348 the words 'तस्मादाकाशकुसुमसमान एव प्रमाणमार्गोऽन्यथाः । युक्तेर्दूरनिरस्तं लिखितादिभ्यो बलीयस्त्वम् ॥' constitute an Āryā. Similarly on p. 349 the words 'तस्माद्दस्मार्गनिपमुक्ता युक्तेः प्रमाणता मान्यैः । ... स्वत्वजनकाज्ञाधीनस्वत्वफलत्वात्प्रमाणं सा ॥' make two Āryās.

746 'युक्तिन्यायः स च लोकव्यवहारः इति व्यवहारमातृका' व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 199, vol. II.

Some of the peculiar doctrines of the Dāyabhāga which are of fundamental importance and which sharply distinguish it from the Mit. are : sons have no interest in ancestral property by birth, sons can claim partition only after extinction of theit father's ownership (i. e. after his death or on his becoming *patita* or a *saṁnyāsin*) or partition can take place between father and sons if the father so desires, a widow succeeds to her husband's interest on his death even if he be joint with his brother, the right to take a deceased person's estate is regulated by the spiritual benefit conferred by the person claiming as heir (by means of the offering of *piṇḍas*) and not by the principle of consanguinity (as in the Mit.).[747]

Besides the smṛtikāras,[748] the Mahābhārata and the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa the following authors are referred to by name in the Dāyabhāga :—Udgrāhamalla, Govindarāja (as author of Manuṭīkā), Jitendriya, Dīkṣita, Bālaka, Bhojadeva or Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara. Udgrāhamalla is referred to on the distribution of strīdhana and it is said that Udgrāhamalla (i. e. his view) is throttled[749] by the text of Devala. It appears therefore that Udgrāhamalla was not a smṛti writer, but a *nibandhakāra*. Dīkṣita[750] is credited with the view that, among daughters, those who have sons or are likely to have sons are preferred to those who are either barren, widowed or who give birth to daughters alone and the Dāyabhāga approves of this view. There is one more writer who is referred to twice with great respect as *Niravadyavidyoddyota*.

747 Note the following 'तदेवं पितृस्वत्वापगम एकः कालोऽपरश्चानपगत एव पितुः स्वाम्ये पितुरिच्छयेति कालद्वयम् ।' दायभाग p. 38; अनेनैव श्लोकेनाविभक्तत्वानपेक्षमपुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः । p. 256; उपकारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धो मन्वादीनामभिमत इति मन्यते इति निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन यानिनो-वमर्थो विद्वद्भिरादरणीयः । p. 336.

748 The स्मृतिकारs named are : उशनस्, कात्यायन, वृद्धकात्यायन, गौतम, दक्ष, देवल, नारद, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति, मनु, वृद्धमनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्खलिखित, वृद्धशातातप, हारीत.

749 एतावतोद्ग्राहमल्लस्य देवलवचनं गलहस्तः यथा सामान्यं पुत्रकन्यानां मृतायां स्त्रीधनं विदाम् । दायभाग p. 127.

750 अतः पुत्रवती संभावितपुत्रा चाधिकारिणी । वन्ध्याविधवादुहितृप्रसूत्यादिना विपरीतपुत्रा पुनरनधिकारिण्येवेति दीक्षितमतमादरणीयम् । दायभाग p. 271.

Whether this is a mere description or title ('the refulgence of whose learning is spotless') or whether the author's name was Uddyota and *niravadyvidya* ('whose learning is spotless') is an epithet, it is difficult to say. For a correct knowledge of the origin and development of the theory of spiritual benefit propounded in the Dāyabhāga, it would be extremely desirable to know who this writer was, as Jīmūtavāhana tells us that that view was brilliantly set forth by Niravadyavidyoddyota. The same writer is also quoted on the well known verse of Yājñavalkya 'bhūryā pitāmahopāttā &c.,' which is the sheet-anchor of Vijñāneśvara's theory about the son's rights by birth in ancestral family property.[751]

Jīmūtavāhana gives very little information about himself. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya and at the end of the Vyavahāramātṛkā (vide note 742 above) he tells us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (*kula*).[752] It is said that this name of the family still survives in the Parihal or Pāri Gai, a section of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas (Ghose's Hindu Law, 3rd edition, pp. xvi-xviii and JASB 1915 p. 320). It is also said that Edumiśra in his Kulakārikā tells us that Jīmūtavāhana was chief judge in the reign of Viṣvak-sena of Bengal and that he was 9th in descent from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra. The information supplied by the match-makers of Bengal is, as shown above, not worth reliance, unless corroborated by independent evidence. It is also said that for fourteen generations the Brāhmaṇas of Pārigrāma have been degraded and so Jīmūtavāhana would not have paraded the fact that he was Pāribhadrīya if at the time when he wrote his subcaste had been degraded (Intro. to Kālaviveka p. viii). The fact that Jīmūtavāhana was a native of Rāḍhā is testified by his statement in the Kālaviveka that Agastya (Canopus) rose in Ujjayinī

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751 यत्तु याज्ञवल्कीयवचनं-भूर्या ... मयोः-तस्य निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन द्योतितस्तस्यतो-मर्थः । यत्र द्वयोर्भ्रात्रोर्जीवत्पितृकयोरप्राप्तभागयोरेकः पुत्रानुत्पाद्य विनष्टोऽन्यो जीवति अनन्तरं पिता मृतस्तत्र पुत्र एव तद्धनं प्राप्नोत्यतिसंनिकर्षात् । तदर्थं सदृशं स्वाम्यमिति वचनम् । p. 50.

752 In some editions of the दायभाग, the last verse is पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमाञ् जीमूतवाहनः । दायभागं चकारेमं विदुषां संशयच्छिदे ॥

when four days of the month of Bhādrapada remained, but that in Rāḍhā Agastya rose when seven days of the month were yet to run.[753]

Extremely divergent views have been held as to the date of Jīmūtavāhana. He has been assigned to various dates from the 11th to the 16th century. In L. R. 41 I. A. at p. 298 it is said by their Lordships of the Privy Council that the Mit. was earlier by five centuries than Jīmūtavāhana. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) assigns him to the 15th century. For a statement of the various dates and their examination the article of M. M. Chakravarti in JASB. for 1915, pp. 321-327 and Mr. Panchanan Ghosh's learned article in 26 Calcutta Law Journal (journal portion p. 17 ff.) may be consulted. Since Jīmūtavāhana mentions Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva and Govindarāja, he cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century. Since he is quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana, he cannot be later than the middle of the 15th century. The Kālaviveka furnishes important data. On a ms. of the Kalviveka there is a note made about the birth-date of the son of a certain Ghaṭakasiṁha with the horoscope of the child. The year specified therein is *śake* 1417, i. e. 1495 A. D. It follows from this that the Ms. itself must have been copied sometime before this and the original work must be much earlier still. So the Kālaviveka cannot be placed at any rate later than about 1400 A. D.

In the Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana tells us that his predecessor Andhuka[754] exhibited a certain astronomical matter in *śake* 952 (i. e. 1030 A. D.) and that he declared an intercalary month in *śake* 955.

Similarly Jīmūtavāhana expatiates upon several[755] minute astro-

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753 तथाहि राढादिषु सप्तदिनावशिष्टे भाद्रे तस्योदयः। उज्जयिन्यां च दिनचतुष्टयावशिष्टे। कालविवेक p. 290 ; vide p. 291 also.

754 एवंविध एव कार्तिको द्वापञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्याते शकाब्दे अन्धुकादिर्दर्शितवान्। कालविवेक p. 51; तथाहि पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्यके शकाब्दे तुलासंक्रान्तिरमावास्यायां भूता . . . अन्धुकेन लिखितः। कालविवेक p. 119.

755 ननु सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्भिन्नराशिस्थत्वेपि अमावास्या **दृश्यते**। तथा च चतुर्दशोत्तरसहस्रशकवत्सरे सिंहस्थे रवौ द्वित्रिदण्डान् चतुर्दशी परतोऽश्लेषानक्षत्रं सप्तदण्डान् परतो मघा

nomical and astrological details which were observed in the *śake* years 1013 and 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A. D.). It is impossible to supposse that an author would enter into such minute details about a time which was anterior to his own by centuries. Generally astronomical works take for their calculations starting points or years which were within their own experience or very nearly so. Therefore it appears to be a sound conclusion to hold that the Kālaviveka was composed soon after *śake* 1013 or 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A. D.). Hence it follows that the literary activity of Jīmūtavāhana lay between 1090 and 1130 A. D. The Kālaviveka seems to be his first work. The Vyavahāramātṛka would naturally come before the Dāyabhāga. He seems to have contemplated writing[756] on ṛṇādāna also, as he says in the Dāyabhāga that a certain matter would be expounded by him in ṛṇādāna.

The most cogent argument that can be advanced against the above early date assigned to Jīmūtavāhana is that neither Jīmūtavāhana nor any of his compositions is mentioned by Bengal writers and works on Dharmaśāstra belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries such as the Hāralatā, the commentary of Kullūka etc. No satisfactory explanation can be offered of this silence. But is is a very precarious thing to conclude from this silence that Jīmūtavāhana's works did not exist during those centuries. It is safer to base conclusions about his date on the positive evidence contained in his works rather than rely upon the negative argument from silence in later works. When some of his commentators say that he criticises the views of Caṇḍeśvara, Miśra and others we should not take them seriously. The commentators had no idea of the exact chronological position of writers long anterior to them. All they mean is that Jīmūtavāhana criticises views that were shared also by Caṇḍeśvara and others. Another important question is whether Jīmūtavāhana who is certainly a little later than the Mit.

तेनाश्लेषासमयेऽमावास्यायां कर्कटे चन्द्रः सिंहे चादित्यः। कालविवेक p. 21; तथा त्रयोदशोत्तरशकाब्दशेषे मीनस्थे सूर्ये पूर्वोत्तरफाल्गुनीभ्यामा पूर्णिमा तदनन्तरं मेषस्थे हस्तचित्राभ्यां युक्ता पूर्णिमा हस्तयोगात्फाल्गुन्योप्यसौ त्रयोदशोत्तरसहस्राब्दीयकुम्भादित्यात्प्रभृति चतुर्दशोत्तरसहस्राब्दान्तमानभोगपर्यन्तेन मासद्वयलोपः। कालविवेक p. 45. Vide also pp. 41, 46-49.

756 एतच्च विस्तरेण (ऋणा-) दाने वक्ष्यते। दायभाग p. 45.

criticizes it. The Vivāda-tāṇḍava of[757] Kamalākara says that Jīmūtavāhana held that the view about the equal ownership of father and son in ancestral property was put forward for precluding the possibility of the uncle taking the whole estate of a man dying (in union) leaving a son or a predeceased son's son or for precluding the possibility of an unequal distribution of ancestral property by a father among his sons and that Jīmūtavāhana took up this position, being blinded by his hatred of the Mit. The Vīramitrodaya[758] also says that Jīmūtavāhana criticizes the Mitākṣarā definition of *vibhaga* and the view of the Mit. about the times for partition. The Vyavahāra-mātṛka[759] also appears to criticizes several times views which were held by the Mit. and the correspondence is very striking. On this point this much may be said that the points selected for attack by Jīmūtavāhana do occur almost in the same words in the Mit. but, since the Mit. is not expressly mentioned and since it is likely that other writers like Asahāya and Bhāruci whose works have not yet been discovered might have contained the very same words that are found in the Mit., it is somewhat hazardous to assert that Jīmutavāhana criticizes the Mit. alone and no other work. All that one can advance is that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Jīmūtavāhana criticizes the Mit.

For Raghunandana one of the famous commentators of the Dāyabhāga, vide sec. 102 below.

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757 यत्तु जीमूतवाहनः–मृतपितृके पौत्रे पुत्रे च सति संनिकर्षात् पितृव्यस्यैव सर्वधनप्राप्तिनिरासार्थं समस्वाम्योक्तिः पुत्राणां विषमविभागनिवृत्त्यर्था वा न तु पितुः समभागार्था पुत्रस्वातन्त्र्यार्था वा तेन पैतामहेपि पितुर्भागद्वयमिति । तन्मिताक्षराप्रद्वेषजान्ध्यकृतम् । folio 109 of the Mandlik collection ms. in the Fergusson College, Poona.

758 'यच्च जीमूतवाहनेनैव मिताक्षरोक्तं विभागो नाम द्रव्यसमुदायविषयाणामनेकस्वाम्यानां तदेकदेशेषु व्यवस्थापनमिति विभागशब्दार्थः इति दूषयित्वोच्यते' वीर० p. 547; 'अत्र पित्रुपरम एकः कालो निवृत्ते चापि रजसीति द्वितीयो जीवति चेच्छतीति तृतीय इति मिताक्षरायां जीमूतवाहनेनोक्तं दूषणम् ।' वीर० p. 552.

759 व्यवहारमातृका p. 296 'तदेव (वं 1) स्वयमेव अप्रसिद्धादेर्व्याहृतत्वात् यदन्यैः कल्पितं अप्रसिद्धमिति मदीयं शशविषाणमनेन गृहीतं निराबाधमस्मदीयगृहस्थितो दीपः प्रकाशमेतद्गृहे करोति ... तत्रास्तां दूषणान्तरं किं तु शास्त्राद्यन्यथाकल्पनमशास्त्रदर्शित्वमेव तेषां कल्पयति ।;' compare मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. II. 6 'अप्रसिद्धं मदीयं शशविषाणं गृहीत्वा न प्रयच्छतीत्यादि निराबाधमस्मद्गृहे दीपप्रकाशेनायं स्वगृहे व्यवहरतीत्यादि.' It is to be noted that these examples occur in अपरार्क also.

79. Aparārka

On the smṛti of Yājñavalkya Aparāditya wrote a voluminous commentary styled Aparārka-Yājñavalkīya-dharmaśāstra-nibandha (published in two volumes by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1903 and 1904). In a verse[760] at the end and in the colophons the author is called Aparāditya, a Śilāhāra king, born in the family of Jīmūtavāhana of the Vidyādhara race. In the introductory[761] fifth verse also the author is styled 'an ornament of the family of Jīmūta' and is highly eulogised for his devotion to Śiva and his brilliant intellect.

Aparārka's work, like the Mitākṣarā, though professedly a commentary on Yāj., is really in the nature of a digest. It is far more voluminous than the Mit. It quotes profusely from the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras and the metrical smṛtis. Several features distinguish it from the Mit. The Mit. is generally very chary of quoting from the purāṇas, while Aparārka contains long extracts sometimes extending over pages from several purāṇas, viz, the Adipurāṇa, the Adityapurāṇa, the Kūrma, the Kālikāpurāṇa, Devī, Nandi, Nṛsiṁha, Padma, Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhaviṣyat, Bhaviṣyottara, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Liṅga, Varāha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmottara, Skanda. The index at the end of the printed Aparārka gives the names of the various smṛtikāras quoted in the work. Another feature not found in the Mit. is that Aparārka quotes long passages of the dharmasūtras and explains them at length, e. g. on Yāj. III 294 (p. 1205) he quotes Gautama (Dh. S. 20. 2-9) and then offers a lengthy explanation ; on Yāj. III. 294-295, he quotes long passages of Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. 15. 11-14 and 17-21) and gives detailed explanations of them. It is probable he had not before him commentaries on these dharmasūtras. On p. 11, he

760 राष्ट्रं यस्य निरङ्कुशा वसुमती कोशः समृद्धः सुहृच्छक्को दुर्गमनागमं क्षतपरा सेना हिता मन्त्रिणः । शास्त्रार्थामृतचर्वणार्पितमतिर्विश्वैकनाथोप्यसौ शौर्यौदार्ययशोधनोमुमपरादित्यो निबन्धं व्यधात् ॥ इति श्रीविद्याधरवंशप्रभवश्रीशिलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूत-श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवविरचिते याज्ञवल्कीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धेऽपरार्के प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणम् ।

761 भक्त्या यस्य सविस्मयः स्मरारिपुर्बुद्ध्या च वाचस्पतिर्विक्रान्त्या द्विषतां गणः शुचितया भास्वान्क्षमित्वेन भूः । जीमूतान्वयभूषणं स विपुलां योगीश्वरेणोदिते शास्त्रे वाक्य-नयानुगां वितनुते व्याख्यां सतां संमताम् ॥

gives brief summaries in the style of the Śāṅkarabhāṣya of the tenets of the Śaiva, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra, Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems. He does not appear to have been an ardent admirer of the Advaita Vedānta though he refers to the Śārīrakamīmāṁsā.[762] In one place he sets out the arguments of those who hold that correct knowledge alone leads to *mokṣa* and of those who hold that a combination of correct knowledge and works is essential for *mokṣa* and leaves his readers to choose for themselves whatever view they take.[763] It is remarkable that, while even the Mit. names at least six *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Śrīkara, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, Aparārka observes a studied silence in the matter of citing the names of his predecessors. He employs such vague expressions as *kecit, anye, apare*, though he cites views that were ascribed by the Mit. and others to Dhāreśvara and others, e. g. on pp. 741-42 he says[764] that the text of Yāj. 'patnī duhitaraḥ' according to some refers to the widow who submits to *niyoga* (this is the view of Dhāreśvara); on p. 744 he refers to the view of some that the word *duhitṛ* in Yāj. means only the appointed daughter (*putrikā*). This last was the view of Viśvarupa and Śrīkara. On p. 761 he refers to the reading of some in Yāj. II. 150 as 'sāmantā sthavirā gaṇāḥ' which is found in Viśvarūpa (II. 154) and not in the Mit. Aparārka names (p. 926) a Vāgbhaṭa-smṛtisaṁgraha and a Smṛtimīmāṁsā of Jaimini (p. 206) from which two verses are quoted, variant readings therein are noticed and detailed explanations thereof are offered. He refers to several works and authors on astronomy and astrology such as Garga, Kriyāśraya (p. 872), Sārāvali. On pp. 570 and 572 of the printed text occur two references to a *pustaka* of rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha.[765] That was probably a marginal

762 शास्त्रं च तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः संभूतः-इत्यादिकमेकाकिन एव परमात्मनः सकलकार्यकारितामाचष्टे । तस्य च तर्कविरोधः शारीरकमीमांसाभ्यासशालिनामपरिहार एव । p. 975 on याज्ञ. III. 68.

763 Vide pp. 1029-1034 on याज्ञ. III. 205. On p. 1034 he says ' तदनयोर्मतयोर्यन्न्याय्यं तद्ग्राह्यम् '.

764 अत्र केचिदाहुः-या देवरादन्यस्माद्वापि सपिण्डाद्गुरुश्वशुरादिवचनात्पुत्रामिच्छाति तद्विषयं पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादि वचनमिति । . . . एतेन यदुक्तं केनचित् पत्नी दुहितर इत्यत्र दुहितृशब्देन पुत्रिकोच्यत इति तन्निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।.

765 इति राजानकशितिकण्ठपुस्तके विशेषः । p. 572.

note in a ms., the copyist or owner of which found on comparison with another ms. belonging to rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha additional matter. Aparārka quotes from Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Kumārilabhaṭṭa).[766] Aparārka does not appeal as frequently to the doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā as the Mit. does and he does not generally enter into acute discussions of Purvamīmāṁsa in its application to Dharmaśāstra as the Mit. does. It must be said that Aparārka is much inferior to the Mit. in lucid exposition, in dialectic skill, in subtelty of argument and in the ordered presentation of heterogenous material.

Some of the views that are usually associated with Jīmūtavāhana were propounded by Aparārka also. Aparārka bases the right to take a deceased person's property on the superior spiritual benefit conferred by the claimant on the person deceased.[767] In several other respects also Aparārka differs from the Mit., though in general the two closely agree. For example, Aparārka prefers the father over the mother as an heir (p. 745) ; Aparārka explains the word 'apratiṣṭhitā' in Gautama's text (18. 22) as 'one who is issueless or is indigent or a widow,' while the Mit. explains it to mean only 'indigent.'

Whether Aparārka knew the Mit. is a vexed question. Some scholars while holding that Aparārka does criticize the Mit. explain away the non-mention of the Mit. by saying that Indian etiquette required a royal author not to mention the name of the servant of another king, while the existence of the master himself was ignored (Dr. Jolly in Journal of Indian History vol. III p. 17). It is doubtful whether any such etiquette ever existed and further Aparārka studiously avoids the express mention of every ancient commentator. Works of royal authors, such as the Madanpārijāta or the Sarasvatīvilāsa, do not appear to have followed the etiquette. In

766 ततश्च यदुक्तं भट्टेन-तस्माद्गुरुगृहे तिष्ठन् मधुमांसादि वर्जयन् । जिज्ञासितार्थविरुद्धत्वाद्धर्ममित्यवगम्यते ॥ इति तदनेन विरुध्यते p. 76.

767 तत्र प्रत्यासन्नः पूर्वं धनभाक् । यदाह मनुः । अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेदिति । ... संप्रदानकारकीभूतानां पित्रादीनां त्रयाणां चोदकादिदाता यश्च तत्संततिजोऽन्योपि तेषामेवोदकादिदाता स तस्य प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः । तदत्र तु सोदरो भ्रातातिशयेन प्रत्यासन्नः समानसंप्रदानोदकादिदातृत्वात् । तत्पौत्रस्तु ततोपि व्यवहितः पितृपितामहपिण्डयोर्भिन्नसंप्रदानकत्वात् । तत्प्रपौत्रस्त्वत्यन्तव्यवहितः पिण्डत्रयेपि संप्रदानभेदात् । pp. 744-45.

my opinion the Mit. was known to Aparārka. Aparārka reads Yāj. III. 17 as 'Vaitānopāsanāḥ kāryāḥ kriyāśca śruticoditāḥ,' explains the first word as a karmadhāraya compound, gives the explanation of this verse offered by others, disapproves of it and then says that others read 'śruticodanāt' for 'śruticoditāḥ'.[768] Viśvarūpa reads 'vaitānikāśrayāḥ. . . śrutidarśanāt' and offers no comment on this verse beyond the word 'spaṣṭārthametat' (it is III. 15. in the Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. does contain the reading referred to by Aparārka and the śruti passage 'yāvaj-jīvam' etc. Aparārka refers on Yāj. III. 254 to the reading 'samām'[769] adopted by some, says that the latter explain the verse as prescribing the penance for three years and observes that the verse of Manu (IX. 92) does not apply, as the latter say, to him alone whose palate has merely come in contact with liquor (without his having actually swallowed it). Viśvarūpa (III. 248) does not explain the verse as prescribing a three

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768 अत्र केचिद् व्याचक्षते-विताने वेदे भवाः वैतानाः तथा उपासने गृह्ये भवा औपासनाः। वैतानाश्चौपासनाश्च वैतानोपासनाः क्रिया इति । तदेतद्व्याख्यानमनुपपन्नम् । वैतानोपासन्य इति हि तदा शब्दः स्यान्न पुनर्वैतानोपासना इति । . . . यच्च तैः **श्रुतिचोदनादिति** पाठं कृत्वा हेतुपरत्वेन व्याख्यातं तदपि न युक्तम् । **एवं हि ते मन्यन्ते । यस्माच्छ्रुत्या यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं** जुहुयात्, यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत, इत्यादिकयावश्यकार्यतया विहितत्वान्न स्मृत्या शक्यमाशौचेपि तन्निवर्तनं विधातुमिति । अपरार्क p. 891 : compare the मिताक्षरा 'वितानोऽग्नीनां विस्तारस्तत्र भवा वैतानाः त्रेताग्निसाध्या अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासाद्याः क्रिया उच्यन्ते । . . . उपासनो गृह्याग्निस्तत्र भवा औपासनाः सायंप्रातर्होमक्रिया उच्यन्ते ता वैतानोपासना वैदिक्यः क्रियाः कार्याः । कथं वैदिकत्वमिति चेत् । श्रुतिचोदनात् । तथाहि यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयादित्यादिश्रुतिभिरग्निहोत्रादीनां चोदना स्पष्टैव ॥'.

769 '**केचिदत्र समाशब्दं बहुवचनान्तं वर्षत्रयपरत्वेन व्याचक्षते** । ... अस्मादेव च सुरापानापनुत्त्यर्थमिति वचनात् कृतसुरापानस्यैतद् व्रतमिति गम्यते न **पुनस्तालुमात्रसंयुक्तसुरस्येति** ।' अपरार्क p. 1072; compare the मिताक्षरा 'अथवा पिण्याकं पिण्डितं त्रिसमाः वर्षत्रयपर्यन्तं रात्रौ भक्षयेत् । ... यत्तु मनुवचनं कणान्वा ... सकृन्निशि । सुरापानापनुत्त्यर्थं बालवासा जटी ध्वजी ॥ इति **तत्तालुमात्रसंयोगे सुराया** अबुद्धिपूर्वे द्रष्टव्यम्'. The printed text of याज्ञ. in the मिताक्षरा reads पिण्याकं ... भक्षयेत्त्रिसमा निशि'; the printed अपरार्क reads **भक्षयेत्तु समां निशि**, while विश्वरूप reads **भक्षयेत समां निशि**. The remarks of अपरार्क show that he had a ms. of a com. where the reading was भक्षयेत्तु समां निशि.

years' penance nor does he refer to the contact of wine with the palate. The Mit. however contains both these particulars. On p. 1084 also[770] Aparārka seems to be referring to the view of the Mit.

The date of Aparārka can be settled within very narrow limits. The Smṛticandrikā[771] in several places quotes the views of Aparārka and sometimes contrasts them with those of the Mit. The Smṛticandrikā refutes the view of Aparārka that the words of Yāj. 'jyeṣṭhaṁ vā śreṣṭhabhāgena' are meant to comprehend all various modes of giving an additional share (*uddhāravibhāga*) to the eldest son on partition mentioned by Manu and others and it follows Aparārka's explanation of 'apratiṣṭhitā' in Gautama's text. It will be shown later on that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed about 1200 A. D. If the above conclusion that Aparārka knew the Mit. and criticizes it be correct, Aparārka must have flourished after 1100 A. D. and before 1200 A. D. Here epigraphical research comes to our help. We know from the commentary that the author Aparāditya was a Śilāhāra prince of Jīmūtavāhana's family. Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras show that there were three branches of that family, one ruling in the northern Konkan at Thana, the second in the southern Konkan and the third at Kolhapur (vide JBBRAS, vol. XIII p. 10-17 for the three branches). All the branches traced their descent from Jīmūtavāhana. There is only a single inscription of the second branch which had ten kings reigning from about 808 to 1008 A. D. (JBBRAS vol. I, p. 209, E. I. vol. III. p. 292). There is no Aparāditya in this line. Vide E. I. III p. 207, 211 and 213 for several grants of the Kolhapur branch. Inscriptions

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770 'तत्रापि ब्राह्मणीपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियां पितृभार्यां गच्छतो नववार्षिकं वैश्यां षड्वार्षिकं शूद्रां त्रैवार्षिकं गुरुतल्पव्रतं भवतीत्येके मन्यन्ते । अपरार्क p. 1084 ; the मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 260 has 'ब्राह्मणीपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियायां मातुः सपत्न्यां गमने &c.

771 यत्पुनरपरार्केण ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठभागेनेत्येतदुद्धारप्रदर्शनार्थं तेन ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धार इत्यादिभिर्मन्वादिशास्त्रैर्यावन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वे चोपलक्षिता भवन्तीति तदप्यपास्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 261 ; compare अपरार्क p. 717 'ज्येष्ठस्य विंश ... यवीयसः इत्यादिभिरुद्धारशास्त्रैर्यावन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वेऽत्रोपलक्षिता भवन्ति'. 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना दुर्भगा विधवा वा । एवमपरार्कानुसाराद्गौतमवचनं व्याख्यातम् । अस्य विज्ञानेश्वरकृता व्याख्या हेया स्वबुद्धिमात्रेणाध्याहारादिकरणात् ।' स्मृतिच० II. 5. 285 ; vide स्मृतिच० II. 218, 367, 377, 426 for other references to अपरार्क. Vide चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2, p. 495 for mention of अपरार्क.

of the northern Śilāhāras speak of two kings who are named Aparādityadeva. In JBBRAS vol. XXI, pp. 505-516 there is a grant dated *śake* 1049 (expired) of Aparādityadeva who donated a village named Vaḍavali in the Thana District to a brāhmaṇa studying the Mādhyandina recension of the Vājasaneya-saṁhita. The king is there styled once as Aparājita and several times as Aparādityadeva. He was son of Anantadeva and grand-son of Nāgārjuna and traced his descent to Jīmūtavāhana, son of Jīmūtaketu, far famed in legend and literature as an exemplar of self-sacrifice[772], e. g. in the drama Nāgānanda. In this inscription Aparādityadeva is styled *Śilāhāranarendra* and *Jīmūtavāhanānvayaprasūta* as in the colophon of the commentary on Yāj. (vide note 760 above) and also *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Tagarapuraparameśvara*. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. V, part 2, p. 169 there is a grant made at Somnath-Paṭan in Kathiawar of Vikramsaṁvat 1176 (1119-20 A. D.) while Aparādityadeva of the Śilāhāra family was reigning, almost in the same words as in the grant in JBBRAS vol. XXI p. 505. In I. A. vol. IX, p. 33 there is a grant of Anantadeva father of Aparādityadeva dated in *śake* 1016 (i. e. 1094-5 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I. part 2, p. 15 for a list of 20 kings of the northern Konkan branch from 810 to 1260 A. D. *Vide* also an inscription of Aparādityadeva dated śake 1051 (i. e. 1129 A. D.) in Festgabe Dr. Jacobi pp. 189-193 (1926). Therefore it appears that the dates of Aparadityadeva I referred to in these grants fall between 1115 and 1130 A. D. It was most probably this king who composed the commentary on Yāj. We know from the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha that king Aparāditya[773] of Konkan sent Tejakaṇṭha on an embassy to an assembly of learned men in Kashmir during the reign of Jayasiṁha of Kashmir (1129 to 1150 A. D.). Aparārka's commentary continues to be the standard law-book used by the *pandits* of Kashmir (Jolly's Tagore Law lectures p. 24). Aparārka's work

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772 जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन इति त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृणमिवाकलयन् परार्थं यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात् खलु शङ्खचूडम् ॥ तस्यान्वये . . कपर्दी शीलारवंशतिलको नृपतिर्बभूव ॥ p. 507.

773 वक्षोभिर्नुनुदे दन्तद्युतिश्रीखण्डपाण्डुभिः । वादिनां वाददर्पोष्मा येन शूर्पारकाध्वसु ॥ यः श्रीमदपरादित्य इति दूत्यप्रसिद्धये । प्रजिघाय घनश्लाघः काश्मीरान् कुङ्कुणेश्वरः ॥ तेन श्रीतेजकण्ठेन सोत्कण्ठमनुबध्नता । इति सोधिकवैशद्यानिरवद्यमगद्यत ॥ श्रीकण्ठचरित 25. 109-111.

betrays familiarity with Kashmir. I have already noticed the reference to rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha above. On a passage from Brahmapurāṇa speaking of a śrāddha at Mārtaṇḍapādamūla, Aparārka notes (p. 903) that[774] the latter is well known in Kashmir. It is therefore most probable that the work was composed about 1125 and was introduced into Kashmir when an embassy was sent from the Konkan king to Kashmir in the reign of Jayasiṁha. The dates of the second Aparāditya range from 1184 to 1187 A. D. (*Vide* Bombay Gazetteer vol. XIII, part 2, p. 427 ; JBBRAS vol. XII, pp. 333-335 for an inscription of Aparāditya dated 1109 *śake* i. e. 1187 A. D. (wherein he is styled Koṅkaṇa-cakravarti). It is difficult to hold that this was the author of the commentary on Yāj. The Smṛticandrikā is mentioned by Hemādri and hence could not be later than the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Therefore if Aparārka who is frequently cited by the Smṛticandrikā were to be regarded as having flourished about 1187 A. D., very little distance is left between him and the Smṛticandrikā in order that the former should come to be looked upon as an authority by the latter. Therefore it appears probable that Aparārka wrote the commentary on Yāj. in the first half of the 12th century (about 1125 A. D.). Vide Tri. cat. Mad. Govt. Mss. for 1919-22, pp. 4853-54, for the Nyāyamuktāvali of Aparādityadeva, which is a com. on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña.

80. Pradīpa

The Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara enumerates the Pradīpa among its authorities after the Kāmadhenu.[775] The Smṛticandrikā in a highly paronomastic verse appears to refer to a work called Pradīpa.[776] The Sarasvatīvilāsa[777] quotes the view of the Pradīpa

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774 मार्तण्डपादमूलं काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्धम् । अपरार्क p. 903.

775 Vide note 651 above.

776 पदे पदे प्रस्खलतां प्रदीपादिस्थितार्थपि । द्रष्टृणां दृष्टिविषये चन्द्रिका प्रवितन्यते ॥ प्रदीप (lamp and a work) and चन्द्रिका (moonlight and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका) are paronomastic.

777 प्रातिभाव्यागतमपि पौत्रेणापि दातव्यमिति प्रदीपः । स. वि. p. 253 ; vide p. 361 for another reference to प्रदीप.

that even the suretyship debt of a person must be paid by his grandson. The Jīvatpitṛkanirṇaya[778] of Rāmakṛṣṇa (about 1600 A. D.) quotes the Pradīpa on the question that when brothers are separated they should perform separately the annual śrāddha of their father and other ancestors. Nandapaṇḍita in his commentary on the[779] Ṣaḍaśīti cites the view of the Pradīpa that the sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi (a woman delivered of a son bathing after twenty nights from delivery is entitled to perform all religious rites, while one who is delivered of a female child is so entitled after a month) applies to the wife of one who is not a *dīkṣita* (one who has consecrated the Vedic fires). It has been shown above (note 689) how the Pradīpa criticizes Bhavadeva, according to the Vīramitrodaya, which in several places cites the views of the Pradīpa (vide pp. 78, 89, 215 & etc.).

The foregoing discussion shows that the Pradīpa was probably an independent work on vyavahāra, śrāddha, śuddhi and other topics. Being mentioned by the Smṛtyarthasāra and Smṛticandrikā, it cannot be later than about 1150 A. D. As it criticizes Bhavadeva it cannot be earlier than 1100 A. D.

Hemādri[780] refers to the explanation of the word *kalā* occurring in a text of Gārgya offered by a Smṛipradīpa. It is not unlikely that he means the same work as is referred to by others as Pradīpa.

81. The Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara

This well-known work was published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, in 1912 A. D. The principal topics discussed by it are: the acts allowed in former ages but forbidden in the *kali* age; the number of *saṁskāras*, the detailed treatment of *Upanayana*, the

778 प्रदीपेपि । विभक्तास्तु पृथक् कुर्युः प्रतिसंवत्सरादिकम् । एकेनेवाविभक्तेषु कृते सर्वैस्तु तत्कृतम् ॥ folio 20 b of जीवत्पितृकनिर्णय । (in Bhadkamkar collection).

779 पैठीनसिः । सूतिकां पुत्रवतीं विंशतिरात्रेण स्नातां सर्वकर्माणि कारयेन्मासेन स्त्रीजननीमिति । इदमपि सर्ववर्णसाधारणमिति प्राञ्चः । अदीक्षितस्त्रीविषयमिति प्रदीपः । षडशीतिटीका folio 8a (in the Bhadkamkar collection); vide folio 38 b for another reference to प्रदीप.

780 यदाह गार्ग्यः । यत्रकालास्तिथिद्वैधे षट्कलो यदि लक्ष्यते । पर्व तत्रोत्तरं कार्यं हीने पूर्वमुपक्रमेत् । कलात्र मुहूर्तं न तु घटिका । ... स्मृतिप्रदीपकृताप्यत्र कलाशब्दस्य मुहूर्तार्थतोक्ता । चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) p. 355.

duties of Brahmacārin, holidays, marriage, its various forms, prohibitions on the ground of *sapiṇḍa* relation, discussion about *gotra* and *pravara*, daily duties such as *śauca*, *ācamana*, brushing the teeth, bathing, the five *yajñas*, daily saṁdhyā, daily worship; detailed treatment of *śrāddha*, proper time, articles, and brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, various kinds of *śrāddha*, discussion about various *tithis*; intercalary month; forbidden and allowed food; purification of various substances and of one's own body; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; rules about *saṁnyāsa*; prāyaścittas for various grades of sins and lapses.

From the colophon it appears that Śrīdhara was himself a performer of Vedic sacrifices and was the son of Nāgabhartṛ Viṣṇubhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmitra gotra. This colophon does not however occur in the ancient ms. of the work in the Deccan College collection (No. 44 of 1870-71) dated *saṁvat* 1495 (1438-39 A. D.). In the 2nd introductory verse (vide note 564 above) the author tells us that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya filled the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about (i. e. they composed digests thereof with their own remarks). He also says (vide note 651 above) that he relies on the Kāmadhenu, the Pradīpa, the Abdhi, the Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Kalpalatā, Śambhu, Draviḍa, Kedara and Lollaṭa and the various commentators of Manu and other smṛtikāras. In dealing with *saṁnyāsa* he says that he would treat of the procedure of *saṁnyāsa* following the opinion of Govindarāja and of Baudhāyana.[781] At the beginning of some sections (p. 48 and p. 49 on *śrāddha* and *prāyaścitta* respectively) he again repeats the verse about Kāmadhenu and the other authorities. The Abdhi named therein seems to be the smṛtimahārṇava quoted in Hemādri, in the Vivādaratnākara and other works. He refers to Mitākṣarā also (p. 56). For Lollaṭa see above (under Medhātithi). It appears that Śrīdhara also composed another and a larger work on dharmaśāstra. For example, Hemādri who[782] knew

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781 Vide note 723 above.

782 On the words of ज्योतिर्गार्ग्य 'सौरमासो विवाहादौ यज्ञादौ सावनः स्मृतः' चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) p. 20 says आदिशब्दार्थः श्रीधरेण दर्शितः। विवाहोपनयनचूडाव्रतनियमप्रतिष्ठागृहकरणक्षौरयात्रामहाषष्ठीमहासप्तमीविजयदशमीदशहरायुगादिमहाज्येष्ठाप्रभृत्यादिशब्देनोपादीयते । यज्ञादावित्यादिशब्देन यागदानहोमगर्भाधानसीमन्तोन्नयनजातकर्म-ऋण-क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारग्रहणम् ।.

the Smṛtyarthasāra quotes certain views as Śrīdhara's which do not occur in the Smṛtyarthasāra. The Prayogapārijāta, the Nirṇayasindhu, and the Saṁskārakaustubha quote the views of a work called Śrīdharīya which are not found in the Smṛtyarthasāra. Śrīdhara seems to have been a writer from southern India.

The date of the Smṛtyarthasāra can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the Mit., the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru and Govindarāja, it is later than 1150 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri[783] both quote it as an authority. For example, the Smṛticandrikā says that the Smṛtyarthasāra holds that the Tulasī is among the things the use of which is to be avoided in *śrāddha*. Therefore the Smṛtyarthasāra must have been composed between 1150 and 1200 A. D.

82. Aniruddha

Aniruddhabhaṭṭa is one of the early and eminent Bengal writers on Dharmaśāstra. His Hāralatā was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1909) and his Pitṛdayitā alias Karmopadeśinīpaddhati was recently published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta (No 6).

The Hāralatā deals with impurity on birth and death, with the acts allowed to be done or forbidden during impurity, with periods of impurity on death in a distant land or on the deaths of infants and women, with rules when two periods of impurity overlap each other, with impurity on the death of *sapiṇḍas*, the meaning of

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783 स्मृत्यर्थसारे तुलस्यपि वर्ज्येत्युक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्त्यं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेधस्यादर्शनात् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 435; compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 53; 'यत्तु स्मृत्यर्थसारेभिहितं पाणिहोमे त्विध्ममेक्षणविप्रानुज्ञा न संततिः (सन्ति ?) तत्र विप्रानुज्ञाभावोक्तिरेतद्वचनादर्शननिबन्धनेत्युत्प्रेक्षणीया । ... यच्च तत्रैवाभिहितं परिसमूहनपर्युक्षणं स्त इति तदपि चिन्त्यम् ।' स्मृतिच० II. p. 463; vide for the very words quoted स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 52. स्मृतिच० II. 366 quotes some passages from स्मृत्यर्थसार pp. 57 and 60.

चतुर्वर्ग० vol. IV. p. 992 (प्रायश्चित्त) स्मृत्यर्थसारे कलियुगे संसर्गदोषो नास्तीत्युक्तम्', compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 2. 'संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः । ... कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥'. मदनपारिजात (p. 329) quotes the words संसर्गदोषः &c. expressly from स्मृत्यर्थसार.

sapiṇḍa, persons who have not to observe periods of impurity, cremation and burial, offering of water to the deceased, observances during mourning, persons entitled to perform rites after death, observances after the period of mourning, persons to whom no water should be offered.

The Pitṛdayitā is a work intended for the followers of the Sāmaveda. Its contents are :—the duties on rising from bed, brushing the teeth, bath, *saṁdhyā*, *tarpaṇa*, vaiśvadeva, *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, eulogy of gifts, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa and other śrāddhas, antyeṣṭi and rites during the days of mourning after death, the letting loose of a bull. The printed work appears to be the same that is described in the I. O. cat. at p. 474 as Karmopadeśinī. But the India Office Ms. appears to have certain various readings e. g. a reference to Kāmadhenu and Kalpataru at the end of the section on antyeṣṭi does not occur in the printed text.[784].

The first verse of the Hāralatā states that the author consulted the commentaries on Manu and other smṛtis.[785] Besides the well-known smṛtikāras such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada etc., the authors and works named in the Hāralatā are :—Asahāya as the *Bhāṣyakāra* of Gautama, Kāmadhenu, Govindarāja, Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa and Śaṅkhadhara. The Pitṛdayitā[786] says that it was composed after consulting the Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, the Chāndogyapariśiṣṭa, the smṛtis, purāṇas, the śāstras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and various saṅgraha works. In the work itself, besides the above, Kātyāyana, Varāhapurāṇa and the smaller (svalpa) Matsyapurāṇa are quoted.

From the last verse[787] of the Hāralatā we know that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and was

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784 कल्पतरुकामधेन्वादिसंग्रहाकृष्ट महोपाध्यायेन विरचिते शुद्धिप्रकरणेऽन्त्येष्टिविधिः । folio 114b

785 प्रणम्य पुण्डरीकाक्षं पूर्वाचार्यप्रवर्तिताः । व्याख्या मन्वादिशास्त्राणां समालोच्य विविच्यते ॥

786 गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रं दृष्ट्वा छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम् । दृष्ट्वा स्मृतीश्च बहुशः परिसंख्यानं पुराणवाक्यानि ॥ गौतमवसिष्ठशास्त्रे नानासंग्रहवचांसि चालोक्य । युक्त्या स्वयं निरूप्य ज्ञात्वा सर्वं मतं च वृद्धानाम् । रचिता पद्धतिरेषा सम्यक् कर्मोपदेशिनी रुचिरा ।

787 सुरापगातीरविहारपाटके निवासिना भट्टनयार्थवेदिना । कृतानिरुद्धेन सतामुरःस्थलं विराजतां हारलतेयमर्पिता ॥

a student of the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). From the colophons[788] at the end of the Hāralatā and the Pitṛdayitā it appears that he was a Dharmādhyakṣa and a Cāmpāhaṭṭīya (a section among Vārendras) Brāhmaṇa of Bengal. The ms. in the India Office has a colophon in which Aniruddha is styled Dharmādhikaraṇika (Judge). From the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena we learn (verses 6 and 7) that Aniruddha was a *guru* of that king of Bengal and rendered assistance in the composition of that work. The Dānasāgara[789] was composed in *śake* 1091 (i. e. 1169 A. D.). From this it appears that Aniruddha was at the height of his fame in 1168, i. e. his literary activity may be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the Hāralatā names Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu as authorities and is therefore later than 1100 A. D. The Hāralatā is named as an authority in the Śuddhiviveka of Rudradhara[790]. The Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda (about 1510-1545 A. D.) frequently quotes Aniruddha and includes him among ancient authors.[791] The Pitṛdayitā is named in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (p. 503). In the Āhnikatattva (vol. I, p. 421) and Śuddhitattva (vol. II, p. 314) of Raghunandana the views of Pitṛdayitā are quoted. There is a commentary on the Hāralatā called Sandarbhasūcikā composed by Acyuta Cakravartin, son of Haridāsa Tarkācārya (vide I. O. cat. p. 567, No. 1753).

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788 इति चाम्पाहट्टीयमहोपाध्यायधर्माध्यक्षश्रीमदनिरुद्धभट्टविरचिताशौचव्यवस्था हारलता समाप्ता; इति चाम्पाहट्टीयमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीमदनिरुद्धभट्टविरचिता छन्दोगानां पद्धतिः पितृदयिता समाप्ता ।

789 निखिलभूपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवेन । पूर्णे शशिनवदशमितशकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ॥ at the end of the दानसागर; vide I. O. cat. p. 542 and Mitra's Notices I. p. 151. This very verse is quoted by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Vide JASB 1915, p. 347 n. 1.

790 सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपारिजातमिताक्षराहारलतादयोऽन्ये । तथापि तत्रालसमानसानां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥ I. O. cat. p. 563, No. 1742 ; Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 25. No. 1736.

791 किं तु अनिरुद्धादीनां प्राचामनुसारात् &c. श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी p. 388; vide p. 188 'अतो गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रविच्छेदमनाकलय्याधुनिकेन गौडमैथिलसंग्रहकारानिरुद्धश्रीदत्तादीनां विरुद्धं भट्टभाष्यादीनामसंमतं चोक्तं हेयमेव ।

In the proceedings of the ASB (for 1869 p. 137) a Cāturmāsya-paddhati of Aniruddha is noted. Mitra notices a work called Bhagavattattvamañjarī on Vaiṣṇava philosophy written by Aniruddha (Mitra's Notices vol. III. p. 155, No. 2700).

83. Ballālasena

This famous king of Bengal compiled at least four works. His Ācārasāgara is mentioned in the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedācārya and in the Madanapārijāta (p. 58). He also wrote the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara. Both these works are referred to as already composed in the Dānasāgara.[792] The Dānasāgara deals with the sixteen great *dānas* and other lesser gifts. The subjects dealt with by the Dānasāgara are as follows : eulogy of brāhmaṇas, eulogy of the merit arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be gifted away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen *mahādānas*, lesser dānas of various kinds (the author himself says at the end that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts), the names of various purāṇas and their extent. The Dānasāgara contains extremely valuable information about the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas. As it quotes extensively from the purāṇas, it serves as an excellent check for the textual restoration of purāṇas. For example it says that the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradiya purāṇas do not contain *dānavidhis* and hence they are not drawn upon in the work. In another verse he says that it is well-known that the Viṣṇurahasya and Śivarahasya are of the nature of mere compilations and so have not been relied on in the work. The Devīpurāṇa, he says, is approved of by the heterodox systems and is not included in various lists of purāṇas and upapurāṇas and hence it is not included in the Dānasāgara. He says that the subject of the dedication of reservoirs of water and of temples has been dealt with at length in ihe Pratiṣṭhāsāgara, so it is omitted in the Dānasāgara and that the gifts made in accordance with the divisions of the year (into *ayana*, season, month, pakṣa &c.) are not spoken of in their entirety in the Dānasāgara, as they are described in the Ācārasāgara. The work is mentioned in the Dānaratnākara

792 Verses 55 and 56 of his दानसागर (I. O. cat. 542, No. 1704-5).

of Caṇḍeśvara and in the Nirṇayasindhu. His Adbhutasāgara has been printed by Messrs. Prabhakari and Co. (1905). The authorities on which he relies therein are noted below.[793] The Adbhutasāgara is mentioned in Ṭodarānandasaṁhitā-saukhya and Nirṇayasindhu. This was his last work which he left unfinished and which was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. It deals with the rites and observances appropriate on certain celestial and terrestrial portents for removing the evil foreboded by them.

Ballālasena began the work in 1090 *śake* and the Dānasāgara was composed in 1091 *śake*. Therefore Ballālasena's literary activity must be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century (vide notes 674, 676 above). *Vide* also IHQ vol. V, p. 133 for the date of Ballālasena.

It appears that Raghunandana believed that the Dānasāgara was really the work of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa though published in the name of Ballālasena.[794] In the Dānasāgara itself it is distinctly stated that Ballālasena composed it under the directions of his *guru* (Aniruddha).[795] In the colophon he is styled mahārājādhirāja and and niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara.

84. Harihara

From quotations in the Vivādaratnākara it appears that Harihara wrote on vyavahāra. For example, the Vivādaratnākara first quotes (on p. 220) the definition of 'saṁsaraṇa' given by Bṛhaspati and then cites three verses of Kātyāyana defining a *catuṣpatha* and a *rājamārga* and prescribing punishments for causing obstruction and

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793 आथर्वणाद्भुत, उशनस्, कठश्रुति, कालावलि, काश्यप, गर्ग, वृद्धगर्ग, चरक, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पालकाप्य, बादरायण, बार्हस्पत्य, बृहस्पति, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त, भार्गवीय, मयूरचित्र, यवनेश्वर, राजपुत्र, वराहमिहिरग्रन्थ, वसन्तराज, वसिष्ठ, विन्ध्यवासि, विष्णुगुप्त, वैजवाप, शालिहोत्र, षड्विंशब्राह्मण, सुश्रुत, सूर्यसिद्धान्त.

794 Vide एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II, p. 44) 'विष्णुरहस्यानार्षत्वस्य दानसागरे अनिरुद्धभट्टेनाभिहितत्वाच्च'. The words of the दानसागर are: लोके प्रसिद्धमेतद्विष्णुरहस्यं च शिवरहस्यं च । द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं संग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ॥

795 अधिगतसकलपुराणस्मृतिसारः श्रद्धया गुरोरस्मात् । कलिकल्मषावसादं दाननिबन्धं विधत्ते नु ॥ . . . श्रीबल्लालनरेश्वरो विरचयत्येतं गुरोः शिक्षया स्वप्रज्ञावधि दानसागरमयं श्रद्धावतां श्रेयसे ॥ verses 7 and 9 of दानसागर I. O. cat. p. 542.

committing nuisance thereon. Then it notices that the verse 'yas-tatra' cited by it from Kātyāyana is cited by Harihara as from Prajāpati when the topic immediately preceding is 'saṁsaraṇa'.[796] The Vivādaratnākara quotes a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita prescribing the punishment for sexual intercourse with a virgin against her will and Harihara's explanation of the word 'dvyaṅgulaccheda'.[797] From these it is clear that Harihara wrote some work on vyavahāra, which has not yet been recovered. He must have flourished earlier than 1300 A. D.

There is a commentary on the Pāraskargṛhyasūtra composed by Harihara who is styled *agnihotrin* in the colophons. In one ms. copied in śake 1707 (1785-86 A. D.) he is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara. In the introductory second verse he says he relies on Vāsudeva. In the body of the work he refers (Gujarati Press edition) to Karkopādhyāya (p. 200), Kalpatarukāra, Reṇudīkṣita, and Vijñaneśvarācārya (p. 370). Therefore he is later than 1150 A. D. Harihara's views are mentioned by Hemādri,[798] the Samayapradīpa and Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta and in the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. Therefore this Harihara must be earlier than 1250 A. D. Whether he was really the pupil of Vijñāneśvara is doubtful. In his bhāṣya Harihara refers to words current in Kanoj.[800] Hemādri mentions Harihara's explanation of *nepālakambala* wherein the latter says that it is well known among the northerners.[801] Harihara-

796 हरिहरादिभिः संसरणानुवृत्तौ प्रजापतिरिति मस्तके दत्त्वा यस्तत्रेति वाक्यमवतारितमिह न फलतो विशेष इति। वि. र. p. 221.

797 शङ्खलिखितौ – कन्यायामसकामायां द्व्यङ्गुलच्छेदो दण्डः। ... हरिहरस्तु द्व्यङ्गुलपरिमाणलिङ्गच्छेद इत्याह। वि. र. p. 402.

798 तस्मात् त्रयोदशे श्राद्धं न कुर्यान्नोपतिष्ठेत इत्येव बहुग्रन्थदृष्टः काश्मीरलिखितश्च पाठो ज्यायान्। तथा च हरिहरादिग्रन्थेष्वेवमेव पाठो गृह्यते। चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 52; *vide* pp. 447, 483 of the same vol. for other references to हरिहर and also vol. III. 1. pp. 159, 1131, 1139, 1177, 1280.

799 तत्र हरिहरो मेघादिच्छन्नस्यापि निमित्तत्वमाह मासावच्छिन्नकालस्य गणितप्रमितत्वात्। समयप्रदीप (D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76 folio 52a).

800 सभाविश्रामार्थं काष्ठपाषाणविन्यासविशेषः पट्टकः। पट्टहर इति कान्यकुब्जे प्रसिद्धः। p. 376 of हरिहर's पारस्करभाष्य (Gujarati press ed.).

801 हरिहरेण तु पार्वतीयाजलोमसूत्रैर्निर्मितः कम्बलाकारः पट उदीच्येषु प्रसिद्ध इत्येवं व्याख्यातः। चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. p. 1177.

paddhati is mentioned in the Śrāddhatattva (vol. I, p. 281) and Harihara in the Yajurvediśrāddhatattva (vol. II, p. 488). We have seen above that a Harihara commented upon the Āśaucadaśaka of Vijñāneśvara. This fact together with his being not far from Vijñāneśvara's time may have led to the belief that he was a pupil of Vijñāneśvara. It appears probable that the jurist Harihara who flourished before 1300 and Harihara the bhāṣyakāra of Pāraskara who flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. are identical. The views ascribed to Harihara by Hemādri in his section on śrāddha are not found in the bhāṣya on Pāraskara. Therefore Hemādri is referring to some other work of Harihara. From a passage of Hemādri it appears that Harihara wrote after the Mahārṇava[802] (Prakāśa). Hemādri also tells us that Harihara refuted the views of Jayantasvāmī on a certain verse.[803] The same Harihara who commented on Pāraskara also wrote a commentary on Kātyāyana's Snānavidhisūtra wherein he mentions the Kalpatarukāra (vide D. C. ms. No. 101 of 1891-95). Several Hariharas are known. There is Hariharabhaṭṭācārya, the father of the great Bengal writer Raghunandana. A Harihārācārya composed an astrological work Samayapradīpa in *śake* 1481 (1559-1560 A. D.).

85. The Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa

This is a well-known digest on Dharmaśāstra. An English translation of the portion of it which is concerned with *dāyabhāga* was published in 1867 by T. Kristnasvami Iyer at Madras. The text has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (up to śrāddha) in Bombay and also in the Mysore Government Oriental series (up to āśauca). In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used and the Mysore edition for āśauca section. The Smṛticandrikā is a very extensive digest. It is almost the earliest (except the Kalpataru) among digests on dharmaśāstra of which mss. have yet been discovered. The printed text deals with the topics (kāṇḍas) of *Saṁskāra*, *Āhnika*, *Vyavahāra*, *Śrāddha*, *Āśauca*. It appears that

802 अथान्यान्यपि हरिहरेण कुहूग्रहणपराण्येवानिर्ज्ञातकर्तृत्वेन महार्णवलिखितत्वेन चोपालभ्य कैश्चिदुक्तानीत्युक्त्वोपन्यस्तानि । चतुर्वर्ग॰ III. 1. 183.

803 इह जयन्तस्वामिमतं हरिहरेणोपन्यस्तम् । अग्न्यभावे तु विप्रस्येति श्लोकस्य कदाचित्क-चिदसंनिहिताग्निः साग्निरेव विषयः । ... तदेतज्जयन्तस्वामिसंमतं त्रैवर्णिकमात्रविषयत्वमस्य तेनैव दूषितम् । चतुर्वर्ग॰ III. 1. 1339.

he wrote on prāyaścitta also. In the colophons of mss. of the work the name of the author is variously written as Devaṇṇa, Devaṇa, Devananda or Devagaṇa (vide I. O. cat. pp. 405-406). He is also described therein as the son of Keśavādityabhaṭṭa and as a *Somayājī*.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes most profusely from numerous smṛtikāras and affords valuable assistance in reconstructing some of the smṛtis and checking mss. and editions thereof. For example, it quotes about 600 verses from Kātyāyana on *vyavahāra* and about the same number from Bṛhaspati. Among works, commentators and authors of digests named by it the following may be noted: Aparārka, Trikāṇḍī, Devarāta, Devasvāmī, Āpastambakalpabhāṣyārthakāra (Āśauca p. 84), Dhāreśvara, Dharmabhāṣya, Dhūrtasvāmī, Pradīpa, Bhavanātha, Bhāṣya on Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, Dharmadīpa or Pradīpa (Āśauca p. 63), Bhāṣyārthasaṁgrahakāra, Manuvṛtti, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā, Vaijayantī (a lexicon), Viśvarupa, Viśvādarśa (Āśauca p. 164), Śambhu, Śrīkara, Śivasvāmī, Smṛtibhāskara, Smṛtyarthasāra. He mentions a Bhaṭṭācārya on Āśauca (p. 1, 2), probably Śrīnivāsa, the author of Śuddhidīpikā who wrote about 1159-60 A. D. (JASB 1915 p. 334). He quotes a passage from the work of an author, whom he styles Guru (probably his own teacher or father).[804] The Smṛticandrikā often critisizes these works and authors and advances its own views after considering the positions of others. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa was a southern writer and his work is according to judicial decisions of great authority in southern India.[805] But it has been held that in spite of its high authority it cannot override the Mitākṣarā even in the Madras Presidency.[806]

The contents of the Smṛticandrikā are: various Dharmas, such as those of *varṇas*, āśramas; usages of countries; saṁskāras, garbha-

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804 ततश्च द्वादशरात्रादिष्वप्येतत्सूचितमिति गुरुणा व्याख्यातं ततश्च दशमेह्नि यदि दिवाशौचोत्पत्तिस्तदापि द्वाभ्यामित्येतद्वोदितव्यमित्येतदन्तेन ग्रन्थेन । स्मृतिच० (आशौच p. 63).

805 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487, 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 209, I. L. R. 3 Mad. 290 (P. C.) at p. 302, I. L. R. 33 Mad. 439 and I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) for the high authority of the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका in southern India.

806 *Vide* I. L. R. 3 Mad. 265, 269 (barren daughter not excluded by a daughter having sons), I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 160 for this proposition.

dhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, marriage, etc., duties of student-hood and holidays; daily duties such as *śauca*, ācamana, brushing the teeth, bathing, *saṁdhyā*, *śrauta* and *smārta* rites; duties of householder; the five daily *yajñas*; rules about taking food, forbidden food; procedure of law courts, means of proof, ordeals, the various titles of law such as deposit, partnership, *dāyabhāga*; detailed rules about śrāddha, its various kinds, persons entitled to perform śrāddhas, the brahmaṇas proper to be invited at śrāddha etc.

The Smṛticandrika refers to Vijñāneśvara with great respect.[807] Yet there are several interesting points on which the Smṛticandrikā differs from the Mitākṣarā. The Smṛticandrikā questions (vide note 638 above) the statement of the Mit. that unequal distribution by the father of ancestral property among his sons should not be resorted to, as it has come to be abhorred by the people. The Smṛticandrikā does not approve of the definition of *dāya* given by the Mit.[808] The Smṛticandrikā does not accept Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the word 'apratiṣṭhitā' occurring in the sutra of Gautama, but upholds Aparārka's explanation of it (vide note 771 above). The Smṛticandrikā favours the theory of spiritual benefit in matters of succession and therefore among daughters prefers one that has sons over another daughter who is sonless.[809] It criticizes the reasons advanced by the Mit. for preferring the mother over the father as an heir to their deceased son and says that both parents succeed together.[810] Though the Smṛticandrikā in this way in some

807 व्याख्यातं चान्यथा विज्ञानेश्वरपादैः । मातरि पूर्वं प्रमीतायां ... पक्षिणीं क्षिपेदिति । स्मृतिच० (आशौच p. 64). This is a quotation from मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 20.

808 न च दायशब्देन यदुक्तं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तदुच्यत इति दायादिशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम् । एवं हि पत्युः स्वं पतिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तात्पत्नीस्वं भवतीति तस्यापि दायत्वापत्तिः । ततश्च अदायाः स्त्रिय इति श्रुतिविरोधो दुर्वारः स्यात् । अस्मन्मते तु विभागार्हं स्वं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भूतं दायशब्दार्थ इति विभागानर्हं पत्नीस्वं न दायः । स्मृतिच० II. pp. 267-268.

809 एवं च दुहितृषु संतानमुखेनादृष्टोपकारसंबन्धेनासन्नता । स्मृतिच० II. p. 295.

810 चशब्देन सूचितस्य दौहित्रस्यानन्तरमेव मातापितरौ समसमये धनभाजौ तयोरवान्तरक्रमन्यायाभावादित्यवगन्तव्योऽभिप्रायः । अन्यैः पुनरन्यथोत्प्रेक्षितम् । पिता सपत्नीपुत्रेष्वपि साधारणः &c. स्मृतिच० II. p. 297; vide note 638 above for the full quotation.

cases criticizes the Mit., it generally follows its lead. It holds, just as the Mit. does, that sons acquire by birth ownership in ancestral property. The author asserts that he puts forward no imaginary views but only such views as are based on (authoritative) texts.[811]

As the Smṛticandrikā names the Mit., Aparārka and Smṛtyarthasāra, its upper limit cannot be placed earlier than 1150 A. D. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Buddhasingh vs Laltusingh*[812] that Devanandabhaṭṭa is supposed to have been a contemporary of Aparārka. But this supposition is not quite correct. Since Aparārka is quoted several times as an authority to be preferred even to the Mit., it looks more probable that there is some distance of time between Aparārka and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. Hemādri quotes the views of the Smṛticandrikā probably oftener than those of any other *nibandhakāra*. In one place[813] he does not approve of the explanation given by the Smṛticandrikā of a verse occurring in the Mahābhārata about a man with male issue performing śrāddha on the thirteenth *tithi*. In another[814] place Hemādri refers to the view of the Smṛticandrikā on the question whether the *śrāddha* on *amāvāsyā* is optional with śrāddha in dark half. Therefore it follows that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed at least a generation earlier than Hemādri, i. e. before 1225 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā is frequently quoted by the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the Vīramitrodaya and other digests.

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811 सर्वलोकहितार्थाय क्रियते स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ॥ स्वाभिप्रायेण हि मया न किंचिदिह लिख्यते। किं तु वाचनिकं सर्वमतो मात्रैव निर्भयैः ॥ Intro. verses.

812 L. R. 42. I. A. 208 at p. 223.

813 यत्तु महाभारते दानधर्मेषु-कानीनां न भवच्छ्रेष्ठः कुर्वन् श्राद्धं त्रयोदशीम्। नावश्यं तु युवानोऽस्य प्रमीयन्ते नरा गृहे ॥ -इति पुत्रमरणरूपस्य दोषस्यापस्तम्बाद्युक्तस्य निराकरणं कृतं तदपि नात्यन्तकृतम्। ... यत्त्ववश्यं न म्रियन्त एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारस्य व्याख्यानं तदयुक्तम्। चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 482 ; the स्मृतिच० does quote the text of the महाभारत and remarks 'अवश्यं निश्चितं न म्रियन्त इत्यर्थः' p. 369.

814 यन्निगमस्मरणं-अपरपक्षे यदहः संपद्यताममावास्यायां विशेषेणेति तत् पृथक्त्वेपि उभयपक्षाविरोधीति न विकल्पे प्रमाणमिति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः। चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2. 461 ; the स्मृतिच० does contain the text quoted and remarks, अतो यत्कश्चिदुक्तममावास्याश्राद्धमपरपाक्षिकेण श्राद्धेन विकल्प्यत इति तदपास्तम्। II. p. 399.

Several authors composed works styled Smṛticandrikā, e. g. there is a Smṛticandrikā of Śukadeva-miśra (I. O. cat. p. 471 No. 1549), another by Āpadeva (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 301), another by Vāmadevabhaṭṭācārya (Mitra's Notices, vol. IX, p. 137).

86. Haradatta

Haradatta's fame stands very high as a commentator. He wrote a commentary called Anākulā on the Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra (D. C. Ms. No. 2 of 1866–68), a commentary on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (vide Dr. Winternitz's ed. of 1897, p. XIII), a commentary called Anāvilā on the Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra (published in the Trivandrum series), a commentary called Mitākṣarā on the Gautamadharmasūtra and a commentary named Ujjvalā on the dharmasūtra of Āpastamba. His commentaries are very good models of ideal commentaries. His commentary on the dharma-sūtra of Gautama (printed by the Ānandāśrama Press, Pooona) is more concise than that on the Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba (large extracts of which were published by Bühler in his edition in the B. S. series, the whole being printed by Halasyanath Sastri at Kumbhakonam and in the Mysore Government Oriental Library series). In his commentary on the Dharmasūtras he quotes verses from numerous smṛtis and from the purāṇas but hardly ever mentions by name any commentator or *nibandhakāra*. In his Anāvilā (page 9) he quotes the views of a Bhāṣyakāra who is probably Devasvāmin and mentions also a Caṇḍogagṛhyabhāṣya-kāra (on I. 2. 3). In his commentaries on both the Dharmasūtras he frequently quotes the opinions of previous commentators with the words 'anye,' 'aparaḥ,' 'kecit;' *vide* G. Dh. S. II. 28, VII. 4 and 14, IX. 52, XI. 17, XII. 32 and 33, XXIV. 5, XXVI. 9, XXVIII. 7 and 44 ; Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 24, I. 2. 5. 2 and 18, I. 3. 10. 4, I. 3. 11. 20, I. 5. 15. 20. etc. From the fact that he mentions two interpretations on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 2. with the words 'apara āha' and 'ityanye' and several interpretations on II. 7. 17. 22 it follows that he had before him two or three commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. In Bühler's edition Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 appears to refer to a gṛhya-vṛtti, but in the Kumbhakonam edition the reading is different (viz. *gṛhye gatam*). He is very careful to

point out the un-Pāṇinean forms in the sūtras of Gautama[815] and Āpastamba, explains at great length all grammatical matters and generally prefers readings that are in consonance with the rules of Pāṇini. He very often says that the text of the sūtras, particularly of Āpastamba, as handed down by oral tradition was either wrong or followed Vedic usage as regards grammar.[816]

From various references Haradatta seems to have been an inhabitant of Southern India or was at least very familiar with its usages. On Gautama XI. 20 he instances several usages of the Colas. On Gautama XV. 18 he gives a synonym in the Draviḍa language for[817] a skin disease called 'Kilāsa.' On Āp. Gṛ. S. VI. 6 (the sūtra 'nadīnirdeśaśca etc.) he gives Kāverī and Vegavatī as instances. On Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 (last sūtra) he refers to certain practices of the Draviḍas observed when the Sun is in Aries or Virgo.[818] The Vīramitrodaya classes Haradatta and the Smṛticandrikākāra among southern *nibandhakāras*.[819] From his remark on Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 25 (the sūtra 'anyatra rāhudarśanāt)' that the northerners do not recite that sūtra it appears that he affirms that he was a southerner.

Haradatta seems to have been a great devotee of Śiva. He begins his commentary on Gautama, on Āśvalāyana-gṛhya and Āp. Gṛ. with an obeisance to Rudra and his commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. and on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (otherwise called Ekāgni-

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815 e. g. on गौ. ध. सू. XXV. 8 he says 'वाङ्मनसोरिति पाठोऽसम्भ्यं न रोचते। अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिप्रसङ्गात्।

816 e. g. on आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 31. 21 'प्रायत्यब्रह्मचर्यकालेचर्यया च' he says 'प्रायत्यब्रह्मचर्याभ्यां काले चर्यया च। अयं तावदर्थानुरूपः पाठः। अधीयमानस्तु प्रमादश्छान्दसो वा।'. Vide remarks on आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 2 and II. 3. 7. 7 also.

817 किलासः त्वग्दोषो वललीति द्रविडानां प्रसिद्धः।

818 तत्र द्रमिडाः कन्यामेषस्थे सवितर्यादित्यपूजामाचरन्ति भूमौ मण्डलमालिख्येत्यादीन्युदाहरणानि।

819 Vide वीर० p. 705 शुक्लमाहिकया यत्र कण्ठोक्तः पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादौ यासां स्त्रीणां धनाधिकारस्तासामेव। अन्यासां तु श्रुतिमनुवचनाभ्यां दायग्रहणनिषेध एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारहरदत्तादीनां दाक्षिणात्यनिबन्धॄणां जीमूतवाहनादिपौरस्त्यसर्वनिबन्धॄणां सिद्धान्ताच्च।

kāṇḍa, 25th and 26th *praśnas* of Āpastamba-kalpa) with an obeisance to Mahādeva. Burnell (Tanjore mss. cat. p. 170) tells us that according to tradition in Southern India, Rudradatta, the commentator of the Āp. Śrauta-sūtra, is the same as Haradatta. In his commentary on Āp. Gṛ. S. I. 13. 5 (ghoṣavad caturakṣaraṁ vā) he gives as instances of the names of males Hara, Rudra, Deva, Haradatta and Bhavanāga. In the colophons the Anāvilā is described as the work of Haradattācārya-miśra.

Ghose in his Hindu Law (3rd ed. Intro. p. XV) says that, like Medhātithi, Haradatta denies the heritable rights of widows and must have come before Vijñāneśvara and not after. But Ghose appears to be wrong. Haradatta first says that according to the *ācārya* (i. e. Āpastamba) the *sapiṇḍas* of the deceased who took the property were obliged to maintain the widow of the deceased, while the view of Gautama was that the widow took on failure of male issue, an equal share along with the *sapiṇḍas*, and then Haradatta says that he himself liked the latter view.[820] He often gives interesting information. On Gautama XVII. 33 he tells us that *asafoetida* is eaten by all, even though it is a matter for consideration whether being the exudation of a tree, it is to be regarded as due to cutting (and so forbidden).[821] On Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 5. 14 he cites as an example of reviling (*ā-krośa*) the following : ' the Taittirīya is a Śākhā that is *ucchiṣṭa* (the leavings of food eaten), the Yājñavalkya and other Brāhmaṇa works are modern '.[822] On Gautama IV. 5. he says that what distinguishes the Prājāpatya form of marriage from the Brāhma and others is that there is in the former a stipulation that the husband is not to enter into another order of life (*āśrama*) nor is he to marry another woman.[823] On Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 15 he says that whereas in the case of marriage with a paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, the act springs

820 On आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 2 ' पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः ' he says ' भार्या तु रिक्थग्राहिणः सपिण्डाद्या रक्षेयुर्न तु दायग्रहणमित्याचार्यस्य पक्षः । ... गौतमस्तु पुत्राभावे पत्न्याः सपिण्डादिभिः समांशमाह । ... वयमप्येतमेव पक्षं रोचयामहे ।'.

821 हिङ्गुस्तु निर्यासो व्रश्चनप्रभवो न वेति चिन्त्यम् । सर्वथा शिष्टा अपि भक्षयन्ति ।

822 तैत्तिरीयमुच्छिष्टशाखा याज्ञवल्क्यादीनि ब्राह्मणानीदानीन्तनानीत्यादय आक्रोशाः ।

823 नाश्रमान्तरं प्रवेष्टव्यं नापि स्त्र्यन्तरमुपयन्तव्यामीति मन्त्रेण समयः क्रियते । एष ब्राह्मादेः प्राजापत्यस्य विशेषः ।

from the fact that one is pleased thereby, there is no necessity to infer a *śāstra* (a Vedic passage) once existing but now lost (in support of such usage).[824]

The date of Haradatta is a rather difficult problem. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. II. p. XLIII) at first thought that Haradatta probably wrote in the 16th century, but in his 2nd edition of the Āp. Dh. S. he says (p. VIII) that the Munich ms of the Ujjvalā written in Poona about 1600 A. D. shows the interpolated text found in all Devanāgarī copies and that therefore Haradatta is older than at least 1450-1500 A. D. The Vīramitrodaya[825] frequently cites the Mitākṣarā of Haradatta on Gautama. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.) in his Prayoga-ratna quotes Haradatta's comment on Gautama VIII. 14-22 about saṁskāras and his son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa names both the Mitākṣarā and the Ujjvalā of Haradatta in his Dvaitanirṇaya. The Prayogapārijāta of Nṛsiṁha, which is quoted in the Prayogaratna of NārāyaṇaBhaṭṭa and is therefore not later than the first quarter of the 16th century, cites Haradatta's explanation of Āp. Gṛ. S. (on ' pravāsād-etya putrasya śiraḥ parigṛhya japati ' etc.) and contrasts it with Nārāyaṇa's view. The Subodhinī of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa (about 1375 A. D.) on Mit. (Yāj II. 132) quotes certain smṛti passages as found in the vṛtti of Āpastamba which are found in Haradatta's gloss.[826] Hence it follows that Haradatta cannot be later than about 1300 A. D. The fact that Haradatta hardly ever names any commentator except perhaps Devasvāmin, the Bhāṣyakāra of Āpastambe-gṛhya, and that he holds antiquated views about the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate are strong arguments in favour of the view that Haradatta is comparatively an early writer. Hardly any writer after Vijñāneśvara assigns the same position to the widow as Hara-

824 यत्र पितृष्वसृमातुलसुतापरिणयनादौ प्रीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्रोत्सन्नपाठं शास्त्रमनुमीयते प्रीतेरेव प्रवृत्तिहेतोः संभवात् ।

825 Vide वीर० pp. 169, 655.

826 पूर्वाभावे परः पर इति रिक्थग्रहणक्रमोपि दर्शितो वाक्यशेषे स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वन्यथा दर्शितः। तथाहि आपस्तम्बवृत्तौ स्मृत्यन्तरसंग्रहः। औरसः पुत्रिकाबीजक्षेत्रजौ पुत्रिकासुतः। पौनर्भवश्च कानीनः सहोढो गूढसंभवः। दत्तः क्रीतः स्वयंदत्तः कृत्रिमश्चापविद्धकः। यत्र क्व चोत्पादितश्च स्वपुत्रा दश पञ्च चेति। सुबोधिनी. This occurs in हरदत्त's comment on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 1 (Bühler's ed. of 1894, p. 81).

datta does. Hence it appears that Haradatta could not have flourished much later than 1100 A. D. So he must be placed between 1100-1300 A. D., very probably near the earlier limit than the later one.

One important question is as to the identity of Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharma and Gṛhya sūtras and Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, a commentary on the Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya. Bühler felt uncertain about the identity. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-nirṇaya speaks of Haradatta as expounding[827] a *kārikā* of Hari (Vākyapadīya III. p. 260, Benares ed.) and also speaks of Haradatta as the author of the Ujjvalā and the Mitākṣarā without making any distinction between the two. This shows that he regarded the two as identical. Haradatta in his commentaries on the Dharmasūtras gives far more attention to grammar than almost any other commentator of Dharmaśāstra.[828] His grammatical disquisition on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 ('plāvanam ca nāmno ' etc.) is almost identical with the Padamañjarī on Pāṇini VIII. 2. 83 ('pratyabhivādeśūdre '). On Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 17 he quotes a verse as from the grammarians for defining the location of the *udīcyas*.[829] The Mādhavīya Dhātu-vṛtti mentions the Padamañjarī. From this it follows that the Padamañjarī was composed before 1300 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar places Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, about 1100 A. D.[830] The learned editor of the Anāvilā in the Trivandrum series points out that, as Haradatta is

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827 तदुक्तं हरिणा—गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात् प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः। नियमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वधर्मेणाभिधीयते ॥ अस्यार्थो हरदत्तेन विवृतः। द्वैतनिर्णय.

828 Vide comment on आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1 (तदतिक्रमे विद्याकर्म निःस्रवाति) where हरदत्त says 'स्रवतेः सकर्मप्रयोगो भाष्ये दृष्टः स्रवत्युदकं कुण्डिकेति' where he refers to the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि (*vide* Keilhorn, vol. II. p. 69).

829 'प्रागुदञ्चौ विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदकं यथा। विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती। इति वैयाकरणाः। तस्याः शरावत्या उदक्तीरनिवर्तिन उदीच्याः।'. हेमाद्रि quotes on the same sūtra of आप. the same verse with the reading सरस्वती for शरावती and styles it the saying of the ancients (चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. p. 1350). The अमरकोश makes शरावती the boundary of भारतवर्ष. Is Śarāvatī the modern Rapti, a tributary of the Śarayū, or is it the modern Shirāvati near Honavar in North Canara ?

830 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar ' pp. 39-40.

quoted in the Puruṣakāra which in its turn is mentioned in the Dhātu-vṛtti of Mādhava and as Śaraṇadeva, the author of the Durghaṭa-vṛtti, who wrote in *śake* 1095, cites the Jainendra and Kaiyaṭa but not Haradatta nor the Padamañjarī, Haradatta wrote about the close of the 12th century A. D. These circumstances render it highly probable (if not certain) that Haradatta the commentator of the Dharmasūtras is the same as the author of the Padamañjarī and that he flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. and probably about 1200 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā twice refers to the bhāṣya of the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra.[831] Haradatta's commentary is styled *vṛtti* and not bhāṣya and the citations do not occur in his work. Hence it appears that the Smṛticandrikā did not know Haradatta's works and the latter could not have flourished much earlier than the Smṛti-candrikā.

In the Padamañjarī Haradatta is said to have been the son of Padma (Rudra)-kumāra, younger brother of Agnikumāra and a pupil of Aparājita.[832] In his Padamañjarī Haradatta employs the word 'kūcimañci' which is a Telugu word.[833] The Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa printed in Grantha characters contains 12 chapters (54 to 65th) and the Śivarahasya printed in the said characters has one chapter (17th) which set out the life (*carita*) of a Haradattācārya. It is there stated that Haradattācārya's original name was Sudarśana, that he was the son of Vasudeva and that he died 3979 years after Kaliyuga began[834] (i. e. 878 A. D.). This Haradattācārya, being the son of Vāsudeva, was not the same as the author

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831 अत्र हि अधिकारत इति हेतुबलात् अन्येत्यादिपक्षत्रयं पूर्वपक्षत्वेनोपन्यस्तमित्युक्तं तद्भाष्ये । स्मृतिच० I. p. 25 (on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 19-23) ; अत एव जीवन्पुत्रेभ्यो दायं विभजेदित्यापस्तम्बसूत्रं व्याचक्षाणेन तद्भाष्यकारेण पुत्रेभ्य एव दायं विभजेन्न स्त्रीभ्यो दुहितृभ्य इत्युक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 300.

832 Vide Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri pp. pp 13-20 and pp. 171-178 (extract).

833 या पुनर्देशभाषाभिः संज्ञाः कूचिमञ्च्यादयो न तासां साधुत्वम् । p. 16 of the Report on Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri.

834 कल्यादौ च चतुःसहस्रसहिते यत्रैकविंशोनके पुष्ये मासि विलम्बिनाम्नि समगादष्टप्रजो मौद्गलः । पञ्चम्यां सितपक्षके भृगुदिने सप्तात्मजोद्यत्कटे कंसग्रामनिवासिभिः सुदर्शनः सार्धं विमानोज्ज्वलः ॥. कंसग्राम is in the Tanjore District.

of the Padamañjarī, who was the son of Padmakumāra. This earlier Haradatta may probably be the same as the Haradattācārya cited as an authority in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha on the Nakulīśa-pāsupatadarśana.[835] Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 33) identifies without sufficient foundation the Haradattācārya of the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha with Haradatta, the commentator of Āpastamba and Gautama.

A work called Hari-hara-tāratamya and another called Caturveda-tātparya-saṁgraha are ascribed to a Haradatta. Of the latter there is a ms. in the Deccan College collection (No. 109 of 1871-72), which contains 154 verses of fine penmanship. The first and last are given below.[836] Whether these two works were composed by Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharmasūtras, it is difficult to say. In the latter work the author sings a hymn of praise to Śiva as the supreme deity, points out how the Vedic *mantras* refer to him, how the various rites are meant for him, refers to the mythological representations of Śiva as *Kirāta*, or as wearing skin etc. All the verses upto 143 are in the Vasantatilakā metre, while towards the end there are a few verses in other metres such as Śikharinī and Rathoddhatā. He was a staunch Śaivite,[837] though the hymn breathes a spirit of tolerance and sympathy for different religious and philosophical systems. He refers to the Maitrāyaṇa Śruti, Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Kātyāyana-gṛhya, Bhagvadgītā, the Purāṇas as supplementing the Vedas (vedopabṛṁhaka), the Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

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835 तत्र विधीयमानमुपायफलं लाभः । ज्ञानतपोनित्यत्वस्थितिशुद्धिभेदात् पञ्चविधः । तदाह हरदत्ताचार्यः । ज्ञानं तपोथ नित्यत्वं स्थितिः शुद्धिश्च पञ्चमम् । &c. सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह pp. 162-63 (Govt. Oriental series, Poona).

836 यस्मै नमो भवति यस्य गुणाः समग्रा नारायणोपनिषदा यदुपासनोक्ता । यो नः प्रचोदयति बुद्धिमर्थिफतौ यस्तं त्वामनन्यगतिरीश्वर संश्रयामि ॥ first verse: अघटितघटनापटवे प्रकटितकरुणाय सिन्धुभृते । वटतरुमूलस्थितये विघटिततमसे महेश्वराय नमः ॥ last verse.

837 Verses 144-145 are विधातारं कश्चिद्भजति भजते कश्चन हरिं सुरानन्यानन्ये जगति सफलाः सर्वविधयः । तथापि त्वद्भक्ते शिव ननु यदा चर्मवदिति श्रुतो मन्त्रो देवान्तरभजनदैन्यं न सहते ॥ शशे शृङ्गं पुष्पं नभसि मृगतृष्णासु सलिलं प्रसूतिर्वन्ध्याया-मनवधिकमायुस्तनुभृताम् । विमुक्तिर्वा देवान्तरभजनलभ्या पशुपते न शक्यं नः संभावयितुमपि सर्वं विमृशताम् ॥

87. Hemādri

Hemādri and Mādhava are the Castor and Pollux in the galaxy of *dākṣiṇātya* writers on Dharmaśāstra. Hemādri is a very voluminous writer. He is the author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, an encyclopædia of ancient religious rites and observances. According to the statements contained in the work itself the author intended to treat Dharmaśāstra in five sections, called vrata, dāna, tīrtha, mokṣa and pariśeṣa.[838] The Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa was divided into four parts, viz., Devatā, Kālanirṇaya, Karmavipāka, Lakṣaṇasamuccaya.[839] The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series. Four volumes containing 6 parts and covering about 6000 pages have been so far printed. The second and third volumes have two parts each. The fourth volume which deals with *prāyaścitta* does not appear to be the work of Hemādri.[840] The work so far published is concerned with *vrata*, *dāna*, *śrāddha* and *kāla* (the latter two being parts of the pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa). That portion of the Caturvarga-cintamaṇi which was intended to treat of *tīrtha* and *mokṣa* has not yet come to light. It is extremely doubtful whether the author was able to carry out his gigantic scheme. Mss. of portions of the great work are described in the catalogues under various names, e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1379, p. 407 on *śāntika-pauṣṭikāni* is the same subject that is treated in *vratakhaṇḍa* pp. 1003ff., though there are considerable variations between the Ms. and the printed text.

Hemādri's is a standard work on the subjects with which he deals. He quotes most profusely from smṛtis and purāṇas and names a host of writers. He appears to have been a profound student of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. The discussions in his work, particularly on śrāddha and kāla, cannot be well understood without thorough acquaintance with the numerous *nyayas* of the mimāṁsā

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838 खण्डानि चास्मिन्व्रतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधानि क्रमशो भवन्ति। यत्पञ्चमं तत्परिशेषखण्डमखण्डितो यत्र विभाति धर्मः॥ चतुर्वर्ग० vol. II. part I verse 16; खण्डैश्चतुर्भिर्व्रतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधैर्वर्गचतुष्कमुक्त्वा। विरच्यते तत्परिशिष्टवस्तुव्यावर्णनार्थं परिशेषखण्डम्॥ vol. III. part 1 verse 25.

839 तत्रादौ देवताकाण्डं ततः कालविनिर्णयः। विपाकः कर्मणां पश्चाल्लक्षणानां समुच्चयः॥ महाप्रकरणानीह चत्वार्येतान्यनुक्रमात्॥ चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2. verse 26.

840 It begins 'अथेदानीं हेमाद्रिकारेण लोकोपकारार्थं &c.'.

which he employs at every step. To illustrate this a few instances may be cited at random. On pp. 137, 143, 156, 159, of his kāla-nirṇaya (vol. III part 2) he makes use of four different nyāyas of the *mīmāṁsā*.[841] The eminent commentators and *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra and other works named by him are given below.[842] It is somewhat remarkable that though he quotes Aparārka and the Smṛti-candrikā scores of times he hardly ever mentions by name the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. Though he does not promise a treatment of vyavahāra, here and there he makes sallies into the domain of vyavahāra. For example, he quotes the well-known sūtra of Gautama (10. 39) on the sources of ownership and holds a lengthy discussion thereon.[843] In another place he digresses into the question of the various kinds of *strīdhana* and their devolution (vol. III, part 1, pp. 530-531). He was of opinion that every-one, to whatever *śākhā* he may belong, should perform śrāddha in accordance with the directions thereon in all śākhās, kalpa and gṛhya sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and usages.[844] He makes the important

841 तेन ज्योतिष्टोमादिवत्-एकस्य तूभयत्वे संयोगपृथक्त्वमिति न्यायेन नित्यत्वमपि स्वीक्रियते। p. 137 ; this refers to जैमिनि IV. 3. 5-7 ; भोजनप्रतिषेधस्य नित्यजन्माष्टमीव्रतस्तुत्यर्थता वेदितव्या (applying the न्याय based on न पृथिव्यामग्निश्चेतव्यः) p. 143 ; this refers to जैमिनि I. 2. 5 and 18 and शाबरभाष्य thereon ; 'पुरोडाशं चतुर्धा करोति आग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोति ' p. 156 (this is उपसंहारन्याय in जै. III. 1. 26-27)· यानि पुनर्वाक्यानि नञ्शब्दवन्ति दृश्यन्ते तानि न निषेधपराणि नोद्यन्तमादित्यं वीक्षेतेतिवत् । p. 159 (this is पर्युदास).

842 अपरार्क (very frequently), आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रभाष्य, कर्कोपाध्याय (frequently quoted), गोविन्दराज, गोविन्दोपाध्याय, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवस्वामी (frequently), निर्णयामृत, न्यायमञ्जरी, पण्डितपरितोष, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, बृहत्कथा, बृहद्वार्तिक, भवदेव, मदननिघण्टु, मधुशर्मा, मेधातिथि, वामदेव, विधिरत्न, विश्वप्रकाश, विश्वरूप, विश्वादर्श, शङ्खधर (very frequently), शम्भु, वृद्धशातातपभाष्यकार, शिवदत्त, श्रीधर, सोमदत्त, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (very frequently), स्मृतिप्रदीप, स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश (or स्मृतिमहार्णव or महार्णव very often), स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरिहर (very frequently).

843 चतुर्वर्ग॰ vol. III, part 1, p. 525 where he says 'स्वामिसंबन्धेनैव निमित्तेन यदन्यदीयं द्रव्यमन्यस्य संभवति (स्वं भवति ?) स दायः । '; here evidently he has in view the मिताक्षरा.

844 सर्वशाखागृह्यकल्पसूत्रस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासाचाराविगतधर्ममात्रयुक्तमेव सर्वैः श्राद्धं कर्तव्यमिति स्थितम् । चतुर्वर्ग॰ III. 1. p. 753. The discussion is started on p. 748.

statement[845] that a person following any particular Vedic śākhā may enter into alliance by marriage with any other person of the same country following another Vedic *śākhā*.

Hemādri gives some account of himself in his work. The Mss. present great variations from the printed text. He belonged to the Vatsagotra.[846] He was the grandson of Vāsudeva and the son of Kāmadeva. The introductions to the *khaṇḍas* contains fulsome praise of Hemādri. One verse says that Hemādri scored out by showering wealth on poor people the lines that Brahmā had drawn on their forehead at the time of their birth (foredooming them to eternal poverty) and that Brahmā acquiesces in such conduct of Hemādri.[847] Another verse says that none existed, exists or will exist surpassing Hemādri.[848] He describes himself as in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad).[849] In the colophons and the body of the work also he is described as the *karaṇādhīśvara* of Mahādeva, as highly honoured by the king and as a minister (*mantrin*) of the king.[850] He gives in the introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa a detailed pedigree of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In the section on kāla (vol. III, part 2) he starts with Saṅghaṇa (i. e. Siṅghaṇa

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845 आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशाखाध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः सर्वतो विवाहसंबन्धाः । ... अतो न कन्यादाने नापि हविर्दाने स्वशाखीयद्विजनियम इति सिद्धम् । vol. III. 1. p. 381.

846 तेषामेव शिरोमणिर्विजयते विश्वाभिधानो मुनिः ॥ गोत्रे तस्य बभूव निर्मलगुणश्रेणीभृतामग्रणीर्विद्याचारविवेकविक्रमनिधिः श्रीवासुदेवः कृती । verses 1 and 2 of vol. III. 1. The D. C. ms. No. 312 of 1884-87 reads वत्साभिधानो मुनिः and it appears that विश्वाभिधानो of the printed text is a mistake.

847 लिपिं विधात्रा लिखितां जनस्य भाले विभूत्या परिमृज्य दुःशाम् । कल्याणिनीमेष लिखत्यथैनां चित्रं प्रमाणीकुरुते विधिश्च ॥ vol. I. verse 15 ; vol. III. 1. verse 17.

848 नैवासीन्न च वर्तते न भविता हेमाद्रिसूरेः परः । vol. I. verse 20, vol. III. 1. verse 22.

849 अस्ति शस्तगुणस्तोमः सोमवंशविभूषणम् । महादेव इति ख्यातो राजराजेव भूतले ॥ ... तस्यास्ति नाम हेमाद्रिः सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः । निजोदारतया यश्च सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः ॥ vol. I. verses 6 and 13. करण means a document. श्रीकरण may also mean 'writing the word śrī' (on official documents).

850 The colophon is श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहादेवस्य समस्तकरणाधीश्वरः &c; महादेवमहीपालमान्यो हेमाद्रिरादरात् । करोति निपुणं पुण्यमस्तोकरणनिर्णयम् ॥ vol. III. 1. p. 1318,

of the inscriptions), then speaks of his son Jaitrapāla (i. e. Jaitugi), his son Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara) and lastly of Mahādeva, son of the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa. This is not the place to go into the genealogy of the Yādavas. There are some discrepancies between the genealogy as presented by Hemādri and as gathered from the inscriptions and numerous copperplate grants of the Yādavas. *Vide* Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 2, pp. 248-249 for Hemādri and pp. 268-275 for extracts from the Vratakhaṇḍa, pp. 252 and 519 for two pedigrees of the Devagiri Yādavas and pp. 511-534 for history. The following may be consulted for the principal grants of the Yādavas :-- Ind. Ant. vol. 17, p. 117 (Kalas-budruk plate of Bhillama dated *śake* 948 or 1025 A. D.), E. I. vol. III p. 110 (Bahal inscription of Siṅghaṇa dated *śake* 1144), E.I. vol. III p. 217-18 (Gadag inscription of Bhillama dated *śake* 1113 i. e. 1191 A. D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 68 (grant of Kṛṣṇa or Kanhara dated 1249-50 A. D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 314 (Paithan plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1193), E. I. vol. XIII, p. 198 (Thana plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1194 i. e. 1272 A. D.), E. I. vol. XIX, p. 20 (Mamdapur inscription of Kanhara dated *śake* 1172 i. e. 1250 A. D. wherein his younger brother Mahādeva is described as *yuvarāja*). Mahādeva reigned from 1260 to 1271 and Rāmacandra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, from 1271 to 1309 A. D. Since in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri is said to be the keeper of the state records of Mahādeva, that work must have been composed at some time between 1260 and 1270 A. D. There are contemporary records available showing that Hemādri was in high favour not only with Mahādeva but also with his successor Rāmacandra. The Thana plate of Rāmacandra (dated *śake* 1194, i. e. 1272 A. D.) records the the grant of a village called Vaul in Sāsaṭi (modern Sāṣṭi in the Thana District) to thirty-two brāhmaṇas by Acyuta Nāyaka of the Gautama gotra and descendant of Jalhana, who was the governor of Konkan, and describes[851] Hemādri as one who had attained a pre-eminent position in the government through the favour of Rāmacandra and as one who was in charge of all (state) records and was the foremost minister.

851 इत्यादिसमस्तबिरुदावलीविराजमाने सकलभूवलयमनुशासति यदुकुलकुमुदचन्द्रे श्रीरामचन्द्रनरेन्द्रे तथैतत्प्रसादावाप्तनिखिलराज्यधुरीणतां वहति समस्तहस्तिपकाध्यक्षे ... समस्तकरणाधिपत्यमङ्गीकुर्वाणे च निर्जितसाडिमण्डले मन्त्रिचूडामणौ गुणरत्नरोहणाद्रौ हेमाद्रौ &c. E. I. vol. XIII at p. 202.

Hemādri is credited with a commentary on Śaunaka's Praṇava-kalpa.[852] He appears to have written a śrāddha-kalpa according to the rules of Kātyāyana which is distinct from his Śrāddhakhaṇḍa (vide Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat,. vol. II, p. 163, No. 217 and Stein's cat. p. 105). Hemādri also wrote a commentary[853] called Kaivalyadīpikā on the Muktāphala of Vopadeva, the famous author of the Mugdhabodha grammar. The Muktāphala embodies the philosophy of the Bhāgavata purāṇa in 19 adhyāyas and 784 verses (and a few lines in prose in 5th and 6th chapters). Vopadeva was a friend and protegee of Hemādri, who wrote several works at the encouragement of the latter. He says that he wrote the Hari-līlā (published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3), an index of the Bhāgavata for pleasing the minister Hemādri.[854] There is a commentary on this work called Viveka with which both Hemādri and Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī had something to do.[855] Hemādri also wrote a commentary called Āyurvedarasāyana on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa.

852 I. O. cat. p. 594 No. 1808.

853 टीकां मुक्ताफलस्येमां नाम्ना कैवल्यदीपिकाम् । हेमाद्रिः कटके चक्रे कामराजस्य (? रामराजस्य) वेश्मनि ॥ इति श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापचक्रवर्तिमहाराजाधिराजसोमवंशोद्भव-रामराजमन्त्रिवर्यहेमाद्रिदेवविरचिता मुक्ताफलटीका समाप्ता । Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 67-68 No. 1466. The मुक्ताफल with the com. of हेमाद्रि has been published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 5 (1920). This edition reads रामराजस्य.

854 श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा वोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥ ms. in Bhadkamkar collection; the last verse is यस्य व्याकरणे वरेण्यघटनाः स्फीताः प्रबन्धा दश प्रख्याता नव वैद्यकेऽपि तिथिनिर्धारार्थमेकोऽद्भुतः । साहित्ये त्रय एव भागवत-तत्त्वोक्तौ त्रयस्तस्य च भूगीर्वाणशिरोमणेरिह गुणाः के के न लोकोत्तराः ॥ This verse occurs at the end of the मुक्ताफल also.

855 The ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection folio 5 has 'इति श्री हरिलीलायां मधु-सूदनसरस्वतीनिर्मितं प्रथमस्कन्धविवरणम्'. A ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society Library ascribes the com. to हेमाद्रि and says मधुसूदनसरस्वती saw it through 'हरिलीलाविवेकोयं रामराजस्य वेश्मनि । कटके रचयांचक्रे तुष्ट्यै हेमाद्रिणा मताम् ॥ सरस्वतीश्रीमधुसूदनेन निर्व्यूढमेतद्बुधमोदनेन । जनः समस्तोपि रसायनेन व्रजेशभक्तिं व्रजतादनेन ॥ (BBRAS. cat. p. 329 No. 1157).

Altogether Hemādri was a towering personality. His name is associated throughout the Maratha Country with the construction of numerous temples having a peculiar style of architecture. He is also credited with having invented the Moḍi script. Within a few decades his Caturvarga-cintāmāṇi, particularly its *dāna* and *vrata* sections, came to be looked upon as the standard work in the whole of the Deccan and southern India. Mādhava in his Kālanirṇaya (p. 67) expressly mentions the Vratakhaṇḍa of Hemādri as an authority. This work was composed about 1340 A. D. In an inscription of Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadūra, son of Bukka I, dated *śake* 1291 (i. e. 1369 A. D.) the king is described as making various gifts following the composition of Hemādri.[856] This is obviously a reference to his *dānakhaṇḍa* and establishes that long before 1369 A. D. Hemādri had become a standard author in the Telugu country. The Vanapalli plate of Anna-Vema dated *śake* 1300 (about 1380 A. D.) describes Vema as giving the various gifts in Hemādri and his son as one who observed the *vratas* and *dānas*[857] described by Hemādri. Pedda--Komaṭi--Vema is described in a grant of *śake* 1344 as eager in bestowing gifts described in the rules of Hemādri.[858] Hemādri is quoted in the Madanapārijāta,[859] the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, the Nirṇayasindhu and other works.

88. Kullūkabhaṭṭa

Kullūka's commentary on the Manusmṛti styled the Manvarthamuktāvali is the most famous of all commentaries on Manu. It has been printed several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1909 has been relied upon. Kullūka's commentary is concise and lucid and his remarks are always to the point. He avoids all unnecessary discussions and is never prolix. He was not however original. He drew upon the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja and incorporated a great deal from them

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856 हेमाद्रिकृतिमार्गेण कुर्वन्दानान्यनेकशः । E. I. vol. XIV p. 102.

857 हेमाद्रिदानान्यकरोदशेषाण्यभुङ्क्त भूमिं द्विजभुक्तशेषाम् । and हेमाद्रिदानव्रती. Vide E. I. vol. III. pp. 59 and 61.

858 हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदक्षः । E. I. vol. XI. p. 325.

859 ये तु षट्त्रिंशन्मतेपि विचिकित्सन्ते तेषामपरार्कविज्ञानेश्वरचन्द्रिकाकारहेमाद्रिप्रभृतयः प्रतिभटीकर्तव्याः । मदनपारिजात p. 536.

into his own work without acknowledgment. For example, on Manu XI. 95 he simply summarises the remarks[860] of Govindarāja and cites only one out of the several quotations that are found in Govindarāja's Manu-ṭīkā. He severely criticizes both Medhātithi and Govindarāja, particularly the latter. He frequently pours ridicule on the latter (vide note 713 above). At the end of his commentary he says[861] that Medhātithi's skill lay in expounding what texts were authoritative and of substance and what were not so, Govindarāja in concise words explained the hidden meaning of the brief text (of Manu), while Dharaṇīdhara had his own method of explanation which was independent of previous tradition ; and therefore he undertook to write a commentary that would clearly set forth the real meaning of Manu. He was very proud of his achievement and says that neither Medhātithi nor Govindarāja nor other commentators explained in the way he did and that explanatory material like his would be difficult to find elsewhere.[862] He notices the explanations of Medhātithi and Govindarāja hundreds of times, discusses various readings and his commentary deserves to a considerable extent the eulogy pronounced by Sir William Jones[863] "At length appeared Cullūca Bhaṭṭa, who, after a painful course of

860 'पुंस एव ब्राह्मणस्य मद्यप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदसत् । सुरालशुन ... अभक्ष्याणि स्युः ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति इहैव सा दुर्मतिः क्षीणपुण्या अप्सु जलौकेति शुक्तिका वा पतिलोकं न सा याति . . . इति शङ्खवसिष्ठयाज्ञवल्क्यैर्ब्राह्मण्या अपि निषेधस्मरणात् ' । गोविन्दराज on मनु XI. 95 ; 'अत्र केचित् . . . ब्राह्मणस्य पुंस एव मद्यप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदसत् पतिलोकं न सा याति . . . सूकरी चोपजायते इति याज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिविरोधात् । ' कुल्लूक.

861 सारासारवचःप्रपञ्चनविधौ मेधातिथिश्चातुरी स्तोकं वस्तु निगूढमल्पवचनाद्गोविन्दराजो जगौ । ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्धरणीधरस्य बहुशः स्वातन्त्र्यमेतावता स्पष्टं मानवमर्थतत्त्वमखिलं वक्तुं कृतोयं श्रमः ॥. Vide his remarks about धरणीधर on मनु II. 83 and IV. 50 'धरणीधरेण तु एकाक्षरपरं ब्रह्म प्राणायामपरं तपः इति पठितं ... मेधातिथिप्रभृतिभिर्वृद्धैरलिखितं यतः लिखनात्पाठान्तरं तत्र स्वतन्त्रो धरणीधरः ' and परंपरीयमाम्नायं हित्वा विद्वद्भिरादृतम् । पाठान्तरं व्यरचयन्मुधेह धरणीधरः ॥.'

862 प्रायश्चित्ते बहुमुनिमतालोचनाद्यन्मयोक्तं सद्व्याख्यानं खलु मुनिगिरां तद्गजत्वं गुणज्ञाः । नैतन्मेधातिथिरभिदधे नापि गोविन्दराजो व्याख्यातारो न जगुरपरेऽप्यन्यतो दुर्लभं वः ॥ last verse of chap. XI.

863 *Vide Pedda Ramappa v Bangari Seshamma* I. L. R. 2 Mad. 286 at p. 291.

study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern."

Among the authors and works quoted by him (besides the usual smṛtis) are the following :—Garga (on II. 6), Govindarāja, Dharaṇīdhara, Bhāskara (bhāṣyakāra of the Vedāntasūtras, on I. 8 and 15), Bhojadeva (on VIII. 184), Medhātithi, Vāmana (author of the Kāśikā), Bhaṭṭavārtika-kṛt (on XII. 106), Viśvarūpa (the commentator of Yājñavalkya, on II. 189 and V. 68). The Viśvarūpa that he quotes on Manu V. 215 is the lexicographer and not the jurist as Aufrecht (in his great catalogue) appears to hold.

He gives us a little information about himself in the introductory verse.[864] He came of a Vārendra Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal (Gauḍa) residing in Nandana and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara. He wrote his commentary in Kāśī in the company of *Paṇḍits*. On Manu VI. 14 he mentions the names of certain vegetables that were current in Malwa and among the Vāhīkas.[865]

It appears that Kullūka also composed a digest called Smṛtisāgara. A Ms. of a portion of it called Śrāddhasāgara exists in the Calcutta Sanskrit College (cat. vol. II. p. 405, No. 446). In this his Āśaucasāgara and Vivādasāgara are referred to.

I secured a transcript of the ms. of the Śrāddhasāgara in the Calcutta Sanskrit College through the kindness of the Principal. The Śrāddhasāgara deals with the following subjects : —definition of of śrādha ; whether it is of the nature of *yāga*, dāna and homa ; various kinds of śrāddhas such as nitya, naimittika &c. ; the proper and improper places for śrāddha ; the proper times for śrāddha ; Aṣṭakā-śrāddha ; śūdras can perform aṣṭakā aud other śrāddhas ; intercalary month ; who are paṅkti-pāvana brāhmaṇas ; meaning of

864 गौडे नन्दनवासिनाम्नि सुजनैर्वन्द्ये वरेन्द्र्यां कुले श्रीमद्भट्टदिवाकरस्य तनयः कुल्लूकभट्टोऽभवत् । काश्यामुत्तरवाहिजह्नुतनयातीरे समं पण्डितैस्तेनेयं क्रियते हिताय विदुषां मन्वर्थमुक्तावली ॥

865 मूस्तृणं मालवदेशे प्रसिद्धं शाकं शिग्रुकं वाहीकेषु प्रसिद्धं शाकम् ।

nimantraṇa and āmantraṇa ; the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited ; the *darbhas*; śrāddhadevatās ; the sacred thread etc.

The Śrāddhasāgara is full of Pūrvamīmāṁsā discussions. The author says that he wrote it and the other two works (Vivādasāgara and Āśaucasāgara) at the order of his father. He quotes profusely from the Mahābhārata, the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas and from the dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis. He names the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra*. The other authors and works named are : Bhojadeva, Halāyudha (probably the author of Prakāśa on the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana), Jikana, Kāmadhenu, Medhātithi, Śaṅkhadhara. In one place we have a reference to Prabhākara and Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (on Kāla and Kāma being devatās) and in another place to Gauḍa-Maithila-Mayūkhabhaṭṭāḥ (which are probably marginal notes creeping into the ms. or refer to authors other than the well-known ones). He refers to the opinion of his own *guru* in opposition to that of the Kalpataru.

The date of Kullūka cannot be settled with certainty. Bühler held that he lived probably in the 15th century (S. B. E. vol. XXV. p. CXXXI). Ghose (Hindu Law, 3rd edition p. XVI) and M. M. Chakravarti (JASB 1915, p. 345) are of the same opinion. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 Sir Asutosh Mukerji places Kullūka in the 15th century (at p. 688). As Kullūka mentions Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, Kalpataru and Halāyudha he is certainly later than 1150 A. D. Raghunandana[866] in his Dāyatattva and Vyavahāratattva, and Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka frequently mention his views. Śrīnātha's com. on the Dāyabhāga refutes the view of Kullūka. The Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda refers to Kullūka's explanation of the word 'ākāṅkṣan' as 'Vīkṣamāṇaḥ' in Manu III. 258. The Rājanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the explanation of Kullūka.[867] Therefore Kullūka must have flourished before 1300

866 एको लुब्धस्तु साक्षी स्यादिति कुल्लूकभट्टधृतपाठः, एको लुब्धस्त्वसाक्षी स्यादिति जीमूतवाहनधृतपाठस्तु न युक्तः । व्यवहारतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 213); समांशाः समभागा एव भवेयुर्नोद्धारः कस्यचिद् देय इति कुल्लूकभट्टः । दायतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 193).

867 अत एव कुल्लूकभट्टः-राजशब्दोपि नात्र क्षत्रियजातिपरः किं त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपालयितृपुरुषपरः । राजनीतिरत्नाकर (ed. by Mr. Jayasval, 1924) p. 2. These are the words of कुल्लूक on मनु 7. 1.

A. D. Kullūka in his by no means small work nowhere refers to the Dāyabhāga, though he himself came of a Bengal family. This silence is explicable in two ways. As we have seen, Kullūka wrote in Kāśī and not in Bengal. Therefore if he flourished not long after Jīmūtavāhana, it is quite natural that writing in Benares he had not heard of the Dāyabhāga or read it. It has been shown above that Jīmūtavāhana probably wrote about 1100-1150 A. D. Therefore Kullūka flourished between 1150 and 1300 A. D. and probably wrote about 1250 A. D. M. M. Chakravarti is not sure as to how early Kullūka flourished but opines that he could not have flourished later than the first quarter of the 15th century (JASB 1915, p. 345 n. 1).

89. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya

Mithilā has made extremely valuable and substantial contributions to Dharmaśāstra Literature. From the days of the Yājñavalkya smṛti down to modern times the land of Mithilā has produced writers whose names are illustrious. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya is one of the earliest among the mediaeval Maithila *nibandhakāras*. He is the author of several works which will be briefly noticed.

The Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta was printed in Benaras at the Divakara Press and by the Venkateśvara Press in Bombay in *saṁvat* 1961. It is a manual of the daily religious duties of the followers of the white Yajurveda (Vājasaneyins),[868] such as *ācamana*, brushing the teeth, morning bath, *saṁdhyā*, *japa*, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, daily worship of gods, *vaiśvadeva*, feeding guests etc. Among the works and writers named are the following[869]: —Ācāra-cintāmaṇi, Kalpataru, Kāmadhenu, Kālikāpurāṇa, Gaṇeśamiśra, Rājā (probably Bhojadeva), Smṛtimahārṇava, Harihara and Halāyudha-nibandha. There is a commentary on this work called Ācārādarśabodhinī

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868 अह्नोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निबध्यते निबद्धो यो धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धृभिः ॥ 2nd intro. verse in D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76; समूलवचनाभोगो मीमांसान्यायनिर्मलः । श्रीदत्तेन सतामेष आचारे दर्पणः कृतः ॥

869 Vide for गणेशमिश्र and राजा 'अशिरस्कं मार्जनमिति गणेशमिश्राः' folio 15 b of आचारादर्श (D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76); 'इति राजाद्यलिखितं मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्टवचनं न प्रमाणमित्याहुः' folio 26 a; 'इदं च बौधायनवाक्यं राजाद्यलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतत्वाल्लिखितम् ।' folio 29 a.

composed by Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithila, at Benaras in 1640 A. D (Dr. Bhandarkar's report, 1883–84, p. 347). In this work he uses several vernacular words; e. g. he says that 'Śāla' tree is known as Sagavana[870] (in the vernacular).

Another work of his is the Chandogāhnika on the daily duties for Sāmavedins. He refers to it in his Samayapradīpa[871] and Pitṛbhakti. A supplement to it named Chandogāhnikoddhāra was written by Śaṅkaramiśra, son of Bhavanāthamiśra (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI p. 10, No. 1989).

The Pitṛbhakti is a manual on the śrāddha rites for students of the Yajurveda. It was based[872] on the Kātīyakalpa with Karka's bhāṣya thereon and on the works of Gopāla and Bhūpāla (i. e. Bhojadeva). It is frequently quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara. Among the writers named are (besides those that occur in the Ācārādarśa also) : Pitṛhitākaraṇikāra, Nārāyaṇavṛtti (on Aśvalāyana Gr. S.), Mitākṣarā, Ratnakaraṇḍikā, Vidhipuṣpamālā (26 a), Śubhākara, Smṛtimañjarī, Smṛtimañjūṣā, Halāyudha's Śrāddhādhyāya. This work first treats of the details of the *Pārvaṇaśrāddha*, then of ekoddiṣṭa, of the monthly śrāddhas, the śrāddha on the 11th day after death, of Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, of ābhyudayika śrāddha. It then proceeds to consider the definition of śrāddha.

The Śrāddhakalpa was composed by him for the Sāmavedins. It is referred to in his Samayapradīpa[873] and Pitṛbhakti (folio 33b)

The Samayapradīpa treats of the proper times for various *vratas*.[874] It is divided into three chapters (*paricchedas*). The

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870 ' शालवृक्षः सगवन इति प्रसिद्धः ' folio 9 b of the आचारादर्श. Compare Marathi ' सागवान. '

871 ' उक्तमस्माभिराह्निके ' folio 53a of समयप्रदीप D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76; ' न च सपत्नीकानामिति प्रपञ्चितमस्माभिश्छन्दोगश्राद्धकल्पे ' पितृभक्ति folio 24 a.

872 कातीयकल्पं सहकर्कभाष्यं गोपालभूपालमतादि दृष्ट्वा । मतां च वाख्यानि निशम्य सम्यग्यजुर्विदां श्राद्धविधिं विधास्ये ॥ first verse of पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ms. No 152 of 1892-95).

873 ' निर्णीतमस्माभिः श्राद्धकल्पे ' समयप्रदीप folio 49 a (D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76).

874 श्रीदत्तेन व्रतादीनां सारमाकृष्य लिख्यते । verse 2 of समयप्रदीप.

first is called Samayaparicchheda and dilates upon the definition of *vrata*, on the procedure about fasts, *nakta* and the *vratas* of Ganeśa and other deities, the second is called Saṁvatsara-kṛtya-paricchheda and treats of *vratas* from the *pratipadā* to the *amāvāsyā* in the several months and the third is called prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous) dealing with the *vratas* on *saṅkrānti* (the Sun's passage into another Zodiacal sign) etc. In this work Śrīdatta often refers to the views of the Gauḍas and contrasts them with his own. He also refers to Gauḍanibandha. No other writers or works except those that are already enumerated under Ācārādarśa and Pitṛbhakti are named in this work. On folio 7a there is a name which is somewhat indistinct and appears to be 'Mitāmitrādibhiḥ'. The Samayapradīpa is mentioned in the Kṛtya-ratnākara (pp. 400, 479, 505) of Caṇḍeśvara and in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsavaviveka.[875] Śrīdatta is more frequently quoted in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda than almost any other author or work.

As Śrīdatta names the Kalpataru, Harihara and Halāyudha's work on Śrāddha he must have flourished later than 1200 A. D. As Caṇḍeśvara mention his Samayapradīpa, Śrīdatta must have flourished before the first quarter of the 14th century. If Gaṅeśamiśra mentioned in the Ācārādarśa be the same as Ganeśvaramiśra, the author of Sugatisopāna and uncle of Caṇḍeśvara (which appears extremely probable), then Śrīdatta flourished a short time before Caṇḍeśvara and must have composed his works between 1275 and 1310 A. D.

It appears that there was another Maithila writer called Śrīdattamiśra, son of Nāgeśvaramiśra, who composed the Ekāgnidānapaddhati and one or two other works (Hp. Nepal cat. p. 129). The Nepal Ms. of the Ekāgnidāna-paddhati was copied in La-Sam 299 (Lakṣamaṇasena era 299, i. e. 1418 A. D.). Vide Hp. Nepal cat. XII, 45 and 129. So this Śrīdatta flourished towards the end of the 14th century in the reign of Devasiṁha son of Bhaveśa. Vide JASB for 1915 pp. 379-381 and 388-390 for Śrīdatta.

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875 समासरुधिरदानमाह श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायकृतसमयप्रदीपे भविष्यपुराणम् । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक p. 21 (Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad ed.).

90. Caṇḍeśvara

Caṇḍeśvara is the most prominent figure among Maithila *nibandhakāras* on Dharmaśāstra. He compiled an extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara or simply Ratnākara. This digest was divided into seven sections viz., on kṛtya, dāna, vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and gṛhastha.[876] Out of these the Vivādaratnākara dealing with dāyabhāga and the other titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*) has been printed in the B. I. series and has been translated into English by Mr. G. C. Sarkar and by Mr. Justice Digambara Chatterjee. The Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara and the Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā (modern Tirhut) so far as British Indian Courts are concerned.[877]

The Kṛtya-ratnākara deals in 22 *taraṅgas* with the discussion of *Dharma* (its real nature, its rewards, means of knowing it and the occasions for it), the various vratas and observances in the several months from *Caitra*, the observances in the intercalary month, various *vratas* on the several days of the week, the Sun's passage into a new sign, eclipse on the new-moon day etc. This work is referred to in his Dānaratnākara, which in its turn is quoted in the Gṛhastha-ratnākara.[878] The work has recently been printed in the B. I. series (1925).

The Gṛhastharatnākara is a very extensive work in 68 *taraṅgas* on the duties of householders. The Deccan College Ms. that I could consult is incomplete, has only folios 30, 72-133 and contains the last 23 *taraṅgas* only. Some of the subjects dealt with are :— from whom gifts were to be accepted by gṛhasthas; duties and

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876 श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहारशुद्धिपूजाविवादेषु गृहस्थकृत्ये। रत्नाकरा धर्ममुखो निबन्धाः कृतास्तुला-पुरुषदेन सम ॥ verse towards the end of the विवादरत्नाकर; last verse of दान-रत्नाकर (D. C. Ms. No. 114 of 1884-85, where we have धर्मसु ये निबद्धाः कृताः श्रीचण्डीश्वरमन्त्रिणा ते)

877 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174; I. L. R. 20 All. 267 (P. C.) at p. 290; I. L. R. 10 Cal 392 at p. 399; I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 351.

878 अम्भोकमपि यद्दानं कृत्यरत्नाकरे पुनः। मासादिकृत्यसामस्त्यं गौरवात्तदुदीरितम् ॥ Intro. verse in दानरत्नाकर (D. C. M.s. No. 114 of 1884-86); अस्मत्प्रतिग्रह-श्चान्यस्माभिर्दानरत्नाकरे देयादेयतरङ्गे प्रदर्शिताः। गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 76 a.

actions proper for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras; the observances of a *snātaka*; *yama* and *niyama*; *śauca*; the observances of *brahmacarya*; what ruins families; proper abode for a gṛhastha; what a gṛhastha should or should not speak or should or should not see; things not to be given to *śūdras*; the avoidance of anger, adultery and intermixture of castes (*saṁkara*); requiting of debts etc.

The Dānaratnākara contains 29 *taraṅgas* and deals with the following subjects:—meaning of *dāna*; what may or may not be gifted; fit objects of charity; the gifts called *mahādānas*; gifts of a thousand cows and heaps of corn; various gifts, such as those of food, books; gifts appropriate to certain months, *nakṣatras* and *tithis*; miscellaneous gifts; dedication of wells and tanks for public use; planting of trees.

The Vivādaratnākara is an extensive work (671 pages in print) in 100 *taraṅgas* on civil and criminal law and deals with the 18 titles of law such as *dāyabhāga* (on partition and inheritance), ṛṇādāna (recovery of debts) and others. It formed the basis of the Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra, the Vivāda-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati and the Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna. It is mentioned in his own Gṛhastharatnākara.[879]

The Vyavahāraratnākara deals with judicial procedure, such as the plaint, the reply, the burden of proof, means of proof, judgment etc. Vide Mitra's notices, vol. VI. p. 66, No. 2036.

The Śudhiratnākara is in 34 *taraṅgas* and deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no āśauca, meaning of *sapiṇḍa*, rites on death up to the end of the period of mourning, purifications of food and various substances. Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. VII. p. 149, No. 2384 and I. O. cat. p. 412, No. 1389.

For the Pūjāratnākara, vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 162, No. 2398. That work is mentioned by Raghunandana in the Śuddhi-tattva (vol. II, p. 299 on Śālagrāma stone).

Besides this digest Caṇḍeśvara compiled several other works.

Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is one of such works. It is a question when it was composed. In his Gṛhastharatnākara he says that certain

879 इत्यादीनि चान्यानि पुण्यदेशे विवादरत्नाकर एवास्माभिर्वर्णितानीति । गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 133 b.

architectural and decorative constructions called Śrīvṛkṣa, Vardhamāna and Nandyāvarta have been spoken of by him in the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi[880] But the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi says that he has already composed the seven ratnākaras.[881]

The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is divided into sections called prakāśas. It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and saṁskāras, such as *tārāśuddhi*, the intercalary month, garbhādhāna, sīmantonnayana, birth of a child on the Mūla nakṣatra, the rites on the 6th day after birth, nāmakaraṇa, the movements of Saturn, Sun's passage from one sign into another, the results of eclipses etc.

Another work of Caṇḍeśvara, the Rājanītiratnākara, has been recently edited at Patna (1924) by Mr. K. P. Jayasval with a learned introduction dealing with the personal history of Caṇḍeśvara, his relations with the Maithila kings and the mediaeval Indian literature on politics. It appears that Caṇḍeśvara did not complete the writing of a work on politics when he compiled his great digest. He wrote the work at the command of the king Bhaveśa (or Bhaveśvara) of Mithilā.[882] The work contains 16 *taraṅgas* (waves, i. e. chapters) on the following subjects :– definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings ; the characteristics and duties of amātyas (councillors) ; the characteristics of *purohita* ; the characteristics and duties of a prāḍvivāka (Judge); the members of the hall of justice (sabhyas), their number and qualifications; concerning forts; the time and place and accessories of the settlement of royal policy ; concerning the state treasury ; the army ; the commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army ; ambassadors, allies, and spies; the general obligations of kings, conflict of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the six *guṇas* -- saṁdhi etc., the maṇḍala of kings; the king's power of punishment ; abdication by king, the heir-apparent, impartibility of the kingdom ; the eldest son's right to succeed, the

880 श्रीवृक्षवर्धमाननन्द्यावर्ताः प्रासादविशेषाः सुवर्णदार्वादिनिर्मिताः कृत्यचिन्तामणावस्माभिरुक्ताः । folio 113a of D. C. Ms. No. 44 of 1883-84.

881 आम्नायस्मृतिनिर्णयाय कृतवांस्तान्सप्तरत्नाकरान् । Intro. verse 12 of कृत्यचिन्तामणि (I. O. cat. p. 511, No. 1261).

882 राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् । तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः कृती ॥ 3rd intro. verse राजनीतिर०.

seven constituent elements of the state; the state's obligation towards the poor, the helpless etc.; the coronation of the heir-apparent or his investiture.

There are two more works composed by Caṇḍeśvara viz., the Dānavākyāvali and the Śivavākyāvali (vide I. O. cat. p. 1409, No. 3724 for the latter).

Caṇḍeśvara names in his works, particularly in the Kṛtyaratnākara and the Vivādaratnākara, a host of writers and works. In his great digest he drew largely upon five predecessors and incorporated often without acknowledgment much or almost all that was valuable in them. These five predecessors were the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru, the Pārijāta, the Prakāśa (i. e. Smṛtimahārṇava) and Halāyudha, all of which he quotes scores of times. At the end of the Vivādaratnākara he boasts that whatever is of the essence in the above five works and even more is comprehended in his single work the Ratnākara.[883] Among the authors and works mentioned in his seven ratnākaras, those mentioned below deserve to be noted.[884] In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 (at p. 356) the learned judges appear to hold that the Pārijāta mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi is the Madanapārijāta. But this is obviously a mistake (vide p. 309 above on Pārijāta). Besides these in his Rājanītiratnākara he names Kāmandaka, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Pallava and Pallavakāra, Śrīkara. What

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883 कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे। यत्सारमस्मादधिकं च यत्तत्-सृषाति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ यं कामधेनुरनुयाति सकल्पवृक्षो (क्षा?) यं सेवते निज-फलाय स पारिजातः। तं वैरिगोत्रभिदमुच्चसहस्रदर्पिं चण्डेश्वरं तुलयितुं कतमे भवन्तु ॥ (vide notes 652 and 703 for these two verses).

884 असहाय, उदयकर (commentator of मनु, vide विवादरत्ना० pp. 453, 560, 590), कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यसमुच्चय, गोपाल, महेश्वरमिश्र (वि. र. p. 46), जिक-नीयनिबन्ध, दानसागर (folio 15a दानर०), देवेश्वरधर्माधिकरणिक, पारिजात, प्रकाश, प्रतिमासंग्रह, भर्तृयज्ञ (गृहस्थर० folio 78a, on गौतमधर्मसूत्र), भाष्यकार (of शङ्खलिखित), भागुरि (वि. र. p. 104), भूपाल, भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपाल-पद्धति, माधवस्वामी (गृहस्थर० 116 a), मिश्र (वि. र. p. 595), मिताक्षरा, मुरारिराज, मेधातिथि, राजमार्तण्ड, लक्ष्मीधर, वर्षदीपिका, वसन्तराज, विश्वरूपाचार्य, व्रतसागर, श्रीदत्त, समयप्रदीप, सागर (दानरत्नाकर 10 b), स्मृतिरत्नविवेक, स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश, हरिहर, हलायुधनिबन्ध. The कृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपालपद्धति and भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय seem to be the same work.

is printed as Naṭasūtra in the Vivādaratnākara (p. 477) is really Lāṭa (i. e. Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra). Caṇḍeśvara mentions many vernacular words (e. g. Krityaratnākara pp. 109, 111, 306, 338, 443).

We learn a great deal about the family and personal history of Caṇḍeśvara from his works. The Vivādaratnākara in the introduction and in the colophon tells us that Caṇḍeśvera was a *mantrin* (a minister), was entrusted with the office of minister for peace and war, that he conquered Nepal and weighed himself against gold on the banks of the Vāgvatī in *śake* 1236 (1314 A. D.).[885] There are more or less similar colophons at the end of the Rājanītiratnākara and the other ratnākaras. The grand-father of Caṇḍeśvara was Devāditya,[886] who was minister of Harasiṁhadeva of Tirhut and who belonged to the Kārṇāṭa family. One of the sons of Devāditya was Vīreśvara who was also a minister for peace and war of the same king and is said to have made grants to learned Brāhmaṇas in Rāmapura (i. e. Simraon in Champaran District) and other cities (verse 10 of Kṛtyaratnākara). Mr. Jayasval points out in his introduction to the Rājanīti-ratnākara (j) that the correct name of the king was Harisiṁhadeva. Another son of Devāditya was Gaṇeśvara who was younger than Vīreśvara and who was also a great minister and author of Sugatisopāna. A copy of this work bears the date *La-sam* (Lakṣmaṇasena era) 224 (i. e. 1343-44 A. D.).[887] In the colophon of this work Devāditya is called 'mahāmatta' (mahāmātra) and Ganeśvara is styled mahārājādhirāja. In the

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885 श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा मतिमतानेन पसन्नात्मना नेपालाखिलभूमिपालजयिना धर्मेन्दुदुग्धाब्धिना । वाग्वत्याः सरितस्तटे सुरधुनीसाम्यं दधत्याः शुचौ मार्गे मासि यथोक्तपुण्यसमये दत्तस्तुलापूरुषः ॥ 3rd Intro. verse ; at the end we have रसगुणभुजचन्द्रैः संमिते शाकवर्षे सहसि धवलपक्षे वाग्वतीसिन्धुतीरे । अदित तुलितमुच्चैरात्मना स्वर्णराशिं निधिरखिलगुणानामुत्तमः सोमनाथः ॥ इति सप्रक्रियमहासान्धिविग्रहिकठक्कुरमन्त्रिवरश्रीवीरेश्वरात्मजसप्रक्रियमहासान्धिविग्रहिकठक्कुरश्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते विवादरत्नाकरः संपूर्णः ।

886 आसीन्मैथिलतीरभुक्तिविषये मन्त्रप्रभावाद्भुतः ... देवादित्य इति त्रिलोकमहितो मन्त्रीन्द्रचूडामणिः ॥ 2nd intro. verse to कृत्यचिन्तामणि (I. O. cat p. 511, No. 1621) ; अस्ति श्रीहरसिंहदेवनृपतिर्निःशेषविद्वेषिणां निर्माथी मिथिलां प्रशासदखिलां कार्णाटवंशोद्भवः । verse 4 of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

887 *Vide* cat. of Nepal palm-leaf and paper mss. p. 132 (Haraprasad Sastri).

Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara the Sugatisopāna is said to be the work of one who was *pratihastaka* (deputy) of Bhavaśarma.[888] Caṇḍeśvara was the son of Vīreśvara and like his father and grandfather became minister of Harisiṁhadeva. This must have happened about 1310 A. D., as he weighed himself in 1314 A. D. The Kṛtyaratnākara (verse 15) says that he touched the very idol of Paśupati in Nepal and worshipped it after conquering the country.

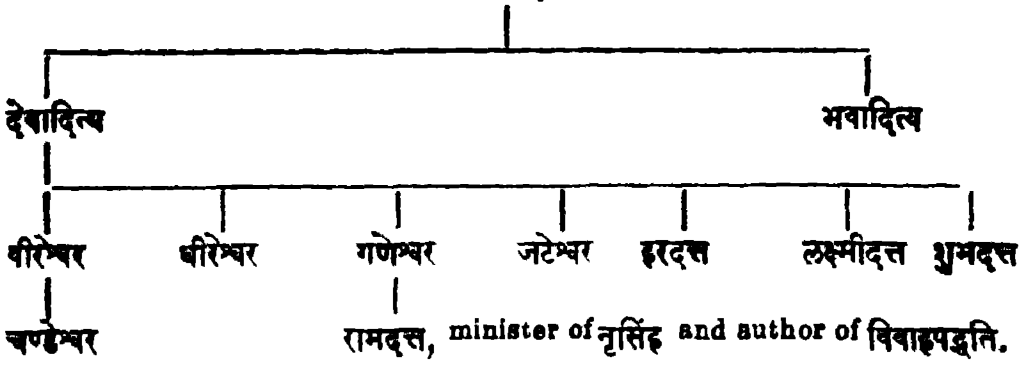
From the Vyavahāraratnākara it appears that Caṇḍeśvara was Chief Judge as well as Minister for peace and war.[889] Caṇḍeśvara and his ancestors are highly praised for their liberality.[890] In the Dānaratnākara (verse 2 at the end) he is said to have rescued the earth submerged in the flood of Mlecchas.[891] This probably refers to the defeat of some Mahomedan generals. Harisiṁhadeva was routed by Ghiasuddin Tughlak in 1324 and retired from Tirhut

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888 श्राद्धविवेक p. 4 (Benares ed. of 1920 संवत्) ' इति सुगतिसोपानादौ भवशर्मप्रतिहस्तकग्रन्थे क्रमः ।'

889 निर्णीय व्यवहारसागमदृशा यः प्राड्विवाकः स्फुरन्
विचारचारुधिषणो धर्मं नयत्युन्नतिम् ।
तेनायं गुरुसन्धिविग्रहधुरा धौरेयसंनीतिना
श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितः प्राज्ञेषु रत्नाकरः ॥

Mitra's Notices, vol VI. p. 67. The second pāda has four syllables less. The genealogy of चण्डेश्वर's family is



890 यस्य दानातिरेकेण लोके निर्जितगौरवः । कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः कचित् कचित् ॥ 4th verse at end of दानरत्नाकर, Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 135 ; verse 21 of कृत्यरत्नाकर says that चण्डेश्वर dug a large lake in अभिरामपुर.

891 मग्ना म्लेच्छमहार्णवे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लीलया.

into Nepal.[892] Hence it follows that the seven Ratnākaras some of which (like vivāda and dāna) refer to his weighing himself against gold in 1314 A. D. and his high position at the court of Harisiṁhadeva were composed between 1314 and 1324 A. D. His Rājanītiratnākara was composed at the command of Bhaveśa. This last belonged to the line of the Kāmeśvara dynasty which began to rule Tirhut in the third quarter of the 13th century, in 1370 A. D. according to Mr. Jayasval (introduction to Rājanītiratnākara, r). Therefore the literary activities of Caṇḍeśvara extended over about 50 years from 1314 and the Rājanīti-ratnākara was probably his last work composed at a very advanced age. For the somewhat controversial and confused chronology of the Tirhut kings of the Karṇāṭa and Kāmeśvara dynasties, vide Hp. cat. (Introduction p. 31); Grierson in Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 182-196 and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, p. 57; JASB 1915 pp. 407-433 (M. M. Chakravarti); JBORS vol. IX, p. 300 and X, p. 37 (Jayasval).

Caṇḍeśvara exercised very great influence over Maithila and Bengal writers. Misarumiśra, Vardhamāna, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana[893] very frequently quote him. The Vīramitrodaya (p. 181) calls the Ratnākara 'Paurastya-nibandha' (eastern digest).

91. Harinātha

Harinātha is the author of a digest called Smṛtisāra on several topics of dharmaśāstra. No part of this work has been yet printed. In the India Office there are two mss. of the Smṛtisāra (I. O. cat. p. 448, No. 1488 and p. 449, No. 1489). The first cites 67 authorities (*pramāpakāḥ*) on Dharmaśāstra, out of which the Karmapradīpa, the Kalpataru, the Kāmadhenu, Kumāra, Gaṇeśvaramiśra, Vijñāneśvara, Vilamba (?), Smṛtimañjūṣā and Harihara deserve special mention. This ms. contains the portion of the Smṛtisāra on the saṁskāras, rites on death, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. The other ms. deals with the principal topics of vivāda (various titles of law) and vyavahāra (judicial procedure), viz. partition, father's share

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892 The Pañji historian of Mithilā thus describes the departure of हरसिंहदेव 'बाणाब्धियुग्मशशिसंमितशाकवर्षे पौषस्य शुक्लनवमीरविसूनुवारे । त्यक्त्वा सुपट्टनपुरीं हरसिंहदेवो दुर्दैवदेशितपथोऽथ गिरिं विवेश ॥'.

893 The दानरत्नाकर, पूजारत्नाकर and शुद्धिरत्नाकर are quoted in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (e. g. pp. 284, 299, 301, vol. 1).

on partition, larger share to eldest son, persons excluded from partition and inheritance, impartible property; *strīdhana*; the several kinds of sons; succession to the property of the sonless; re-union; gambling and prize-fighting and other titles of law; various methods of *daṇḍa* (punishment); the various units of measure etc.; judicial procedure i. e. the plaint, the reply, the means of proof, viz, documents, witnesses, possession, reasoning, oaths, and ordeals; review of judgment; minority and dependence; rules about succession according to various authors. This last portion appears to be a sort of supplement, wherein the views of Bālarūpa, Pārijāta, Halāyudha, Kalpataru and of the Smṛtisāra itself on the order of succession to a man dying sonless are set forth. Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara are named in the summary of Bālarūpa's views and the Prakāśa at a later stage (folio 148 b). Bhavadeva-nibandha is also expressly named on possession.

No information is given in the mss. about Harinātha himself. He is styled in the colophons ' mahāmahopādhyāya. ' In several places he refers to the views of the Gauḍas on *ācāra*; e. g. he cites the view of the Gauḍas that on a fasting day or śrāddha day one should not employ the twig used in dantadhāvana and that when there is Ekādaśī on two days a house-holder should observe a fast on the first and a *yati* on the second. It appears that he was not a Gauḍa but rather a Maithila.

The India Office ms. of the *vivāda* portion of the Smṛtisāra is dated *saṁvat* 1614 (i. e. 1558 A. D.). Another ms. of the same portion (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. V, p. 232, No. 1913) was copied in Lakṣmaṇa *saṁvat* 363 i. e. 1469-1470 A. D. Śūlapāṇi quotes the Smṛtisāra in his Durgotsavaviveka. Misarumiśra in his Vivādacandra several times refers to the opinions of the Smṛtisāra.[894] Hence it follows that the Smṛtisāra was composed before the last quarter of the 14th century. Caṇḍeśvara in his voluminous work

894 e. g. न बाधेः कालसंबोधान्निसर्गोस्ति न विक्रय इति वचनात् कालसंबोधः कालावस्थानं निसर्गोत्र व्यधिकरणम् । भोग्याधिविषयामिति स्मृतिसारः । folio 5a of विवादचन्द्र (D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84); अत एव स्मृतिसारे यदा पितैव केनचित्पुत्रेण संसर्गो (संसृष्टो ?) तदा तद्धनं संसृष्टपुत्रो गृह्णीयान्नासंसृष्टपुत्रः संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीत्यविशेषेणाभिधानादित्युक्तम् । folio 37 b ; vide also 57 b for another reference to स्मृतिसार.

nowhere refers to Harinātha nor does the latter refer to him. Hence they were probably contemporaries or not separated by any appreciable interval of time. As Harinātha mentions the Kalpataru and Harihara, he must be later than about 1250 A. D. If Ganeśvaramiśra[895] mentioned by Harinātha be the author of the Sugatisopāna (which is extremely probable) who was an uncle of Caṇḍeśvara, then Harinātha cannot be earlier than about 1300 A. D. and flourished at about the same time as Caṇḍeśvara, viz, the first half of the 14th century A. D. Harinātha is quoted by Vācaspatimiśra in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Raghunandana (in Udvāhatattva vol. I, pp. 108, 119, Āhnikatattva vol. I, p. 240, Śuddhitattva vol. II, p. 240), Kamalākara, Nīlakaṇṭha and a host of other later writers. In the Ekādaśītattva p. 45 Harinātha is spoken of as *upajīvya* by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

There are several works styled Smṛtisāra e. g. of Kesavaśarma (Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 76), of Yādavabhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭācārya (Mitra's Notices, vol. IV p. 213 No. 1642), of Devayājñika (D. C. Ms. No. 266 of 1884-87 and 344 of 1886-92, the latter being called Smṛtisārasaṁgraha). Hence it often becomes difficult to say in the case of later works, what particular Smṛtisāra is being quoted.

92. Mādhavācārya

Mādhavācārya is the brightest star in the galaxy of *dākṣiṇātya* authors on dharmaśāstra. His fame stands only second to that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He had a most versatile genius and either himself wrote or inspired his brother Sāyaṇa and others to write voluminous works on almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. As an erudite scholar, as a far-sighted statesman, as the bulwark of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the first days of its foundation, as a *saṁnyāsin* given to peaceful contemplation and renunciation in old age, he led such a varied and useful life that even to this day his is a name to conjure with. Among his numerous works two deserve special mention here, viz : the Parāśara-mādhavīya, his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti and the Kālanirṇaya.

895 श्वः कर्तास्मीति निश्चित्य दाता विप्रान्निमन्त्रयेत् । निरामिषं सकृद्भुक्त्वा सर्वभुक्जने गृहे । असंभवे परेद्युर्वा ब्राह्मणास्तान्निवेदयेत् ॥ अत्र गणेश्वरमिश्राः । इदं वाक्यं निरामिषसकृद्भोजनविशिष्टं निमन्त्रणविधायकमतो निमन्त्रणाङ्गानि निरामिषसकृद्भोजनादीनि श्रुतिफलात् । स्मृतिसार (I. O. ms. No. 1488).

The Parāśara-mādhavīya has been published several times, the edition in the B. I. series and in the Bombay Sanskrit series being the best known. In the following the Bombay edition has been used. This work is very extensive and occupies about 2300 printed pages in the Bombay edition. It is not a mere commentary on Parāśara's text, but is in the nature of a digest of civil and religious law. The original smṛti of Parāśara contains no verses on *vyavahāra*, but Mādhavācarya hangs, on the slender peg of a single verse of Parāśara calling upon the king to rule his subjects with righteousness, his treatise on *vyavahāra* that covers a little over a fourth part of the whole commentary (vide note 341 above an Parāśara). The Parāśara-mādhavīya is a work of authority on modern Hindu Law in southern India.[896] His style is lucid and he generally avoids lengthy and abstruse discussions. Besides numerous smṛtikāras and purāṇas he names the following authors and works — Aparārka, Devasvāmin, Purāṇasāra, Prapañcasāra, Medhātithi, Vivaraṇakāra (on the Vedāntasūtra), Viśvarūpācārya, Śambhu, Śivasvāmin, Smṛticandrikā. The Parāśara-mādhavīya was amongst his earliest works. He tells us that there was no commentary on Parāśara before him.[897]

The Kālanirṇaya of Mādhavācarya has been published several times. In the following the B. I. edition has been used. He states that he wrote this work after he composed his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti.[898] The work is divided into five *prakaraṇas*. The first (Upodghāta) deals with a scholastic disquisition on *kāla* (time) and its real nature ; the 2nd (called *vatsara*) speaks of the year, its various lengths according as it is *cāndra*, *sāvana* or *saura*, of the two *ayanas*, of the seasons and their number, of the months (*cāndra* and *saura*), of the intercalary months, and the religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months, of the two *pakṣas* (fortnights); the third *prakaraṇa* (pratipat-prakaraṇa) deals with the meaning of the word *tithi*, duration of a

896 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 217 ; 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487 at p. 508 ; I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 156.

897 पराशरस्मृतिः पूर्वैर्न व्याख्याता निबन्धृभिः । मयातो माधवार्येण तद्व्याख्यायां प्रयत्यते ॥ 9th Intro. verse.

898 व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान्पाराशरानथ । तदनुष्ठानकालस्य निर्णयं वक्तुमुद्यतः ॥ 4th Intro. verse of कालनिर्णय.

tithi, the fifteen *tithis* of a *pakṣa*, two kinds of *tithis*, viz. śuddhā (i. e. not intermixed with another *tithi* on the same day) and *viddhā* (intermixed with another *tithi* on same day), rules about the preference of the first *tithi* for particular religious rites and observances (for Gods and Manes) when intermixed with the preceding and following *tithis*, the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day and of the night; the *fourth* (dvitīyādi-tithi-prakaraṇa) extends the application of the rules about *pratipad* to the *tithis* from the second to the fifteenth and decides on what *tithi* (whether intermixed with the preceding or the following) certain *vratas*, such as Gaurīvrata on the third, Janmāṣṭamī on the 8th, were to be performed ; the *fifth* (*prakīrṇaka* i. e. miscellaneous) deals with rules about the determination of *nakṣatras* for various acts, the *yogas* and *karaṇas* and rules about saṁkrānti and eclipses and the actions proper for them.

The Kālanirnaya besides the names of numerous sages, purāṇas, astronomical and astrological writers mentions the following works and authors :--Kālādarśa (p. 83), Bhoja (as having composed in Āryā metre a work on the Śaiva *āgama*), Muhūrta-vidhāna-sāra (p. 341), Vṛteśvarasiddhānta, Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi (of Bhāskarācārya), Hemādri (p. 67 his *vratakhaṇḍa* and *śrāddhakhaṇḍa*).

A good deal about the family and personal history of Mādhavācārya can be gleaned from the above-mentioned two works and other treatises of Mādhavācārya. From the Parāśara-mādhavīya we[899] learn that he was the son of Māyaṇa and Śrīmatī, that Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were his younger brothers, that he was a student of the black Yajurveda and of the Baudhāyana-sūtra-caraṇa and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra. The introductory verses and the colophon of the Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi[900] of Sāyaṇa corroborate most of these particulars. A verse at the beginning of the

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899 श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणः पिता । सायणो भोगनाथश्च मनोबुद्धी सहोदरौ ॥ यस्य बोधायनं सूत्रं शाखा यस्य च याजुषी । भारद्वाजं कुलं यस्य सर्वज्ञः स हि माधवः ॥ Intro. verses 6 and 7 of पराशरमाधवीय.

900 यस्य मन्त्रिशिरोरत्नमासीत मायणसायणः । यः ख्यातिं रत्नगर्भेति यथार्थयति पार्थिवीम् ॥ and the colophon इति माधवभोगनाथसहोदरस्य मायणनन्दनस्य सायणाचार्यस्य &c. Descriptive cat. of Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. vol. VII. p. 2620 No. 3490. The king referred to is सङ्गम.

Kālanirṇaya tells us that Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratītīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha were his teachers.[901] The Parāśara-Mādhavīya highly eulogises[902] Mādhava, compares him to divine and semi-divine councillors like Aṅgirasa of Indra and says that he was the hereditary teacher (*kulaguru*) and *mantrin* of king Bukkaṇa (or Bukka). The colophons to the several works of Sāyaṇa, the younger brother of Mādhavācārya, show that these brothers were closely connected with four rulers of the Vijayanagar dynasty, viz. Bukka and his son Harihara, Kampa and his son Saṅgama. In the Yājñatantra-sudhānidhi[903] (ms. in the Bhau Daji collection) Sāyaṇa, the author of the bhāṣyas on the vedas, is said to be the *kulaguru* of Harihara, son of Saṅgama. In the Guruvaṁśa-kāvya (Vāṇivilāsa Press ed.) it is said that Vidyāraṇya was the pupil of Vidyātīrtha, that he composed Vedabhāṣyas and published them in the names of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava, that Harihara and Bukka were the most valiant of the five sons of Saṅgama (*v.* 48), that Vīra Rudra was the sovereign of Harihara and Bukka and was defeated by the *suratrāṇa* i. e. *sultan*. The same work says that Vidyāraṇya founded Vijayanagarī in śake 1258, vaiśākha śuddha 7 Sunday (i. e. 30th April 1335 A. D.) and crowned Harihara king.[903a]

Burnell in his introduction to the Vaṁśabrāhmaṇa started the theory that Sāyaṇa and Mādhava were identical and put forward an esoteric meaning on the verse that states that Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha

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901 सोहं प्राप्य विवेकतीर्थपदवीमाम्नायतीर्थे परं मज्जन् सज्जनसङ्गतीर्थनिपुणः सद्वृत्ततीर्थं श्रयन् । लब्धामाकलयन्प्रभावलहरीं श्रीभारतीतीर्थतो विद्यातीर्थमुपाश्रयन् हृदि भजे श्रीकण्ठमव्याहतम् ॥ 2nd verse of कालनिर्णय.

902 इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसो नलस्य सुमतिः शैब्यस्य मेधातिथिर्धौम्यो धर्मसुतस्य वैन्यनृपतेः स्वौजा निमेर्गौतमिः । प्रत्यग्दृष्टिररुन्धतीसहचरो रामस्य पुण्यात्मनो यद्वत्तस्य विभोरभूत्कुलगुरुर्मन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥ 4th verse of परा. मा.

903 तस्याभूदन्वयगुरुस्तत्त्वसिद्धान्तदेशिता । सर्वज्ञः सायणाचार्यो मायणार्यतनूद्भवः । उपेन्द्रस्येव यस्यासीदिन्द्रः सुमनसां प्रियः । महाक्रतूनामाहर्ता माधवार्यः सहोदरः ॥ अधीताः सकला वेदास्ते च दृष्टार्थगौरवाः । त्वत्प्रणीतेन तद्भाष्यप्रदीपेन प्रथीयसा ॥ Intro. verses 7, 8, 14.

903a नागेष्वर्कैर्मिते इह शके शालिवाहस्य याते धातर्यब्दे शुभसमुचिते मासि वैशाखनाम्नि । शुक्ले पक्षे सुगुणपितृभे सूर्यवारे सुलग्ने सप्तम्यां श्रीविजयनगरीं निर्ममे निर्ममेन्द्रः ॥ गुरुवंशकाव्य VI. 8.

were the younger brothers of Mādhava. But the facts as culled from the works of these two great men and the inscriptions of contemporary Vijayanagara kings are too strong for the hypothesis of Burnell and make it look absurd. The whole subject about the relationship of Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha has been carefully examined by Rao Bahadur R. Narsimhachar in Ind. Ant. vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17ff and the theory of Burnell has been thoroughly refuted. Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were as real personages as Mādhavācārya himself. Mādhavācārya in his later years became a *saṁnyāsin* and was named Vidyāraṇya. To the items of evidence adduced by R. B. R. Narsimhachar for establishing the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 18) I may add one more. The Vīramitrodaya ascribes the commentary on Parāśara composed by Mādhava to Vidyāraṇya.[904] It has however to be noted that the Guruvaṁśakāvya (Vāṇīvilāsa Press ed.) says (V. 41-44) that Vidyāraṇya was different from both Sāyaṇa and Mādhava.

The chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara has been a fruitful source of controversy. It is not necessary to go into that chronology in great detail here. It may be studied in such works as Sewell's ' Forgotten empire ' and in E. I. vol. III. p. 36, E. I. vol. XIV p. 68, E. I. vol. XV p. 8. The following pedigree[905] will be sufficient for the purpose of connecting Mādhava and his brothers with the kings of Vijayanagara. The earliest inscription is that of Harihara I dated *śake* 1261 (1339-40 A. D.) wherein Harihara

904 व्याख्यातं चेदं शङ्खवचनं विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणैः पराशरस्मृतिटीकायां पैतृकद्रव्यविभागकाले स्वधृतालङ्कारादिकमपि कन्या प्राप्नोतीत्याह शङ्ख इति । वीर० p. 583; *vide* p. 672 ' विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणोक्तं प्राग्लिखितं तस्मान्निरिन्द्रिया इत्यादिश्रुतिव्याख्याने तु स्त्रीणां दायग्रहणप्रतिषेधत्वमेवास्याः श्रुतेर्नास्तीति ।'. This refers to the remarks in परा. मा. vol. III. p. 538.

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सङ्गम I
- हरिहर I (śake 1261)
- कम्प or कम्पण
  - सङ्गम II (śake 1278)
- बुक्क I
  - हरिहर II (1379-1399 A. D.).
    - बुक्क II (śake 1328)
- मारप
- मुद्दप

is said to be a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and is spoken of as 'Śrī-Vīra-Hariyappa-Voḍeya.'[906] The colophon of the Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti describes Mādhava as the great minister of Saṅgamarāja, the son of Kamparāja.[907] The Biṭraguṇṭa grant in *śake* 1278 (1356 A. D.) by Saṅgama II at the request of his teacher Srikaṇṭhanātha shows that Bhoganātha[908] who composed the contents of the grant was a *narmasaciva* (gay or humorous companion) of Saṅgama II. We saw above that Śrikaṇṭha was a teacher of Mādhavācārya ana that Bhoganātha was the youngest brother of Mādhavācārya. Bhoganātha in order to be a poet and a *narmasaciva* of a reigning sovereign must have been a grown-up man in 1356 A. D. and so Mādhavācārya must have been quite an elderly person about that time. The Kālanirṇaya tells us that in the cyclic year Īśvara following immediately after *śake* 1258 *śrāvaṇa* was an intercalary month and that in the cyclic year Bhāva that preceded *śake* 1258 (i. e. in *śake* 1256) Fālguna was an intercalary month and then examines the intercalary months that occurred iu the cyclic years up to Vikārī thereafter (i. e. up to *śake* 1281).[908a] As the Kālanirṇaya examines the intercalary months from *śake* 1256 (i. e. 1334 A. D.) to *śake* 1281 (i. e. 1359 A. D.), it follows that it was either composed during these years or immediately after this period. The Parāśaramādhavīya was composed before the Kālanirṇaya. Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar states that in a copperplate grant dated 1386 A. D. it is said that Harihara (II) gave in the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda certain donations to three scholars who were the promoters

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906 'महामण्डलेश्वरपूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्राधिपतिश्रीवीरहरियप्पवोडेय' Int. Ant. vol. X, p. 63.

907 श्रीमत्पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वरकम्पराजसुतसङ्गमराजमहामन्त्रिमायणपुत्रमाधवसहोदरसायणाचार्यकृता माधवीया वृत्तिः ।

908 इति भोगनाथसुधिया सङ्गमभूपालनर्मसचिवेन । श्रीकण्ठपुरसमृद्ध्यै शासनपत्रेषु विलिखिताः श्लोकाः ॥ E. I. vol. III. at p. 30.

908a तादृशं चाधिमासमुदाहरामः । अष्टपञ्चाशद्युक्तशतद्वयाधिके शकवर्षाणां सहस्रे गते सति समनन्तरभावी योयमीश्वरसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन्श्रावणमासोधिकः । ततः पूर्वभावी यो भावसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन् फाल्गुनमासोधिकः ... ननु अधिकमासस्य क्वचित्त्रिंशत्तमत्वं व्यभिचरति न्यूनाधिकसंख्याया अपि दर्शनात् । तथा हि यथोक्तेश्वरसंवत्सरोत्तरभाविनि चित्रभानुसंवत्सरे वैशाखमासोधिकः ... तथा दुर्मुखसंवत्सरे श्रावणमासोधिकः । हेमलम्बिविलम्बिसंवत्सरद्वयव्यवहिते विकारिसंवत्सरे ज्येष्ठोधिकः । तथा च तत्र पञ्चत्रिंशत्त्वं संपद्यते । कालनिर्णय pp. 70–71.

(*pravartaka*) of the commentaries on the four Vedas (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 19). Another inscription speaks of Vidyāraṇya in 1378 A. D.[909] This shows that Mādhavācārya had become a *saṁnyāsin* at least in 1377 A. D. Tradition says that Vidyāraṇya died in 1386 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we place the literary activity of Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya between 1330-1385 A. D. From the remarks about intercalary months it appears that the Parāśaramādhavīya and Kālanirṇaya were composed between 1335-1360 A. D. There was a tradition among *pandits* that it was Mādhavācārya who composed bhāṣyas on the Vedas and ascribed them to his brother Sāyaṇa. Kāśīnātha, in his Viṭṭhala-ṛṅmantra-sāra-bhāṣya says so.[910]

Great confusion has been caused by identifying Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya with another scholar named Mādhava who was also a *mantrin* of Bukka, who was a great warrior and was governor of Banavase and the country round Goa on the western coast. In a grant[911] of the village Kucara, also called Mādhavapura, dated *śake* 1313 (1391 A. D.), it is said that he routed the armies of the Turuṣkas, wrested Goa the capital of Koṅkaṇa from them and re-established the temple of Saptanātha (i. e. Sapta-koṭīśvara). There is another inscription dated *śake* 1290 (i. e. 1368 A. D.) where the great minister (*Mahāpradhāna*) Mādhavāṅka is stated to have ruled over Banavase 12000 under king Bukkarāya (Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 206). Fleet is wrong in identifying the minister Mādhavāṅka with Mādhavācārya-Vidyāraṇya. Another grant from Goa (found by Dr. Bhau Daji) says that Mādhava-mantrin, son of Cauṇḍibhaṭṭa, established the *liṅga* of Saptanātha (JBBRAS vol. 9, p. 228). Vide E. C. vol. VIII, Sorab No. 375 dated śake 1268 (Sunday Mādhava 30, i. e. 11th Feb. 1347), where we are told that Mādhavamantrin was governor of Candragutti, capital of Banavase 12000, that he was minister of Mārapa, younger brother of Harihara I and that he was a disciple of

909 Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VI. Koppa30.

910 कथं तर्हि माधवाचार्यैर्वेदभाष्यादिषु सायणादेः स्वभ्रातुर्नाम लिखितमिति चेत्कारुण्येन &c. । folio 37 b of the विट्ठलऋङ्मन्त्रसारभाष्य (D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70).

911 गोवाभिधां कोङ्कणराजधानीमन्येन मन्येरणदर्पवेन । प्रतिष्ठितांस्तत्र तुरुष्कसङ्घानुत्खाय दोष्णा भुवनैकवीरः ॥ उन्मूलितानामकरोत्प्रतिष्ठां श्रीसप्तनाथादिसुधाभुजां यः । JBBRAS vol. IV, p. 115 (text), p. 107 (translation).

Kriyāśakti, a Śaiva teacher. In E. C. vol. VII, Shikarpur 281 dated śake 1290 Kārtika bahula 8 (i. e. 15th November 1368) Mādhava is said to have been a son of Cāuṇḍa of the Āṅgirasa gotra and a minister of Bukka I and his *guru* is said to have been Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti.

From this it follows that the Mādhava *mantrin* who was a governor of Banavase and Goa and was living in 1391 A. D. was the son of Cauṇḍibhaṭṭa and cannot be identified with Mādhavācārya who was the son of Māyaṇa.

There is a ms. in the Bombay University Library of a work called Kālanirṇayakārikā in 130 verses, which contains the introductory verses of the Kālanirṇaya dealing with the contents, though in a somewhat different order. There are several commentaries on the Kālanirṇaya, viz. Kālanirṇayadīpikā by Rāmacandrācārya composed about 1450 A. D., a commentary called Lakṣmī by Lakṣmīdevī, wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. There is a Vivaraṇa of the Kālanirṇayadīpikā, by Nṛsiṁha, son of Rāmacandrācārya (vide D. C. Ms. No. 99 of 1871-72).

93. Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa

The Madanapārijāta compiled under the patronage of king Madanapāla by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa is a famous work. Like Bhoja, Madanapāla seems to have been a great patron of learning and several works are attributed to him. At least four works on dharmaśāstra are ascribed to him (i. e. were written under his patronage) viz the Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇva or Madanamahārṇava, Tithinirṇayasāra and Smṛtikaumudī.

The Madanapārijāta is an extensive work printed in the B. I. series. There are 23 introductory verses, the first 13 of which give the genealogy of Madanapāla. In the printed edition these 13 verses are stated to have been added by *Purohita* Śrī-Rāmadeva. The last of the introductory verses states that the work was composed after a careful study of Hemādri, Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Smṛtyarthasāra and Mitākṣarā.[912] That Madanapāla was only the patron and not the real author of the

912 हेमाद्रिकल्पद्रुमसापरार्कस्मृत्यर्थसारान् स्मृतिचन्द्रिकां च । मिताक्षरादीनवलोक्य यत्नान्निबध्यते संग्रहतो निबन्धः ॥

work is made clear in several places. In the introductory verse 20 it is stated that the work was compiled through (lit. by the mouth of) learned men.[913] In two places in the body of the work[914] it is said that the author has explained the matter under discussion in his work called Subodhinī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. Therefore the Madanapārijāta was really composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, the author of the Subodhinī. The Madanapārijāta contains nine *stabakas* (bunches i. e. chapters) on brahmacarya, the *dharmas* of householders, the daily duties (*āhnika-kṛtya*), the *saṁskāras* from *garbhādhāna* onwards; impurity on birth and death, the purification of various substances (*dravyaśuddhi*), *śrāddha*, *dāyabhāga* (partition and inheritance) and *prāyaścitta*. In the portion on the Dāyabhāga it very closely follows the Mitākṣarā. Its style is simple and lucid. Besides the authors and works mentioned above it cites those noted below.[915]

There is a work called Mahārṇava ascribed to Māndhātā, a son of Madanapāla. In several mss. of this work deposited in the Deccan[916] College there are introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla that agree almost word for word with the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta. Moreover two verses that speak of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa occur here also as well as in the Madanapārijāta and Subodhinī. This work also is said to have been compiled by

913 श्रीमानयं मदनपूर्वकपारिजातनामाङ्कितं स्मृतिपथानुगतं निबन्धम् । वर्णाश्रमप्रमुखधर्मविवेचनाय विद्वन्मुखेन सुकृती वितनोति ॥

914 यथा चायमेव क्रमस्तथास्माभिरुपपादितो विज्ञानेश्वरटीकायां सुबोधिन्यां दायभागप्रकरणे । मदनपारिजात p. 654 ; vide p. 603 also for similar words.

915 आचारसागर, गाङ्गेय, गोविन्दराज, चिन्तामणि (on श्राद्ध, p. 607), धर्मविवृति (p. 772), नारायण, मण्डनमिश्र, मेधातिथि, रत्नावलि (on श्राद्ध, p. 607), शिवस्वामिन् (p. 619), सुरेश्वर, स्मृतिमञ्जरी (p. 554), स्मृतिमहार्णव.

916 For the महार्णव vide D. C. ms. No. 131 of 1882–83 and Nos. 259 and 260 of 1886-1892. No. 260 does not contain the verses about the genealogy, but the two verses माता पुण्य० and मतिर्येषां (which are 21 and 22 in the मदनपारिजात) occur in all the three ; in No. 131 and No. 259 the verse माता पुण्य० occurs in the introdoctory verses and the verse मतिर्येषां occurs at the end of the work and in No. 260 the two verses are the 2nd and 3rd of the introductory verses.

Māndhātā through the learned.[917] It is said to have been based on a study of the *śruti*, the *smṛtis* and the *purāṇas*. The work is divided into 40 *taraṅgas* (waves). The principal subject[918] of the work is to describe how the various diseases which human bodies are heir to are the result of evil deeds done in past lives (this subject being called Karmavipāka in dharmaśāstra works) and to prescribe various rites and penances for the eradication of the evil results of evil deeds. Among the various rites and penances that are set forth in great detail may be mentioned the Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa, Rudraikādaśinī, Mahārudrābhiṣeka, Vināyakaśānti, the Nava-grahayajña &c. The Mahārṇava mentions the Karmavipāka of Śātātapa, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (folio 234 a of D. C. no. 259 of 1886-1892), the Mitākṣarā, the Karmavipāka-samuccaya &c. It is worthy of note that in the Smṛti-kaumudī the authorship of the Mahārṇava is claimed by the author himself and is not ascribed to Madanapāla's son.[919]

The Tithinirṇayasāra is another work compiled under Madana-pāla. Stein in his cat. of mss. at Jammu (p. 306) gives extracts from this work. The first fourteen verses are the same as those in the Madanapārijāta. It appears to have been composed by Viśvanātha, which is most probably a paraphrase of the name Viśveśvara.[920]

The Smṛtikaumudī contains an introduction of 17 verses, 13 of which set forth the genealogy of Madanapāla. The fourteenth verse tells us that Madanapāla composed works called Yantraprakāśa, Mahārṇava, Pārijāta, Siddhāntagarbha and Tithinirṇayasāra.[922] The 15th verse says that he composes the Smṛtikaumudī through

917 सोयं सुकृतविधाता रिपुकुलजेता तनोति मान्धाता। विद्वन्मुखेन मतिमान् सत्कृतिरत्नं महार्णवं नाम ॥ 18th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.

918 The work begins 'तत्र तावद्वक्ष्यमाणसकलकर्मोपयोगित्वेन कर्मविपाकरूपयोगादिनि-वृत्त्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तादेरवश्यकर्तव्यता प्रतिपाद्यते ।'.

919 विनायकशान्तिप्रकारोस्माभिर्महार्णवे निरूपितः।

920 श्रीविश्वनाथसुधिया स्मृतितत्त्वमार्गपान्थेन शास्त्रविलसन्मतिपाटवेन । अस्मिन् व्यधायि तिथिनिर्णयसारनाम्नि ग्रन्थे कियानखिललोकहिते प्रयासः ॥

921 For the स्मृतिकौमुदी, vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 275 b, I. O. cat. p. 524, No. 1649 and D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73.

922 यन्त्रप्रकाशसमहार्णवपारिजातसिद्धान्तगर्भतिथिनिर्णयसारमुख्याः । ग्रन्थाश्च येन रचिताः &c.

the learned.[923] The 17 verse says that his predecessors have generally dilated upon the dharmas of the three higher *varṇas* and the *dharmas* of the śūdra have not been dealt with by them as a principal topic, therefore he would clearly expound the *dharmas* of the last *varṇa*. At the end of the ms. in the I. O. cat. it is described as the younger sister of the Madanapārijāta and of the Mahārṇava.[924] This is not found in the D. C. ms. which was copied in *saṁvat* 1615. This work is divided into four kalollāsas, each kalollāsa being subdivided into kiraṇas (rays). The first kalollāsa has two kiraṇas, the second has four, the third and fourth five kiraṇas each. The subjects dealt with are: I two kinds of śūdras, viz : the kevalaśūdra (simple śūdra) and one who is of mixed descent, being born of a śūdra woman from a man of the higher castes; the mixed castes; II. general discourses on the śūdra's *adhikāra* for engaging in various acts and performing various rites, such as the study of the vedas and smṛtis, the performance of garbhādhāna and other saṁskāras and the consecration of sacred fires; saṁdhyāvandana; the śūdra's capacity for attaining the knowledge of brahman; III. marriage; different forms of marriage, prohibited degrees of blood relationship (sāpiṇḍya), the various rites of marriage such as kanyādāna; such saṁskāras as nāma-karaṇa (naming the child), the duties of śūdras in ordinary and difficult times; āśauca for śudras; the various śrāddhas for them; the letting loose of a bull in honour of the dead; IV. śūdra's daily duties such as śauca, brushing the teeth, baths in the morning and at other times, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily *śrāddha*, dinner, &c.

The Smṛtikaumudī mentions among others Aparārka, Kṛtyakalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Medhātithi, Yajñapārśva and Smṛtimañjarī. It also quotes from the Vedānta-kalpataru[925] and the author claims the Madanapārijāta as his own work.

It has been seen how all the four works set out above were composed under the patronage of Madanapāla and how they were

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923 विद्वन्मुखेन तनुते विनतोर्जितश्रीरुत्पन्नचारुकिरणां स्मृतिकौमुदीं सः ॥

924 अनेन कृतिना कृता स्मृतिपदाङ्किता कौमुदी महार्णवसहोदरी मदनपारिजातानुजा ।

925 यदुक्तं सत्यामप्युत्पत्तौ प्रवाहस्याविच्छिन्नेरनादित्वमिति तच्च कार्यात्मके संसारे । तदुक्तं वेदान्तकल्पतरौ ॥ तदाप्रत्युपरकाना (!) व्यक्तीनामेकया विना । अनादिकालावृत्तिर्या सा कार्यानादिता मतेति ॥ folio 3a of the D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73 ; folio 55a of the same has ' अत्र च प्रापकानि मदनपारिजातेस्माभिर्दर्शितानि ',

probably from the pen of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. There is one more work on Dharmaśāstra which Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa composed in his own name without the shelter of a patron's name. It is the Subodhinī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. The vyavahāra portion of it has been published in Bombay by Mr. S. S. Setlur and also by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. Mr. Govind Das had seen portions of the Subodhinī on the prāyaścitta section also. The Subodhinī does not comment on each word of the Mitākṣarā but explains only important passages. It is a learned work. This was the earliest composition of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, since it is mentioned even in the Madanapārijāta. The first verse of the Subodhinī is also the opening verse of the Mahārṇava and of the Smṛtikaumudī.[926]

From the verses[927] 21 and 22 in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta it appears that Viśveśvara was the son of Pedibhaṭṭa and Ambikā, that he was of the Kauśikagotra and was the pupil of Vyāsāraṇya-muni. In the Subodhinī also the verse 'mātā &c.' occurs at the end with slight suitable variations and the verse 'matiryeṣām' in the beginning. The second introductory verse in Mr. Gharpure's edition makes Viśveśvara the son of Appabhaṭṭa,[928] while Mr. Setlur reads 'Peṭṭibhaṭṭa' which is probably a misreading for Pedibhaṭṭa. From his father's name it appears that Viśveśvara was a native of the Draviḍa country[929] and migrated to Northern India in search of patronage after he wrote the Subodhinī. Viśveśvara is regarded as one of the leading authorities of the Benares School

926 नमः सकलकल्याणभाजनाय पिनाकिने । नमो लक्ष्मीनिवासाय देवतायै गिरां नमः ॥ सुबोधिनी. The स्मृतिकौमुदी (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 275b has कल्याणकारणाय) and Descriptive Ca. of Govt. Sanskrit mss. (Madras) vol. VII p. 2625, No. 3495 has परमकल्याण॰ and गिरे नमः.

927 मतिर्येषां शास्त्रे प्रकृतिरमणीया व्यवहृतिः परा शीलं श्लाघ्यं जगति ऋजवस्ते कतिपये । चिरं चित्ते तेषां मुकुरतलभूते स्थितिमियादियं व्यासारण्यप्रवरमुनिशिष्यस्य भणितिः ॥ माता पुण्यचरित्रकीर्तिविभवा यस्याम्बिका नामतः शाकल्यापरमूर्तिरार्यचरितः श्रीपेदि-भट्टः पिता । सोयं कौशिकवंशभूषणमणिः श्रीभट्टविश्वेश्वरो वेदस्मार्तमते नये च सपदे वाक्ये कृती वर्धते ॥

928 योप्पभट्टात्मजः श्रीमान् भट्टविश्वेश्वरः सुधीः ।

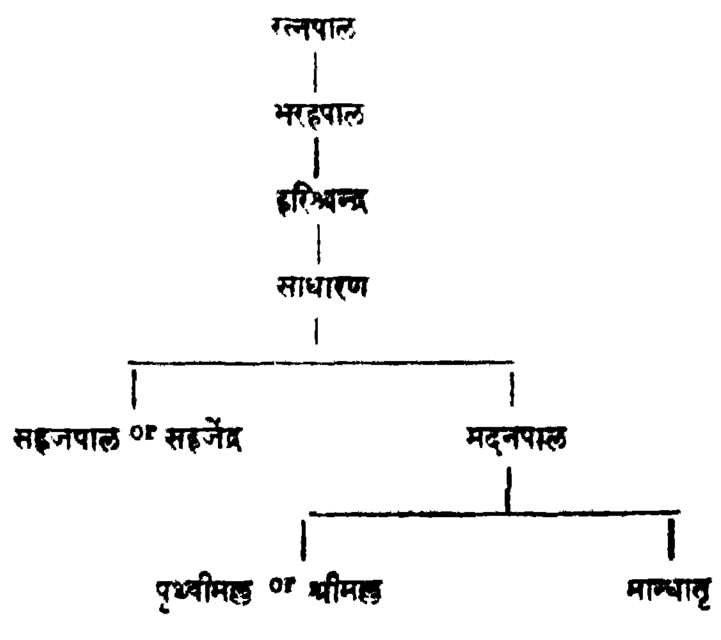
929 One of the donees mentioned in the Biṭrāgunṭa grant of king Saṅgama dated 1356 A. D. is Peddibhaṭṭa; *vide* E. I. vol. III at p. 28. Biṭrāgunṭa is in the Nellore District.

of modern Hindu law.[930] Madanapāla belonged to the family of Ṭāka kings that ruled in Kāṣṭhā (modern Kath) on the Jumna to the north of Delhi.[931] The printed Madanapārijāta makes the family name to be ' Kāṣṭhā, ' but this is most probably a wrong reading, as in the Mahārṇava and the other works of Madanapāla the family name is distinctly stated to be Ṭāka. The pedigree of the family as gathered from the Madanapārijāta and the other works is given below. Some works such as the Mahārṇava omit mention of Sahajapāla. About Sādhāraṇa it is said that he brought about the remission of all taxes at the three *tīrthas* (Prayāga, Kāśi and Gayā).[932]

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930 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.

931 अस्ति प्रशस्तविभवोपगतप्रशस्तिविस्तारिणी भुवि शकाधिपराजधानी । दिल्लीति विश्वविदिता नगरीमतल्ली पल्लीव भाति पुरमस्त्रिदिवोपि यस्याः ॥ तामुत्तरेण यमुनातटदेशनिष्ठा काष्ठेत्यभूदनुपमा नगरी गरिष्ठा । यस्यामनल्पविभवोपचिता बभूवुः काष्ठान्वया महितकीर्तिजुषो महीशाः ॥ verses 4-5 of मदनपारिजात; at the end of the मदनविनोदनिघण्टु we read टाकान्वये महति भूमिभुजां विशुद्धे काष्ठेति नाम नगरं जयति प्रसिद्धम् ।. Vide Aufrecht's Oxf.. cat. p. 275 a (ms. of मदनपारिजात) where the reading is टाककुलाम्बुराशौ for काष्ठकुलाम्बुराशौ of the printed text. The pedigree is :



932 तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरद्यः । verse 10 of the महार्णव, D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92; कीनाशपाशचयबद्धविमोचनार्थं तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरद्यः ॥ verse 10 of स्मृतिकौमुदी.

In the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka of Madanapāla the father of Madanapāla is said to be Sahāraṇa[933] which is a Prakrit equivalent of Sādhāraṇa. Madanapāla appears to have been a very great patron of learned men and is said to have emulated the fame of Bhoja.[934] Besides the four works described above he compiled several other works, the most famous of which is his dictionary of drugs called Madanavinodanighaṇṭu. That work is very extensive, contains about 2250 verses and is divided into fourteen *vargas*, the last of which contains a *praśasti* of his family.[935] This work contains the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals. Some of the words given as synonyms for Sanskrit words occur in the modern Marathi.[936] We saw above that his Smṛtikaumudī refers to Yantra-prakāśa and Siddhāntagarbha as two of his works. These two were works on astronomy.

Another work of his is the Sūrya-siddhāntaviveka or Vāsanārṇava, which is a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta. There is a ms. of this work in the Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society.[937] Therein after giving his pedigree he says that by his works on Smṛtiśāstra, on astronomy and mathematics and on medicine he came to be known as *abhinava* Bhoja.[938] In this treatise he refers to his own works already composed called Siddhāntagarbha[939] and Yantraprakāśa. He also refers to a Rājamṛgāṅka

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933 भवनाब्रह्मणवद्धारणस्तनयस्तस्य नृपः सहारणः। उदियाय जनस्य वीक्षितं नृपतौ यत्र पुरन्दरभ्रमः ॥ 5th Intro. verse of सूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेक (BBRAS cat. part I pp. 95-97.).

934 परिशीलयता कलाकलापं विदधानेन च भूरिशो निबन्धान्। मदनेन महीभृताथ येन प्रथिता नूतनभोजराजकीर्तिः ॥ verse 18 of मदनपारिजात; this verse, particularly the 4th pāda, occurs in the तिथिनिर्णयसार (17th verse), स्मृतिकौमुदी (13th verse), the महार्णव (13th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.).

935 Vide D. C. ms. Nos. 1065 and 1066 of 1886-92 for मदनविनोदनिघण्टु. In No. 1065 there is no प्रशस्ति.

936 e. g. such words as दहिवडा (for दधिपूपक), लापसी, घेवर, हरडे, नागरमोथा, हळद, बदाम &c.

937 Vide BBRAS cat. part. I. pp. 95-97 for this ms.

938 प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्नवैः प्रबन्धैः स्मृतिसरणौ गणिते चिकित्सिते च। जगति विजयते विजृम्भमाणैरभिनवभोज इति प्रथा यदीया ॥ 7th Intro. verse.

939 अत ऊर्ध्वमागोलाध्यायमन्त्रस्थं प्रमेयमस्मत्कृते सिद्धान्तगर्भसंज्ञके मदनविनोदापरनाम्नि ग्रन्थे द्रष्टव्यम्।

of Bhoja and to Bhāskara's works. The ms. was copied in *saṁvat* 1459, i. e. 1402-3 A. D. In the colophon of this work his *birudas* (titles) are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Abhinava-Bhoja, and he is also styled Mahārājādhirāja.[940] In the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava the *birudas* are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Kaṭāramalla or Kaṭṭāramalla. A work called Ānandasañjīvana on singing, dancing, musical instruments and rāgas is ascribed to Madanapāla.[941] The king Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, who is connected with the restoration of Medhātithi's bhāṣya, must be this Madana.

A great deal has been written concerning the date of Madanapāla. The introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla must be held to be genuine, as they occur in the ancient ms. (D. C. No. 131 of A 1882-83) of Mahārṇava copied in saṁvat 1645 (1588-89 A. D.) and in the still older ms. (dated *saṁvat* 1459) of the Sūrya-siddhānta-viveka. As the Madanapārijāta mentions the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi not only in the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta but in the body of the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava, Madanapāla must be certainly later than 1300 A. D. As the Smṛtikaumudī mentions the Vedāntakalpataru that was composed in the time of the Yādava princes Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, it follows that the work was composed after the third quarter of the 13th century. The Madanapārijāta is quoted in the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda, the Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhatta, the Āhnikatattva (pp. 326, 397, 479, vol. I) of Raghunandana, the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (pp. 327, 489) of Govindānanda. Therefore it is certainly earlier than 1500 A. D. And if we rely on the date when the ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka was copied (viz. 1402-3 A. D.), it follows that Madanapāla flourished before 1400 A. D. The Madanavinodanighaṇṭu[942] gives the date of its

940 इति श्रीपण्डितपारिजाताभिनवभोजेत्यादिबिरुदावलीविराजमानेन मदनपारिजात-महार्णव-सिद्धान्तगर्भ-यन्त्रप्रकाशाद्यनेकग्रन्थकर्त्रा श्रीमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीमदनपालदेवेन विरचितः श्रीसूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेको वासनार्णवः समाप्तः। ; but at the end of the D. C. ms. of the स्मृतिकौमुदी, the colophon is simply इति श्रीराजमदनपालविरचितायां शूद्रधर्मोत्पलद्योतिन्यां स्मृतिकौमुद्यां &c.

941 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 509.

942 अब्दे ब्रह्मजगद्युगेन्दुगणिते श्रीविक्रमार्कप्रभोर्माघे मासि वलक्षपक्षललिते षष्ठ्यां सुधांशोर्दिने। verse 14 of the last वर्गे in D. C. ms. No. 129 of 1884-87 and No. 1066 of 1886-92. The last has a corrupt reading षष्ठ्यां गुरोस्तद्दिने. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 47 for the date.

composition as 'Brahmajagad-yugendu' of the Vikrama era, *māgha* 6 of the bright half and Monday (i. e. 8-1-1375 A.D.). This was interpreted by Sarvadhikari (Tagore Law Lectures pp. 297-298, ed. of 1922) as equal to 1231 of the Vikrama era (i. e. 1175 A. D.). He held that 'yuga' meant two. But herein he was entirely wrong. Besides, the date proposed by him is impossible, since it would lead us to hold that Madanapāla wrote in 1175 A. D. and since, as we saw above, he could not have flourished before 1300 A.D. It has been already shown (pp. 309, 369) that the view of Sarvadhikari and others that the Pārijāta mentioned by Caṇḍeśvara is the same as Madanapārijāta is quite wrong. Astronomical usage as found in Bhāskara and other writers always interprets *yuga*[943] as meaning four (and not two) and hence the date of the composition of the Madanavinodanighaṇṭu is 1431 of the Vikrama era (i. e. 1375 A. D.). Vide Jolly's Tagore Law lectures pp. 14-15, Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 47 and 347 and S. B. E. vol. 25, p. cxxv n. 2. A ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka, which is one of the last (if not the last) works of Madanapāla is dated in 1402-3 A. D. Hence the literary activity of Madanapāla and of his protegee, Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, must be placed between 1360-1390 A.D.

94. Madanaratna

The Madanaratna is an extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra no part of which has yet been printed. In the colophons of mss. it is also called Madanaratnapradīpa or simply Madanapradīpa. The work was divided into seven[944] sections called *uddyotas* on *samaya* (or *kāla*), *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *prāyaścitta*, *dāna*, *śuddhi*, *śānti*. The order of the various sections was the one indicated, the *samayoddyota* being the first part. I have not been able to examine the mss. of all the uddyotas.

943 e. g. भास्कराचार्य in his गणिताध्याय (कालमानाध्याय verse 24) says 'खखा-भ्रदन्तसागरैर्युगाग्नियुग्मभूगुणैः । क्रमेण सूर्यवत्सरैः कृतादयो युगाङ्घ्रयः ॥' where युग must mean 'four' and युग्म is employed for two.

944 उद्योताः समयाचारव्यवहारविवेचकाः । प्रायश्चित्तस्य दानस्य शुद्धिशान्त्योश्च सप्तमे ॥ तत्रादौ राजसिंहेन सर्वधर्मोपयोगतः । तन्यते मदनेन्द्रेण समयस्य विनिर्णयः ॥ verses 24-25 of ms. of समयोद्योत in Viśrambāg collection I. No. 146 and verses 26 and 27 in the I. O. cat. ms. (p. 537 b) and Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss. No. 1410 and extract No. 336 at p. 131.

The Samayoddyota deals with the subjects usually treated of in works on *kāla*, vix discussions about the year, the seasons, the months, the intercalary months, the rules about *tithis*, the rules about the proper times for various religious observances, gifts, *homa*, the rules about *kalivarjya*.

There is a ms. of the Dānoddyota in the Ānandāśrama collection at Poona (No. 2378). The following are the subjects treated of:- eulogy of *dāna*; the nature of *dāna*, various kinds of *dānas*; the constituent elements (*aṅgāni*) of *dāna*; the donor, proper persons for gifts, persons undeserving of gifts, what things cannot be given away, proper and improper times and places for *dāna*, measures of corn and other substances and weights and units of length &c., finding out the east and other directions, characteristics of a *toraṇa*, *patākā* and *maṇḍapa*, *tulā-puruṣa* (weighing oneself against gold or silver), gift of a thousand cows and other magnificent gifts, dedication of a tank or well and planting of a garden &c. In this work the author refers to Kalpataru and to Hemādri as a dākṣiṇātyanibandhakāra.

Deccan College ms. No. 392 of 1891-95 deals with the *śānti* section. It treats of rites for propitiating gods and planets and averting the evil consequences of great or small portentous phenomena, such as Vināyaka-snāna, sūrya-śānti, navagraha-śānti, śāntis for birth on certain evil *nakṣatras* like *mūla*, *āśleṣā* and evil astrological conjunctions like *vyatīpāta*, *vaidhṛti*, *saṁkrānti*; rites for the safety of the foetus and of the newly born infant; *ayutahoma*; *lakṣahoma*, *koṭihoma* &c. In this section sages like Uttara-Garga, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Baijavāpa (on gṛhya), Mānava-saṁhitā, Yājñavalkya, Śaunaka and purāṇas like the Skanda, Bhaviṣyottara, Viṣṇudharmottara are very frequently cited. Besides the following are among the authors and works referred to: Apekṣitārthadyotinī, a commentary of Nārāyaṇa, Karmavipākasaṁgraha, Karmavipākasamuccaya, Kumāratantra promulgated by the son of Rāvaṇa, Prayogasāra, Vijñāneśvarācārya (in the plural).

A ms. of the Ācāroddyota is noticed by Burnell in his Tanjore cat. (p. 137 b). Stein (in his cat. of Jammu mss.) notices an incomplete ms. of the Vyavahāroddyota (p. 98 No. 2437). M. M. Haraprasad Sastri notices a ms. of the Prāyaścittoddyota (Nepal Palmleaf and Paper mss. cat. XVIII and p. 223).

From the colophons at the end of the several mss. of the Madanaratna it appears that the work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasiṁha-deva, son of Śaktisiṁha.[945] The king is styled mahārājādhirāja and one of his titles is kodaṇḍa-paraśurāma (meaning ' who was a veritable Paraśurāma in wielding the bow). The introductory verses[946] to the Samayoddyota in the Viśrām-bāg collection and the Ulwar ms. refer to Delhi-deśa and its king named Mahīpāladeva. Then verse 9 speaks of Dāmodara whose exact relationship with Mahīpāladeva is not clear. Dāmodara is said to have made the *yavanas* of *Mūlasthāna* (modern Multan in the Punjab) give up the slaughtering of cows. The whole pedigree is given below.[947] Śaktisiṁha is said to have eclipsed even Bhoja.

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945 इति श्रीकोदण्डपरशुरामेत्यादिविरुदावलीविराजमानमानोन्नतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशक्तिसिंहात्मजमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमदनसिंहदेवविरचिते मदनरत्नप्रदीपे दानविवेकोद्योते &c. in ms. (Ānandāśrame No. 2378) ; there is a similar colophon at the end of the शान्ति section.

946 तस्मादाकस्मिकोग्रदहनघनमहस्सत्यतापप्रतापज्वालाजालाभिभूतद्विषद्वनिपतावन्वये भास्करस्य । राजा राजावताराे वरसमरधुरोद्दामरामानुभावप्रध्वस्ताराातिभूमीपतिदनुजवयोभून्महीपालदेवः ॥ यत्रासीद्भुवनेषु विश्रुतचणो दामोदराख्यः कृती श्रीमान्पुण्यवदग्रणीर्जितारिपुक्ष्मापालसङ्घः प्रभुः । मूलस्थानपुरे तुरुष्कनिवहाक्रान्ते परित्याजितो येनाद्यावधि गोवधो यवनकैः श्त्रापि (कुत्रापि ?) न स्मर्यते ॥ verses 8 and 9 of the Ulwar ms. of समयोद्द्योत.

947 The pedigree is

महीपालदेव
|
दामोदर
|
देवीदास
|
सूर्यदास
|
शक्तिसिंह
|
मदनसिंह

It is further said that Madanasiṁha called[948] together four learned men, viz., Ratnākara, Gopīnātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa and entrusted the composition of the digest to them. The colophons[949] at the end of the Śāntyuddyota in the Deccan College says that it was composed by Viśvanātha, a resident of Benares and son of Bhaṭṭapūjya, a Śrīmālī Gurjara (Brāhmaṇa). There is a similar colophon at the end of the Prāyaścittoddyota noticed by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri.

Since the Madanaratna mentions the Mit., the Kalpataru and Hemādri, it must be certainly later than about 1300 A. D. It is quoted as a great authority by the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra. In the Vyavahāra-mayūkha Nīlakaṇṭha relies upon the Madanaratna as often as (if not oftener than) the Mitākṣarā. The Vīramitrodaya[950] says that the author of the Madanaratna refers to the views of the Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, and Halāyudha. From this it follows that the Madanaratna was composed at some time between 1350-1500. Madanasiṁha and his ancestors are spoken of as ruling the country about Delhi. Though Madanasiṁha bears the high-sounding title of mahārājādhirāja it is highly probable that he was some feudatory chief under the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi. It is difficult to conceive of a period between 1300 and 1500 A. D. when a Hindu ruler was king of Delhi. It may be that during the troublous times of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-1351 A. D.), when the capital was transferred from Delhi to Doulatabad, or during the weak rule of the last kings of the Tughlak dynasty (1388-1413 A. D.) Madanasiṁhas' predecessors might

948 तेनाहूय मनीषिमण्डनमणिं सन्मिश्ररत्नाकरं गोपीनाथमनुत्तमं च सुधियं श्रीविश्वनाथं तथा । मुग्धं पण्डितमुन्नतद्युतिमतिं भट्टं च गङ्गाधरं राज्ञा शक्तिन (क ?) सूनुना सुकृतिना ग्रंथोयमारभ्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 537, No. 1681, verse 53 ; this is verse 21 in the Viśrāmbāg ms.

949 महाराजाधिराजस्य मदनेन्द्रस्य शासनात् । श्रीमाली (लिना ?) गुर्जरेण भट्टपूज्यात्मजेन वा । भट्टश्रीविश्वनाथेन काशीतीर्थनिवासिना । शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं वापि यथाशास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ The Ulwar ms. (Peterson's Ulwar cat. No. 353) reads श्रीमल्लिनाथगुर्जरेण.

950 तत्र मदनरत्नकारेण मिताक्षराकल्पतरुहलायुधादिसर्वग्रन्थान्तरेष्वलिखनान्निर्मूलत्वमस्य जङ्गमं स्थावरमिति प्राजापत्यस्य लिखनात्समूलत्वमिति दूषणमुक्त्वा &c. वीर॰ p. 626; vide वीर॰ pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 for references to मदनरत्न.

have usurped some territory about Delhi and ruled over it. At all events it would not be far from correct if the Madanaratna be placed about 1425-1450 A. D. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) says that the Madanaratna names the Ratnākara and the Mādhavīya. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri (Report on palm-leaf and paper mss. from Nepal, Intro. pp. 31-32) tells us that the dynasty to which Madanasiṁhadeva belonged ruled over Gorakhpur-Champaran (Western Tirhut), that Madanasiṁhadeva was preceded by Śaktisiṁhadeva, whose predecessor was Pṛthvīsiṁhadeva. The learned Sastri further says that a ms. of the Madanaratnapradīpa-prāyaścittoddyota applies the title 'kodaṇḍaparaśurāma' to Madana (p. 223), that a ms. of the Amarakośa was copied in saṁvat 1511 (1454-55 A. D.) when Madanasiṁha ruled over Campakāraṇyanagara (p. 51 of the body of the Report) and that a ms. of the Narasiṁhapurāṇa was copied in La-saṁ 339 (1457-58 A. D.) when mahārājādhirāja Madanasiṁhadeva ruled over Gorakṣapura i. e. modern Gorakhpur (p. 29 of the Report). The great similarity of the names Madanapāla and Madanasiṁha misled J. C. Ghose (Hindu Law, vol. II, p. XIV, ed. of 1917) into holding that the Madanapārijāta and the Madanaratna were written under Madanapāla. But it is clear from the ancestry of the two kings, Madanapāla and Madanasiṁha, and the names of the real authors of the digests (Madanapārijāta and Madanaratna) that they have no connection with each other.

95. Śūlapāṇi

Next to Jimūtavāhana, Śūlapāṇi is the most authoritative Bengal writer on dharmaśāstra. Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti gave a very interesting account of his works and time in JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343.

The earliest work of Śūlapāṇi appears to have been his Dīpakalikā, a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. It is a very brief commentary. The portion on the dāyabhāga section (Yājñavalkya II, verses 114-149) is contained in five printed pages (vide Ghose's Hindu Law, edition of 1917, vol. II. pp. 550-554). In this commentary, besides the sages he names only a few writers and works on dharma, e. g. the Kalpataru, Govindarāja, the Mitākṣarā, Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.. He entertained somewhat archaic views on matters of inheritance. For example, he holds that the text speaking of the right of the parents to succeed before the brothers of the

deceased has reference to property acquired by the deceased from his father or grand-father. He explained the word 'apratiṣṭhitā' in the sūtra of Gautama 'strīdhanaṁ duhitṝṇām-aprattānām-apratiṣṭhitānāṁ ca' in the same way as Aparārka, Jīmūtavāhana and the Smṛticandrikā.[951] He says that a full brother though not re-united succeeded before a half-brother though re-united.[952] This explanation of the much canvassed verse of Yāj. offered by Śūlapāṇi is refered to by the Vīramitrodaya.[953] The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana several times refers to Śūlapāṇi's explanations of Yāj.[954]

Śūlapāṇi wrote several small treatises on topics of dharmaśāstra and intended them to form part of a huge digest called Smṛtiviveka. Fourteen such works are known to have been so written with titles ending in the word 'viveka,' viz. Ekādaśī-viveka, Tithi-viveka, Dattaka-viveka, Durgotsavaprayoga-viveka, Durgotsava-viveka, Dolayātrā-viveka, Pratiṣṭhā-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Rāsayātrā-viveka, Vratakāla-viveka, Śuddhi-viveka, Śrāddha-viveka, Saṁkrānti-viveka, Saṁbandha-viveka (on marriage). Of these the Durgotsavaviveka seems to have been amongst his latest works, since he names therein five of his *vivekas* on durgotsava-prayoga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi and śrāddha. The Śrāddha-viveka is the most famous of his works and has been printed. His Prāyaścittaviveka and Durgotsava-viveka have also been published, the former by Jivananda (1893) and the latter by the Sanskrit Sahitya Pariṣad at Calcutta in Bengali characters. In the Durgotsava-viveka he deals with the worship of Durgā in Āśvina and also in spring (hence the deity is called Vāsantī). In the Durgotsava-viveka, besides such purāṇas as the Kālikā, Bhaviṣyottara, Bhāgavata, Devī, he names a host of writers and works as noted below.[955] In spite of Aufrecht's view

951 अनपत्या निर्धना अभर्तृका दुर्भगाश्च । ता विना अन्वयः पुत्रपौत्रादिः ।

952 असंसृष्ट्यपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयान्न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभ्राता ।

953 ' याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीकायां शूलपाणिः । अन्योदर्यः संसृष्टी नान्योदर्यधनं गृह्णीयात् । असंसृष्ट्यपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयात् । न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभ्राता &c.' वीर॰ pp. 682-683.

954 e. g. आवेदयति चेदित्यनेन स्वयं विवादोत्थापनं राज्ञा न कर्तव्यमिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायाः । व्यवहारतत्त्व.

955 They are : कालकौमुदी, कालमाधवीय, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, चक्रनारायणी, जिकन, जीमूतवाहन, ज्योतिषार्णव, बालक, महाकपिलपञ्चरात्र, वर्षकृत्य, वसन्तराज, शारदातिलक, श्रीकरमिश्र, श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय, संवत्सरप्रदीप, समयप्रदीप (of श्रीदत्त), सारसमुच्चय, स्मृतिसागर.

the Saṁvatsara-pradīpa is not his own work. A Sārasamuccaya is also mentioned in Hemādri (Dāna-khaṇḍa page 135). The Smṛtisāgara is probably the same as the Govindārṇava of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha or the work of the same name which Kullūka appears to have composed. Śrīkaramiśra is probably the ancient author referred to even by the Mitākṣarā.

The Śrāddha-viveka has several commentaries by eminent writers such as Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi and Govindānanda. So there are commentaries on the Prāyaścittaviveka. Besides the above, the works and authors mentioned in the other vivekas are noted below.[956] The Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi is referred to (as Gauḍīya-śrāddha-viveka) by Rudradhara,[957] by Vācaspati in his Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, by Govindānanda in his Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*.

We know very little about the personal history of Śūlapāṇi. In the colophons of his works[958] he is styled Sāhuḍiyāla (or -na) Mahāmahopādhyāya and Raghunandana also calls him Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Sāhuḍiyāla was a degraded section of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas in Bengal from the days of Ballālasena. As Rudradhara calls him Gauḍīya, it follows that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengal Brāhmaṇa. There is a tradition that he was the Judge of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. But this is impossible as the following discussion about his date will show.

There is some uncertainty about the exact age of Śūlapāṇi. As Śūlapāṇi names the Ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara and the Kālamādhavīya, he must be later than about 1375 A. D., since some time must have elapsed before a work from Vijayanagar came to be regarded as an authority in Bengal. As Śūlapāṇi's works are mentioned by Rudradhara, Govindānanda and Vācaspati, the former must be earlier than about 1460. In this connection it has to be noted that Govindānanda not only comments upon Śūlapāṇi's

956 कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, गोविन्दराज, धर्मप्रदीप, पारिजात, भवदेव, भुजबलभीम, भोजदेव, महार्णवप्रकाश, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रत्नाकर, शङ्खधर, स्मृतिमञ्जरी, हलायुध.

957 Vide folio 25 a of the Benares edition of रुद्रधर's श्राद्धविवेक (printed in संवत् 1920).

958 Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No, 1287 and D. C. ms. No. 98 of 1895-98.

works but probably looks upon Śūlapāṇi as an old writer along with Aniruddha.[959]

A ms. of the Prāyaścittaviveka was copied at Benares in *śake* 1410 (i. e. 1488 A. D.).[960] From all these data it follows that Śūlapāṇi flourished between 1375 and 1460 A. D.

From the Śuddhittatva it appears that Śūlapāṇi wrote Pariśiṣṭa-dīpakalikā (probably a commentary on a Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa)[961].

96. Rudradhara

This is a well-known Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra, who composed several works. His Śuddhi-viveka has been published several times (at Benares in 1866, in 1878 and by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Bombay, *saṁvat* 1978). That work is divided into three *paricchedas* and deals with purification from impurity on birth and death, the persons liable to undergo purifications, the meaning of the word *putra*, purification of the body and of various substances when polluted, purification of cooked food and water and women in their menses. He tells us that after[962] having examined seven works (*nibandhas*) on śuddhi and being encouraged by his father and brother he composed the Śuddhiviveka. He further says that he made the effort for the benefit of those who were not disposed to go through such works as the Ratnākara, Pārijāta, Mitākṣarā and the Hāralatā.[963] Besides these he mentions the Ācārādarśa, Śuddhi-pradīpa, Śuddhi-bimba, Śrīdattopādhyāya, Smṛtisāra and Harihara.

The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara is the most famous of his works. It was printed at Benares in *saṁvat* 1920. The work is

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959 यच्च मैथिलैरासनान्नदानयोर्यं चाथ त्वेनि मन्त्रो नास्तीत्युक्तं तदनिरुद्धशूलपाणिप्रभृतीनां प्राचामसंमतम् । p. 71 of श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. The word प्राचां may here mean 'eastern writers.'

960 शाके गते दृशसमुद्रहिमांशुसंख्ये मासे त्विषे शिवमुदे शिवशर्मणा यः ।

961 अत एव पितृदयिता-परिशिष्टप्रकाश-शूलपाणिकृत-परिशिष्टदीपकलिकाप्रभृतिषु मन्त्राभिधान-पूर्वकवाक्येन वृषोत्सर्ग इत्युक्तम् । शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II, p. 380).

962 शुद्धौ सप्त निबन्धान् दृष्ट्वानुमतः पितुस्तथा भ्रातुः ।

963 सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपारिजातमिताक्षराहारलतादयोऽन्ये । तथापि तत्रालसमानसानां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥

divided into four *paricchedas*. He first defines śrāddha, and then treats of several topics, viz. the varieties of śrāddha, the procedure at śrāddhas, the *mantras* that are recited, the proper time and place for śrāddhas, the Brāhmaṇas worthy to be invited at śrāddha and the proper food etc. Among the numerous works and authors referred to in the work the undermentioned ones deserve notice.[964] He refers to his own Śuddhiviveka as already written.

In several places he tells us that he follows a different tradition on certain matters from that of the Pitṛbhakti or of the Sugatisopāna. He points out that the *prasātikā* is a kind of grain known in Madhyadeśa as Śāṭhīlā.[965]

For his Vratapaddhati, *vide* Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 15, No. 1995. He says that he was urged by his brother's advice to write the work and that he follows the Samayapradīpa.[966]

Another work of his is the Varṣakṛtya which deals with festivals and fasts.

He was the son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara and youngest brother of Haladhara. His works are quoted by Vācaspati in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Govindānanda in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*, by Kamalākara and Nīlakaṇṭha.

As Rudradhara mentions the Ratnākara, the Smṛtisāra, Śridattopādhyāya and the Śrāddhaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, he is certainly later than 1425 A. D. A ms. of his Vratapaddhati is dated in Lakṣmaṇa *saṁvat* 344 i. e. 1463 A. D.[967] Besides he is quoted by Vācaspati and Govindānanda. Therefore he must have flourished between 1425 and 1460 A. D.

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964 कल्पतरु, गोभिलगृह्यभाष्य, छन्दोगपरिशिष्टटीका, पारिजात, पितृभक्ति (of श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय styled प्राचीन), भुजबलभीम, भोजराज, महार्णव, रत्नाकर, श्राद्धकल्प, श्राद्धपल्लव, श्राद्धविवेक (गौडीय i. e. of शूलपाणि), सुगतिसोपान (styled भवशर्मप्रतिहस्तकग्रन्थ), स्मृतिसार, हलायुधनिबन्ध.

965 प्रसातिका मध्यदेशे शाठीला इति प्रसिद्धं धान्यम् । folio 21 b of the Benares ed. of संवत् 1920.

966 एष श्रीभ्रातृचरणोन्नीतः समयप्रदीपानुसारी पन्थाः । at the end of the व्रतपद्धति.

967 Vide M. M. Haraprasad Śastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. XIII and p. 73.

The Rudradhara who was a pupil of Caṇḍeśvara and author of the Kṛtyacandrikā, the Vivādacandrikā and the Śrāddhacandrikā appears to be a different author.

97. Misarumiśra

Misarumiśra is famous for his works called Vivādacandra and Padārtha-candrikā (on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system). There is a ms. of the Vivādacandra in the Deccan College (No. 57 of 1883-84). That work deals with the titles of Law (vyavahārapadas) such as ṛṇādāna (recovery of debt), nyāsa (deposit), asvāmivikraya, saṁbhūya-samutthāna (partnership), dāyavibhāga, strīdhana ; and then with procedure, viz. the plaint, reply, pramāṇas, witnesses, possession etc. It frequently quotes the Ratnākara (on vivāda and vyavahāra) of Caṇḍeśvara and several times criticizes him. Besides numerous smṛti writers the other authors and works named are : Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Bālarūpa (often), Bhavadeva and Smṛtisāra (frequently).

In the mss. and colophons the name of the author seems to be Misarūmiśra.[968] He tells us that he wrote the work under the orders of princess Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasiṁha who appears to have been the younger brother of Bhairavasiṁhadeva of the Kāmeśvara dynasty of Mithilā. The work was probably called Vivāda-candra to connect it with the prince Candrasiṁha. The Vivāda-candra first[969] speaks of king Bhaveśa of the Kāmeśvara dynasty, then of his son Harasiṁhadeva, then of his son Darpanārāyaṇa and the latter's queen Hīrā or Dhīra and then of Candrasiṁha and his queen Lakhimā or Lachimā. We saw above that Caṇḍeśvara who had weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. wrote in his old age

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968 श्रीचन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयिता लछिमा महादेवी । रचयति पदार्थचन्द्रं मिसरूमिश्रोपदेशेन ॥ Intro. verse 2 in Mitra's Notices vol. IX p. 12 No. 2901 ; *vide* I. O. cat. p. 454 No. 1500 ' इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमिसरूमिश्रविरचितो विवादचन्द्रः समाप्तः'.

969 अभूदभूतप्रतिमल्लगन्धो राजा भवेशः किल सार्वभौमः । अत्याजयद्यो बहुभर्तृकत्वं दोषं भुवोपि प्रभुरुग्रधामा ॥ तस्मादनूजोजनि सूनुसारो धीमान्रमासूनुसमानसारः । राजोपजीव्यो हरसिंहनामा ततो नृपो दर्पनरायणोभूत् ॥ दर्पनरायणनृपतेः श्रीमद्धीरा महादेवी । अलभत तनयं तनयं नरपतिगुणराशिपूरितं शूरम् ॥ श्रीमल्लखिमादेवी तस्य चन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयितस्य । नाम्ना मिसरूमिश्रद्वारा रचयति विवादचन्द्रमभिरामम् ॥ Intro, verses in the Deccan College ms,

under Bhaveśa his work on Rājanīti. Lachimādevī was queen of the great-grandson of this Bhaveśa, who became king of Tirhut in the third quarter of the 14th century. Therefore Candrasiṁha must have flourished about the middle of the 15th century and Misarumiśra's work must be assigned to that period. M. M. Chakravarti points out (JASB for 1915, p. 425) that for Dhīrasiṁha, a son of Darpanārāyaṇa, there is an authentic date, viz. 321 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era in Tirhut (i. e. 1438 A. D.), when a ms. of Śrīnivāsa's Setudarpaṇī (com. on Setubandha) was copied during Dhīrasiṁha's reign.

That the Vivādacandra is a work of authority on Hindu Law in Mithilā has been recognised from very early days in the British courts.[970] The Vivādacandra held that the word strīdhana was to be applied to such woman's property as was technically so called (by the sages) and not to all property that comes to a woman.[971]

98. Vācaspatimiśra

Vācaspatimiśra is the foremost *nibandha* writer of Mithilā. His Vivādacintāmaṇi has been recognised by the High Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā.[972] Vācaspati was an extremely voluminous writer and appears to have composed dozens of works. In the Śrāddhakalpa *alias* Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī, almost his latest work, he says that he wrote in his youth ten works on śāstra and thirty *nibandhas* on smṛti and composed the work in question in his declining years.[973] At least eleven works of his bearing the title 'cintāmaṇi' are known. They are briefly noticed below.

The Ācāracintāmaṇi deals with the daily rites of Vājasaneyins.[974] The Āhnikacintāmaṇi is quoted in his Śuddhicintāmaṇi. The

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970 *Vide* 2 Moo. I. A. p. 132 at p. 147 and p. 152 (where there is a citation in English from the विवादचन्द्र).

971 ' स्त्रीधनं पारिभाषिकमेव न सर्वम् ' folio 33 a of the D. C. ms.

972 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174 and 487 at p. 508, I. L. R. 20 All. 267 at p. 290 (P. C), I. L. R. 10 Cal. 392 at p. 399, I. L. R. 12 Cal 348 at p. 351.

973 शास्त्रे दश स्मृतौ त्रिंशन्निबन्धा येन यौवने । निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्येष विनिर्ममे ॥ vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730.

974 अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निबध्यते हरिं नत्वा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा ॥ Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 169, No. 1857.

Kṛtyacintāmaṇi was published in Bengali characters at Benares in *śake* 1814 (vide JASB. for 1915, p. 395) and deals with the festivals that are celebrated on different days in the year. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi has been published in the B. I. series. It is divided into five *prakāśas*, viz. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Purī), Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī and deals with such topics as the purpose of pilgrimages, the preliminaries of pilgrimage, the various rites to be performed at the several *tīrthas*, the subsidiary sacred places at the principal *tīrthas* etc. He mentions the Kalpataru, Ganeśvaramiśra, Jayaśarmā, the Mitākṣarā, Smṛtisamuccaya and Hemādri. In the introduction he explicitly states that he composed the work after carefully examining the Kṛtyakalpadruma and Pārijāta, the Ratnākara and other works.[975] The Dvaitacintāmaṇi is mentioned in his Kṛtyacintāmaṇi. The Nīticintāmaṇi is mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi (p. 72). The Vivādacintāmaṇi (text) was published at Calcutta in 1837 (which edition is used in this work) and was translated into English by Prasannakumar Tagore (in 1863) with a learned preface. It explicitly states that the author carefully studied the Kṛtyakalpadruma, Pārijāta and Ratnākara.[976] The work deals exhaustively with the eighteen titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*). The principal authors and works, besides the usual smṛtis and purāṇas, mentioned in the work are noted below.[977] In this work he mentions several vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit terms. The Vyavahāracintāmaṇi[978] deals with judicial procedure, viz. the four principal topics thereof, viz. *bhāṣā* (the plaint), *uttara* (reply of defendant), kriyā (evidence),

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975 श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् । प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिं तनोति ॥ तीर्थचिन्तामणि ; vide p. 368 also.

976 श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम ... यत्नात् । वाचस्पतिः श्रीपतिनम्रमौलिर्विवादचिन्तामणिमातनोति ॥

977 कल्पतरु, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, पारिजात, प्रकाश, बालरूप, भाष्यकार (of शङ्खलिखित, p. 67, the same quotation occurring in the वि. र. p. 234), मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रत्नाकर, लक्ष्मीधर, स्मृतिसार, हलायुध. Note the following words 'व्युत्करोपकरः गोन्दतल इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 63), 'आरक्षकः कोटाल इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 95, i, e. *Kotwal* in Marathi), 'संक्रमः साकम इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 101; compare Marathi साकव).

978 भाषोत्तरक्रियापाद्यां निर्णयः सोपदेशकः । चतुष्पात्सत्वविषयो व्यवहारो निरूप्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 417 No. 1400.

nirṇaya (decision). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śake* 1814 (JASB for 1915, p. 396 *n* 2). The Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi deals with the duties of śūdras (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 22, No. 2001). The Śrāddhacintāmaṇi is a standard work and was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śake* 1814.

Besides the works and authors enumerated in the foot-note above, the others mentioned by him in his several Cintāmaṇis are noted below.[979]

Besides these there is a group of Vācaspati's works with the title ' nirṇaya '. The Tithinirṇaya[980] starts with an invocation of the highest Being (*paramātman*) while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kṛṣṇa. It first divides *tithis* into śuddhā and viddhā (commingled with another tithi) and then discusses all the *tithis* from the first to the fifteenth and also *amāvāsyā*; it deals with the questions as to the rites of that *tithi* which is *kṣaya*, with śivarātrivrata, naktavrata, holidays, fasts, jayantīvrata, holikā festival etc. The Dvaitanirṇaya,[981] as its name implies, is concern-

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979 अनिरुद्ध, असहाय, आचारप्रदीप, उदयकर, कर्क, कर्मप्रदीप, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुलार्णव, गोविन्दराज, दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी, पितृभक्ति, प्रदीप, भवदेव, भीमपराक्रम, भोजराज (or simply राज), राजमार्तण्ड, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, विवेक, व्यवहारमातृका, शुद्धिसार, श्राद्धकल्पचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धपल्लव, श्राद्धपञ्जी, श्राद्धविवेक, श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय, सुगतिसोपान, स्मृतिपरिभाषा, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिसागर, हरिहरमिश्र, हरिहरपद्धति, हारलता.

980 अद्वैतोद्बोधगम्याय निर्गुणस्थितिहेतवे ।
जगतामादिभूताय नमस्ते परमात्मने ॥
विलोक्य मुनिवाक्यानि संप्रदायानुसारतः ।
तिथिद्वैतविधौ यत्नात्क्रियते तिथिनिर्णयः ॥
Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 149 No. 1139.

981 Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. I, p. 149 No. 275 and vol. V, p. 296 No. 1973 for the द्वैतनिर्णय.

ed with the settlement of some doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra such as the names to be given to brāhmaṇas and the other *varṇas*, doubts on gifts and consecration of tanks and wells, doubts about daily bath, *saṁdhya*, *devapūjā*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily offerings to manes, about judicial proceedings and the taking of interest, about various *vratas* like ekādaśī and janmāṣṭamī, about intercalary months, about the proper time for marriage and *upanayana*. The Mahādānanirṇaya[982] expatiates on the sixteen munificent gifts such as weighing against gold and silver. In the introductory verses Vācaspati gives the genealogy of his patron's family from Bhaveśa, whose son was Harasiṁhadeva, whose son was Narasiṁha, whose son Bhairavendra bore the *biruda* (appellation) Hari-nārāyaṇa. A verse[983] at the beginning and one at the end attribute the work to Bhairavendra and to Rūpanārāyaṇa respectively. Rūpa-nārāyaṇa was the *biruda* of Ramabhadra, a son of Bhairavendra. Therefore it looks probable that the work was commenced in the reign of Bhairava and was completed in the reign of his son Rāmabhadra. M. M. Chakravarti says that Bhairava himself bore at one time the *biruda Rupanārayaṇa*. M. M. Haraprasad Sāstri (Nepal cat. p. 90) mentions a Vivādanirṇaya of Vācaspati. The Śuddhinirṇaya of Vācaspati deals with impurity on birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, *sapiṇḍa* relationship, periods of impurity for the principal varṇas and mixed castes; periods of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc., over-lapping of several periods of *āśauca*; impurity arising from carrying a corpse; rites after the death of a *saṁnyāsin*; impurity from contact of lower castes, such as washermen and caṇḍālas, freedom from impurity at tīrthas and marriages etc.

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982 Vide Haraprasad Sastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. p. 122 for the महादानर्निर्णय.

983 श्रीवाचस्पतिधीरं सहकारितया समासाद्य । श्रीभैरवेन्द्रनृपतिः स्वयं महादाननिर्णयं तनुते ॥ ; श्रीरूपनारायणभूमिपालकृतो महादानविनिर्णयोयम् । यशःप्रसूनाञ्चितदिक्पतीनामाकल्पमाकल्पतु भूपतीनाम् ॥ at end.

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Besides these, Vācaspati appears to have either composed or contemplated writing seven works called Mahārṇava on kṛtya, ācāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pitṛyajña. Of these the Kṛtya-mahārṇava is found and deals with festivals and fasts and the proper times therefor (vide JASB for 1915, p. 398). He also wrote the Gayāśrāddhapaddhati, the Candana-dhenupramāṇa and the Dattaka-vidhi. Probably his last work, as stated above, was the Śrāddhakalpa *alias* Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī.

Apart from the works on dharmaśāstra, Vācaspati wrote also on the systems of philosophy. But it is not necessary for our purpose to go into that question.

Most of his works styled ' cintāmaṇi ' are mentioned by Raghu-nandana in the *tattvas* (e.g. Kṛtyacintāmaṇi in Ekādaśitattva, Vivāda- and Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi in Dāyatattva). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi is quoted in the Śuddhitattvārṇava of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, the Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi is quoted in the Śrādhha-kriyā-kaumudī (pp.265, 475) and in the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 89, 93) of Govindānanda, the Vivāda-cintāmaṇi is quoted in the Vīramitrodaya (p. 697) and the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi is criticized in the same work (p. 288). His Pitṛbhakti-taraṅgiṇī is mentioned in the Śuddhitattva and Śrāddhatattva. Vācaspati vouchsafes very little information about himself or his family. In the colophons of his works he is generally styled mahāmahopādhyāya and *miśra* or *sanmiśra*. In the colophon of the Śūdrācāra-cintāmaṇi[984] he is described as the *pariṣad* (the adviser of the king in finally deciding difficult points of Dharmaśāstra) of *Mahārājādhirāja* Hari-nārāyaṇa. We saw above that his Mahādānanirṇaya connects itself with two kings Bhairava and his son Rūpanārāyaṇa. At the end of the Śrāddhakalpa we are told that Vācaspati who was the *pariṣad* of Rāmabhadradeva *alias* Rūpanārāyaṇa, son of Hari-

984 महाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्धरिनारायणपरिषदा सकलपण्डितमण्डलीशिरोमणिना श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण विरचितः शूद्राचारचिन्तामणिः &c. Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 22 No. 2001.

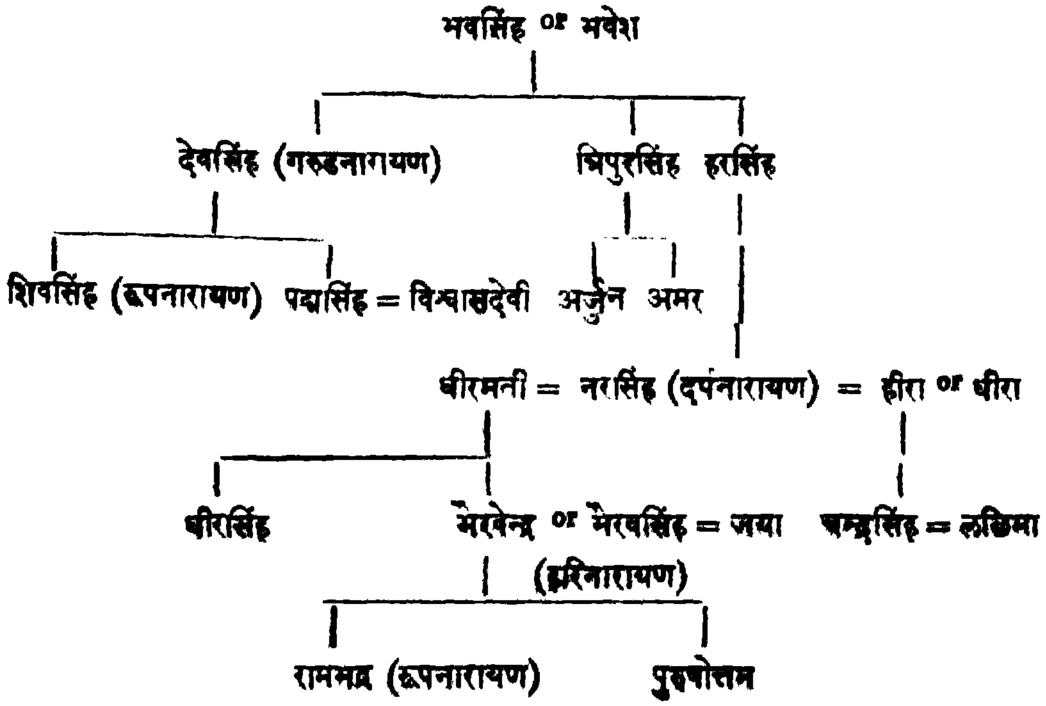
nārāyaṇa, composed the work at the bidding of his patron.[985] Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka says that one of his *gurus* was Vācaspati.[986] It is probable that it is this Vācaspati that is meant. But as against this we must remember that Vācaspati in his Śrāddhakalpa quotes Vardhamāna Upādhyāya on śrāddha. Vardhamāna wrote his Daṇḍaviveka while king Bhairava was reigning and his Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka for Rāmabhadradeva. So Vācaspati was an elder contemporary of Vardhamāna.

Prasannakumar Tagore assigned 1423 A. D. as the time of the Vivādacintāmaṇi (vide preface p. xxviii). Ghose in his Hindu Law (vol. II p. xiv) says that Vācaspati wrote the Śrāddhacintāmaṇi by order of queen Jayā, widow of king Bhairavadeva and

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985 समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहरिनारायणात्मज-समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरूपनारायणपदवीसमलङ्कृतमिथिलामण्डलाखण्डलश्रीमद्रामभद्रदेवचरणादिष्टेन तत्परिषदा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा विरचितोयं श्राद्धकल्पः परिपूर्णः । I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1780.

The pedigree of the कामेश्वर kings of Mithilā from भवेश is :



Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV, p. 196 for a detailed pedigree gathered from Pañjas of Mithilā (though somewhat confused) and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, pp. 57–58.

986 ज्यायान्मण्डकमिश्रः शङ्करवाचस्पती च मे गुरवः । दण्डविवेक verse 6.

mother of Puruṣottamadeva,[987] that Harinārāyaṇa (i. e. Bhairava) ruled from 1513 to 1527 and that the latter was killed by Nasrat-shah, the Pathan king of Bengal. M. M. Chakravarti holds that the literary activity of Vācaspati lay between 1450 to 1480 A. D. Since Vācaspati mentions the Ratnakara (of Caṇḍeśvara) and Rudradhara as his authorities he must be later than about 1425 A. D. Vācaspati's works are quoted by Govindānanda and Raghunandana. Therefore Vācaspati is certainly earlier than 1540 A. D. The ms. of the Mahādānanirṇaya found in Nepal is dated in 392 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era (Monday of Vaiśākha, dark half, 12th *tithi* i. e. 22nd April 1511 A.D.) The ms. of the Śuddhinirṇaya (Mitra's Notices vol. X, p. 58, No. 3308) was copied in *saṁvat* 1416, which must in this particular case be taken as equivalent to *śake* 1416 i. e. 1494-95 A. D.., since Vācaspati could not have flourished about 1360 A. D. (which corresponds to Vikrama *saṁvat* 1416). Hence the period assigned by Chakravarti for the literary activity of Vācaspati appears to be correct. That date is further corroborated by the fact that Vācaspati wrote under Bhairavendra and his son Rāmabhadradeva, that were 4th and 5th in descent from king Bhaveśa of Mithilā, who as we saw above began to rule over Mithilā in the third quarter of the 14th century.

This Vācaspati who flourished in Mithilā in the latter half of the fifteenth century is very often confounded with other authors bearing the same name. The great philosopher Vācaspati who was author of the Bhāmatī on the Śārīrakabhāṣya of Śaṅkara and of several other commentaries on other systems of philosophy flourished in the first half of the 9th century as he wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (most probably of the Vikrama era).[988] There was another (Candraśekhara) Vācaspati who wrote the Smṛtisārasaṁgraha (cat. of Calcutta San. College mss. vol. II, p. 181, No. 203) and flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

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987 Compare विष्णोर्व्यक्तः(?) पुरमिव शम्भोरिव देहवामार्धम् । देवीसनाभिरेषा जयति जयात्मा महादेवी ॥ श्रीभैरवेन्द्रधरणीपतिधर्मपत्नी राजाधिराजपुरुषोत्तमदेवमाता । वाचस्पतिं निखिलचन्द्रविदं नियुज्य द्वैते विनिर्णयविधिं विधिरुत्तनोति ॥ verses 5 and 7 of द्वैतनिर्णय, Mitra's Notices, vol, I p. 149.

988 न्यायसूचिनिबन्धोसावकारि सुधियां मुदे । श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्वङ्कवसुवत्सरे ॥

99. Nṛsiṁhaprasāda

This is an encyclopaedic work on dharmaśāstra, no part of which has been yet printed. The Benares Sanskrit College has a complete ms. of this vast work. I could examine the whole of it. Besides, the Deccan College collection has two mss. of portions of it, viz. of the Dānasāra (No. 353 of 1875-76) and of the Tīrthasāra (No. 352 of 1875-76). The Dānasāra and Śāntisāra are also noticed in Mitra's cat. of Bikaner mss. (pp. 429-430) and six sections out of twelve are noticed in the I. O. cat. p. 434 No. 1467. Unless otherwise stated the references here are to the Benares Sanskrit College ms.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda is divided into twelve[989] sections called '*sāra*' on saṁskāra, āhnika, śrāddha, kāla, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, karmavipāka, vrata, dāna, śānti (the averting of evil foreboded by natural portents and other strange occurrences), tīrtha and pratiṣṭhā (consecration of temples, idols etc.). Each section[990] begins with an invocation of Nṛsiṁha (the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) after whom the work is named Nṛsiṁhaprasāda (the fruit of the grace of Nṛsiṁha). In the Saṁskārasāra, after invoking Nṛsiṁha, the introduction tells us that[991] when king Rāma ruled in Devagiri (modern Daulatabad), Śāmavit was ruler of Delhi and that after the latter Nijāmasāha wielded power over the world. Then after pronouncing an eulogy on Nijāmasāha (verses 10-13) the author

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989 संस्कारसारः प्रथमो द्वितीयस्त्वाह्निकाभिधः । श्राद्धसारस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थः कालनिर्णयः ॥ पञ्चमो व्यवहाराख्यः प्रायश्चित्ताभिधो ... (torn) नाशकः (सप्तमस्त्वघनाशकः) ॥ अष्टमो व्रतसाराख्यः पुराणोक्ताभिधायकः । नवमो दानसाराख्यः सर्ववर्णाधिकारकः ॥ दशमः शान्तिसंज्ञो वै तीर्थ एकादशः स्मृतः । देवप्रतिष्ठासाराख्य द्वादशः परिकीर्तितः ॥ verses 17-20 of संस्कारसार.

990 e. g. verse 8 of the संस्कारसार. The first verse of आह्निकसार is प्रणम्य श्रीनृसिंहेन (हं तु ?) दलाधीशेन भूभुजा । श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादेन दिनानुष्ठेयमुच्यते ॥; the श्राद्धसार begins 'श्रीनृसिंहं नमस्कृत्य दलाधीशमहीपतिः । श्राद्धसारं प्रकुरुते सर्ववैदिकतुष्टये ॥'

991 श्रीमद्देवगिरौ पुरन्दरपुरस्पर्धाधियद्वादरे रामे राजनि शामवित्किल यभौ राजा स ढिल्लीश्वरः । ढिल्लीशादुपरि प्रभुः समभवन्नैजामसाहो महान् यद्दोर्दण्डनिजप्रतापमहिमा राज्यं वशे चानयत् ॥ verse 9.

speaks of himself. We[992] are told that the author was Dalapati (or Dalādhīśa), son of Vallabha, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and of the Yājñavalkīya śākhā (i. e. Śuklayajurveda) and that he was the keeper of the imperial records of Nebajana (?). There are elaborate colophons[993] at the end of almost each section (called sāra) in which we are told that Dalapati was the pupil of Sūryapaṇḍita, that he was a great exponent of the Vaiṣṇavadharma, that he was the chief minister and keeper of the records of Nijāmasāha, who was the overlord of all Yavanas (Mahomedans) and ruler of Devagiri. In some colophons he is styled Mahārājādhirāja. It is doubtful whether Dalapati or Dalādhīśa was the real name of the author or was merely a title. It is not unlikely that Sūryapaṇḍita said to be the *guru* of the author is the same as Sūrya, the father of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha, who wrote his Bhāgavata at Benares in *śake* 1495 (i. e. 1573 A. D.) and who states that he was born in a family of devout Vaiṣṇavas.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda names numerous authors and works. In the beginning of the Saṁskārasāra, he mentions a host of writers and works that he consulted.[994] Besides these he mentions Some-

992 प्रौढश्रीद्विजराजवंशतिलकालङ्कारहीरः प्रभुर्भारद्वाजकुलानुगः प्रथमया यः शाखयालङ्कृतः । श्रीमन्नेबजनसमस्तकरणाधीशः सतामग्रणीः श्रीमद्वल्लभसूनुरेष विजयते श्रीमान्दलाधीश्वरः ॥ verse 14 of संस्कारसार. The third line is metrically faulty in the 6th syllable. This verse occurs in each सार at the end with variations. In the D.C. ms. No. 358 of 1875-76 the last two lines are श्रीमद्वल्लभसूनुरात्मनिरतस्तत्संप्रदायाग्रणीः सारे दानकसंज्ञकेऽलिखदरे श्रीमान्दलाधीश्वरः ॥

993 e. g. at the end of the श्राद्धसार 'श्रीमन्निजामसाहमहाराजाधिराज-सर्वपरीमन्द्रदेवगिरिपुरवराधीश्वर-समस्तयवनाधीश्वर-श्रीमन्निजामसाहसमस्तकरणाधीश्वर-सकलविद्याविशारद-याज्ञवल्क्यीयशाखाप्रवर्तक-द्विजराजकुलालङ्कारहीर-श्रीवैष्णवप्रवर्तक-श्रीवल्लभात्मज-श्रीवल्लभपण्डितप्रसादासादितसूर्यपण्डिताभिधगुरु-मन्वादिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्राभिज्ञ-महाप्रभुस्वकार्यवीक्षणप्रतिनिधीकृत-श्रीमहाराजदलपतिराजविरचिते श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादे &c.

994 काव्यादर्शानन्तभट्ट-विज्ञानेश्वर-हेमाद्रि-दीपिकाविवरण-अनन्तप्रयोगपारिजात-मदनपारिजात-कल्पतरु-माधव-स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-स्मृतिरत्नावलि-स्मृतिदर्पण-स्मृतिचिन्तामणि-स्मृतिभास्कर-मेधातिथि-विज्ञानतिलक-अपरार्क-विज्ञानमार्कण्ड-भोजराजीय-विश्वरूपनिबन्ध-नारायणीय-गणेश-वाक्यमीमांसा-स्मृतिमीमांसा-निबन्धसर्वस्व-स्मृतिमहार्णव-शातातपीयकर्मविपाकसमुच्चय-माधवीय-मैलुगिकर्मविपाक-प्रवराध्याय-प्रवरमञ्जरी-जातिविवेकप्रमुखाननेकनिबन्धान् &c. folio 3b.

śvara (commentator of the Tantravārtika) and Kāladīpa in the Saṁskārasāra ; the Purāṇasāra in the Āhnikasāra ; Pārijāta and Vādibhayaṅkara in the Vyavahārasāra ; Kāmika, Jñānaratnāvali, Balārkodaya in the Dānasāra.

The contents of some of the sections of the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda may be set out here. In the Saṁskārasāra the author treats of the meaning of *dharma*, śruti, smṛti, the authoritativeness of purāṇas, kalivarjya (usages prohibited in the kali age), puṇyāhavācana, madhuparka, vṛddhiśrāddha, garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, upanayana, marriage and other *saṁskāras*, the duties of brahmacārins, snātakas, householders, vānaprasthas and saṁnyāsins. In the Āhnikasāra the author after dividing the day into eight parts speaks of the actions appropriate to each viz : in the first getting up from bed at the brāhma-muhūrta, śauca, brushing the teeth, decoration of the hair, bath etc ; in the second study ; in the third, looking after dependents and pursuit of one's livelihood ; in the fourth midday bath, brahmayajña, tarpaṇa, vaiśvadeva, daily śrāddha ; in the fifth dinner and foods prescribed and forbidden ; in the sixth and seventh reflecting over itihāsa and purāṇa ; in the 8th decision about worldly affairs, evening saṁdhya etc. In the Kālasāra (which is incomplete in the Benares ms.) he defines the nature of *kāla* and gives rules and decisions about months, *tithis* and such festivals as Navarātra, Janmāṣṭami etc. In the Vyavahārasāra the author deals with the meaning of vyavahāra, the eighteen titles of law, the four-fold method of deciding dharma, the pramāṇas (means of proof), dāyavibhāga etc. In the Vratasāra he speaks of the several principal *vratas* in each month, some of which are for both men and women, some for men only and some for women only. In the Dānasāra he dilates upon the nature of dāna, its varieties, the various results of dānas, the proper time and place for dānas, proper recipients of dāna, what things can be the subjects of gifts, units of gold, silver etc., the description of kuṇḍa, maṇḍapa and vedī, the sixteen great dānas such as tulā, hiraṇyagarbha, brahmāṇḍa, kalpapādapa etc. and three *atidānas*, viz. land, cows and learning ; gifts of images, food, ornaments, bed-stead etc. ; gifts on saṁkrānti and eclipses etc. The Tīrthasāra is interesting for this that as the author hailed from Devagiri he speaks principally of *tīrthas* of the Deccan and Southern India. In this work he speaks

of Setubandha, Puṇḍarika[995] or Pauṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur in the Sholapur District, it seems), Gayatirtha, eulogies of Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā-Veṇyā, Narmadā, Malapraharini etc.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda being a work from the Deccan held the view that marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter was sanctioned by the Veda and was not to be censured.[996] It says that where there is (irreconcileable) conflict between the smṛtis and purāṇas there is an option.[997]

As the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda relies upon the Mādhavīya and the Madanapārijāta, it is certainly later than 1400 A. D. As it is mentioned as an authority in the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and in the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha it must be earlier than about 1575 A. D. If by the Dīpikāvivaraṇa which it enumerates among its principal authorities is meant the com. of Nṛsiṁha, son of Rāmacandrācārya, on his father's commentary of the Kālanirṇaya (which is most probable), then the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda must be later than about 1500 A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar[998] says that Rāmacandrācārya lived about 1450 A. D. A ms. of the Dīpikāvivaraṇa was copied in *saṁvat* 1604 (1548 A. D.).[999] The Benares Sanskrit College ms. appears to have been copied for Rāmapaṇḍita Dharmadhikari at Benares, who is said to have been the father of Nandapaṇḍita[1000] (see sec. 105 below). At the end of several *saras* either *saṁvat* 1568 (1511-12 A. D.) or 1569 occurs as the date.[1001] This may be said to be the

995 भेम्याभ्भीव नट द्वि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् ... धर्मरांगा नदी यत्र करवीरकुशांकुशैः । शोभिता सङ्गता भेम्यास्तस्माद्योजनमन्तनः । पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं तीर्थपूजितम् । पाण्डुरङ्गस्तत्रास्ते &c.

996 वस्तुतस्तु मातुलसुतापरिणयनं वेदाभिहिततया न दोष इति ... विस्तरेण वक्ष्यामः । संस्कारसार folio 9.

997 यत्र स्मृतिपौराणयोर्विरोधस्तत्र विकल्पः । संस्कारसार folio 14a.

998 Report, 1883-84, pp. 58-60.

999 Vide I. O. cat. p. 530, No. 1662.

1000 *Vide* Benares 'Pandit' (New series) vol. V. pp. 377-78 for an announcement about the नृसिंहप्रसाद by a learned descendant of नन्दपण्डित.

1001 At the end of the colophon of the आह्निकसार we have the date 'संवत् १५६८ समये आश्विनवदि ११ शुक्रवारे' and on the back of that part of the ms. the date 'संवत् १५६९ वैशाखवदि ७ शुक्रे' i. e. 7th May 1512 A. D. At the end of the कर्मविपाकसार we have 'संवत् १५६९ समये काशीपुरी-श्रीविश्वेश्वरचरणसंनिधाने'. At the end of the तीर्थसार we have 'संवत् १५६८ समये वैशाखसुदि द्वितीया रवौ'.

date of the actual composition of the work or of the copying of the ms. for Rāmapaṇḍita. It seems difficult to believe that Rāmapaṇḍita for whom the ms. was copied in 1511-12 A. D. was the father of the famous Nandapaṇḍita. We know that Nandapaṇḍita composed his Vaijayantī in 1623 A. D. Rāmapaṇḍita must have been a man of middle age before he could order the copying of a huge ms. like the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda. If he did this in 1511-12 A. D. his son could hardly have been alive 120 years later. Therefore it looks probable that the dates (*saṁvat* 1568 and 1569) are not the dates when the ms. was copied for Rāmapaṇḍita, but rather the dates of the composition of the original work or of the copying of the ms. from which Rāmapaṇḍita got his own ms. copied. At all events it is clear that the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda could not have been composed later than 1512 A. D. As the author was a minister of Nijāmasāha who ruled over Devagiri, it appears that he is referring to Ahmad Nizam Shah who ruled from 1490-1508 A. D. or to his son Burhan Nizam Shah (1508-1533 A. D.), most probably the former.[1002] It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 and 1512 A. D.

100. Pratāparudradeva

The Sarasvatīvilāsa was compiled by Pratāparudradeva, a king of the Gajapati dynasty who ruled at *Cuttack* (Katakanagarī) in Orissa. The Dāyabhāga portion of this work was published with an English translation by Rev. Thomas Foulkes in 1881. An edition of the whole of the vyavahāra section of the Sarasvatīvilāsa has recently been published in the Mysore Government publication Series. Through the kindness of the Editor, Dr. Shamasastri, I was able to secure the printed sheets of 352 pages before publication. In the following reference is made to the paragraphs of Foulkes' edition and the pages of the Mysore edition.

After invoking deities the work starts with the *praśasti* of the king and his family (pp. 2-11). Descent is traced to the Sun himself through Daśaratha, Rāma and his sons. Kapilendra was the founder of the Gajapati family whose son was Puruṣottama. His queen was Rupāmbikā. Pratāparudradeva or Vīra-Rudra-deva

1002 Vide Lane-Poole's 'Muhammadan dynasties' (ed. of 1925) p. 320 for the names and dates of the Nizam Shahs.

was the son of Puruṣottama. He is spoken of as having given protection to Sultan (Suratrāṇa) Husanshah who threw himself on his mercy.[1003] In the colophons[1004] the king is styled Gajapati, Gauḍeśvara (king of Gauda), lord of Kalubariga (modern Gulbarga) in the Karṇāṭaka country of nine crores (probably of revenue) and as the protector of Sultan Husanshah of Jamunāpura. It is significant that the same titles are applied to Puruṣottama[1005] in his Poṭavaram grant of *śake* 1412 (1490 A. D.) and in other inscriptions. Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital[1006] Kaṭakanagarī, called together an assembly of *Pandits* and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own productions.[1007] He boasts that he composed the work for saving scholars the trouble of bringing harmony among the conflicting dicta of Vijñānayogi, Aparārka, Bhāruci and others, that there was no work that could equal his own and that his literary effort would make his predecessors' works afford illustrations of the maxim that when a certain purpose is served by one the existence of others is superfluous.[1008] Then it

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1003 p. 11 ' शरणागतहुसनसाहिसुरत्राणवज्रपञ्जरः. '

1004 इति वीरश्रीगजपति-गौडेश्वर-नवकोटिकर्णाटककलुबरिगेश्वर-शरणागतजमुनापुराधीश्वर-हुशनसाहसुरत्राण-शरणरक्षण-श्रीदुर्गावरपुत्र-परमपवित्रचरित्र-राजाधिराज-राजराजपरमेश्वर-वीरप्रतापरुद्रदेवमहाराजविरचिते स्मृतिसंग्रहे सरस्वतीविलासे व्यवहारकाण्डे &c. I. O. cat. p. 419 No. 1404.

1005 वीरश्रीगजपतिगौडेश्वरनवकोटिकर्णाटकलुबरिगेश्वरप्रतापपुरुषोत्तमदेव &c. E. I. vol. XIII p. 155; vide Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's ' Antiquities of Orissa ' vol. II, appendix pp. 165–167, Ind. Ant. vol. I. p 355 and M. M. Chakravarti's article on ' Uriya Inscriptions of 15th and 16th centuries' in JASB vol. 62, part 1, pp. 88-104 for inscriptions of this dynasty.

1006 ' स चायं वीररुद्रो गजपतिरयोध्यामिवायोध्यां ... भूकान्ताकटकं कटकनगरीं समानयन् ' p. 11.

1007 अत्र वर्णयितृवर्ण्ययोरभेदकनियतयोरपि अवस्थाभेदेन भेदकथनमेकस्यैव कवेः कविसहृदयत्ववन्न विरुध्यते । p. 11.

1008 यथाविहितसभामण्डपान्तरे सभ्यपाड्विवाकामात्यपुरोहितज्योतिर्विदादिसहितो विज्ञानयोगि-भारुच्यपरार्क-मेधातिथ्यसहाय-चन्द्रिकादिबहुग्रन्थैकवाक्यतापर्यालोचनवशायात-तत्क्लेशो मा भूदिति सकलस्मृतिसमुच्चयमतिगम्भीरं नातिविस्तृतं प्रबन्धं प्रस्तौति । ... हीने गर्वमहो नव नव गर्वमहाधिके । समे तु गर्वं शङ्केन न समस्ति समस्तु नः ॥ pp. 11-12; एकेन चरितार्थत्वादितरानर्थतानयः । पूर्वप्रबन्धैर्विषयीभवेदिति ममोद्यमः ॥ p. 14.

is said that the vyavahārakāṇḍa was first taken in hand even before the ācārakāṇḍa following the special desire of the king Vīrarudra Gajapati.[1009] But it appears from references in the vyavahārakāṇḍa itself that before that part was finished the ācārakāṇḍa had been completed.[1010] The Sarasvatīvilāsa, being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects, makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction.

The principal topics dealt with in the Vyavahārakāṇḍa are: the hall of justice, the method of judicial procedure, the plaint, the reply, documents, possession, ṛṇādāna, dāyavibhāga, sāhasa and other titles of law. In the beginning of the work he sets out at great length the views of ancient writers on politics about the constitution of the *maṇḍala*, such as those of Parāśara, Uśanas, Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Manu etc. He generally follows the views of Vijñāneśvara on dāyavibhāga, but here and there strongly criticizes him, e. g. he says that Vijñāneśvara gave a very far-fetched interpretation[1011] of Yājñavalkya's verse 'rikthagrāha ṛṇam dāpyaḥ.' The Sarasvatīvilāsa is a work of authority in Southern India on matters of Hindu Law, though inferior to the Mitākṣarā.[1012] It informs us that, though the Smṛticandrikā passed over the ordeals of water and poison on the ground that they had gone out of vogue, in Utkala the ordeal of water alone was resorted to and in Śūrasena (Mathurā) and Magadha (Bihar) the ordeal of poison alone was administered.[1013]

1009 ततश्चाचारकाण्डाद् व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रथमारब्धः । ... तथापि वीररुद्रगजपतिमहाराजस्याकांक्षानुसारेण प्रथमं व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रक्रम्यते ॥ p. 15.

1010 अत्र यद् यद् वक्तव्यमस्ति तदस्माभिरपि आचारकाण्डे विवाहप्रकरण एव प्रपञ्चितमिति तत एवावधार्यम् । p. 343.

1011 एतद्व्याख्यानक्रमं (?) विज्ञानयोगिनः पूर्वाचार्यच्छयानुगच्छता (॰च्छायामनुगच्छता ?) अधिक्षेपसमाधानाभ्यामतिक्लेशमाश्रित्य कृतम् । p. 262; vide p. 207 for another example of the criticism of विज्ञानेश्वर.

1012 *Vide* 2 Mad. H. C. R. 206 at p. 217, 33 Mad. 439 at p. 441, 35 Mad. 152 at p. 156.

1013 यथोक्तं चन्द्रिकाकारेण जलविषयोरुत्सन्नानुष्ठानत्वात्तद्विधिमनाख्याय कोशविधिरुच्यत इति । उत्कलादिषु कचिद्देशेषु जलविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन व्यवह्रियमाणत्वात् । शूरसेन-मागधादिषु कचिद्देशेषु विषविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन परिगृहीतत्वात् । p. 200.

Besides the usual dharmasūtras and other smṛtis, the principal authors and works named in the Sarasvatīvilāsa are noted below.[1014] The Sarasvatīvilāsa presents in the case of the dharmasūtras, particularly of Viṣṇu and Gautama, great variations from the printed texts of these works (vide sec. 10, p. 70 above). The Sarasvatīvilāsa in scores of places gives the conflicting views of Bhāruci and the Mitākṣarā (for which see under Bhāruci, sec. 61). The Sarasvatīvilāsa also contains valuable information about the views of such authors as Asahāya, Bhavadeva and Śrīkara whose works have not yet come to light.

Burnell (introduction to Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa p. vii) took Pratāparudradeva to be the king of that name who belonged to the Kākatīya-Gaṇapati dynasty of Warangal and who was carried captive to Delhi in 1322 A. D. But in this he was wrong. It has been shown above that the king connected with the composition of the Sarasvatīvilāsa belonged to the Gajapati dynasty that ruled at Cuttack and not at Warangal. Pratāparudradeva ruled from 1497 to 1539 A. D. Therefore the Sarasvatīvilāsa must have been composed in the first quarter of the 16th century. Foulkes thinks (Intro. p. xx) that the work was composed about 1515 A. D. His argument is that though the commentary of Mādhavācārya was written about two hundred years before the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the latter is entirely silent about it in his work and that the reason of this is to be sought for in the rivalry of the two dynasties of Pratāparudra and Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara which was set at rest by a marriage alliance about 1516 A. D. Vide Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'sources of Vijayanagar History' (p. 116), where we are told that the daughter of the Orissa king married to Kṛṣṇadevarāja was named Jaganmohini (according to some) or Tukkā (according to others) and Sewell's 'A forgotten empire' p. 320. Another argument advanced by Foulkes for 1515 A. D. as the date of the work is that during the latter part of his reign Pratāparudradeva had come

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1014 अपरार्क, असहाय, कर्किभाष्य, कुलार्क, गुरु (प्रभाकर), चन्द्रिका (i. e. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका), देवरात, देवस्वामी, धारेश्वर, निबन्धनकार, प्रदीप, प्रदीपिकाकार, भवदेव, भवनाथ, भारुचि, मिताक्षरा, यज्ञपति, मेधातिथि, राजलासक, लक्ष्मीधर, वरदराज (called आधुनिक as contrasted with भारुचि), विज्ञानेश्वर, वृत्तिकार (on आप० श्रौत), वैखानससंहिता, शालिकानाथ, श्रीकर, संग्रहकार, सोमशेखर, सोमेश्वर.

under the influence of the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya, who made Purī his residence during the last years of his life and that the Sarasvatīvilāsa has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva. Caitanya was born in śake 1407 Fālguna Full-moon (i. e. in 1486 A. D.); vide Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' (p. 83) and Caitanya is said to have gone to Purī about 1510 A. D. and died in 1533 A. D. (Beames in Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 1 ff). Both these arguments are not of much weight. As a matter of fact in some mss. there is an invocation of both Viṣṇu (Hayagrīva) and Śiva; *vide* Descriptive Cat. of Government S. mss. at Madras vol. VI, p. 2426 No. 3221. The latest work of certain date that the Sarasvatīvilāsa names is the Smṛticandrikā and it is rather matter for surprise that no work belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries is quoted or named by the Sarasvatīvilāsa. But this circumstance alone is hardly of any worth in face of the positive statement in the work itself that it was composed by Pratāparudradeva Gajapati. Vide JBORS. vol. V, pp. 147-148 and Ind. Ant. for 1929, pp. 28-33 for information about the Empire of Orissa and its emperors, Kapilendra (who died in 1470 A. D.), Puruṣottamadeva (1470-1497) and Pratāparudra-deva.

There is a ms. of a work called Pratāpamārtaṇḍa or Prauḍhapratāpamārtaṇḍa (D. C. ms. No. 48 of 1872-73) which is ascribed to Pratāparudra, ruler of Utkala, whose capital was Kaṭaka on the banks of the Citrotpalā. It mentions Kapileśvara Gajapati, his son Puruṣottama, father of Pratāparudra. In the colophon the king is described as 'Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-karṇāṭa-kalabarageśvara-rūpa-nārāyaṇa' &c. The work is divided into five Prakāśas on Padārthanirṇaya, Vatsarādinirūpaṇa, Tithinirūpaṇa, Vratanirṇaya (such as Navarātra &c.), Viṣṇubhakti. He expressly mentions as his authorities Hemādri, Kalpataru, Ratnākara, Mitākṣarā, Mādhavīya, Anantabhaṭṭa, Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Pārijāta, Kāladarśa, Devadāsa. Here there is an express mention of Mādhava which refutes Foulkes' theory set out above.

101. Govindānanda

Govindānanda wrote several works out of which four have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica series, viz: the Dānakaumudī, Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakaumudī, Varṣakriyā-kaumudī. The last work deals with *tithinirṇaya*, *vratas* on several *tithis* all the year

round, festivals like Durgotsava, Kojāgara etc. All these works appear to have formed part of a general digest called Kriyākaumudī. Besides these he wrote a commentary called Arthakaumudī on the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa which was printed in Bengali characters, and also a commentary called Tattvārtha-kaumudī on Śūlapāṇi's Prāyaścittaviveka (published by Jivānanda at Calcutta). His works are of great utility on account of the numerous authors and works quoted therein. The following deserve special mention.[1015] He was the son of Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa and was styled Kavikaṅkaṇācārya. From the introductory and final verses of his works it appears that he was a Vaiṣṇava. His father was a resident of Bāgri in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

Since he quotes the Madanapārijāta, the Gaṅgā-vākyāvali, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he must be later than about 1500 A. D. He is quoted by Raghunandana in his Malamāsatattva and Āhnikatattva. So he cannot be later than 1560 A. D. His Śuddhi-kaumudī examines intercalary months[1016] from *śake* 1414 to *śake* 1457 (i. e. from 1492 A. D. to 1535 A. D). Therefore it appears that he wrote his Śuddhikaumudī immediately after *śake* 1457 (i. e. 1535 A. D.). He wrote the Śrāddha-kaumudī and Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī after the Śuddhi-kaumudī. Therefore we shall be very near the truth if his literary activity be placed between 1500 and 1540 A. D.

Vide M. M. Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 355 for information about Govindananda.

1015 कुल्लुक, चण्डीदास, (com. of काव्यप्रकाश), गङ्गावाक्यावलीकार, मदनपारिजात, राजमार्तण्ड, रुद्रधर, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, वाचस्पति, विशारद, शुद्धिविवेक, सायणभाष्य.

1016 अत एव विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे–समाद्वये साष्टमासे तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते । स चाधिमासकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गर्हितः ॥ इति । तथा चतुर्दशवर्षाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे वैशाखो मलमासः । ततः परं षोडशाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे भाद्रे ऊनत्रिंशद्मासे मलमासः । ... ततः परं द्वाविंशत्यधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे ज्येष्ठे पञ्चत्रिंशन्मासे मलमास इत्याद्यनेकशो व्यभिचारो दृश्यते । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 266; vide p. 270 for intercalary month in *śake* 1449 and 1457.

102. Raghunandana

Raghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on dharmaśāstra. He compiled an encyclopædic work on the different branches of dharmaśāstra styled Smṛtitattva, divided into 28 sections called *tattvas*. He cites the names of over 300 authors and works in his encyclopaedia, which have been collected together by M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1915 pp. 363-375). His wonderful mastery over *smṛti* material and his erudition displayed in the Smṛti-tattva earned for him the appellation *smārtabhaṭṭācārya* or simply '*smārta*' from later writers. For example, the Vīramitrodaya refers to him in that way and so does Nīlakaṇṭha in his Vyavahāramayūkha.[1017] His Smṛtitattva was printed at Serampore in Bengali characters so far back as 1834-35 A. D. and it has also been published by Jivananda (in two volumes). Some *tattvas* have been separately published as e. g. the Vyavahāra-tattva and the Dāyatattva (published at Calcutta in 1828 by the Department of Public Instruction). His Dāyatattva was translated into English by Golapcandra Sarkar. In his Malamāsatattva the names of his *tattvas* are given.[1018] Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p. 50 No. 1081 and I. O. cat. p. 420 No. 1405 for an enumeration of the *tattvas* and for reference to the volumes and pages in the Serampore edition. The *tattvas* are not arranged in the verses quoted below according to their chronological order, but according to the exigencies of the metre. In this work I have used Jivananda's edition.

1017 Vide वीर० p. 697 on गौतम's sūtra 'स्त्री [illegible]'; व्यव० मयूख (text p. [illegible] of my edition) '[illegible]'.

1018 मलमासे च तिथौ [illegible] शुद्धौ च संस्कारे । प्रायश्चित्ते विवाहे च [illegible] जन्माष्टमीद्वये ॥ दुर्गोत्सवे व्यवहारे चैकादश्यां विनिर्णये । तडागभवनोत्सर्गे वृषोत्सर्गत्रये व्रते ॥ प्रतिष्ठायां परीक्षायां ज्योतिषे वास्तुयागके । दीक्षायामाह्निके कृत्ये क्षेत्रे श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे । सामश्राद्धे यजुःश्राद्धे शूद्रकृत्यविचारणे । इत्यष्टाविंशतिस्थाने तत्त्वं वक्ष्यामि यत्नतः ॥

The 28 तत्त्वs are on मलिम्लुच (intercalary month), दाय, शुद्धि, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, तिथि, जन्माष्टमी, दुर्गोत्सव, व्यवहार, एकादशी, तडागभवनोत्सर्ग, वृषोत्सर्ग (3 तत्त्वs on छन्दोगवृषो०, यजुर्वृषो०, and ऋग्वृषो०), व्रत, प्रतिष्ठा (two on देवप्रतिष्ठा and मठप्रतिष्ठा), दिव्य (i. e परीक्षा), ज्योतिष, वास्तुयाग, दीक्षा, आह्निक, कृत्य, पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्र, सामश्राद्ध, यजुःश्राद्ध, शूद्रकृत्य. In the Serampore edition ऋग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not printed (vide Chakravarti in J ASB 1915 p. 363). In Jivananda's edition also the ऋग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not included and the जन्माष्टमीतत्त्व seems to be included under तिथितत्त्व.

It is not feasible to give even brief summaries of Raghunandana's *tattvas*. Their vary names indicate the subject matter. But one of them, the Dāyatattva, deserves special mention. It treats of partition made by father, partition among brothers after their father's death, persons not entitled to a share, property not liable to partition, evidence of separation, *strīdhana* and its devolution, inheritance to one dying sonless etc. His Tithi-tattva contains a description in Sanskrit of the game called *Caturaṅga* played on the full moon of Āśvina by four players.

Besides the 28 *tattvas* Raghunandana is said to have composed several other works. There is a commentary on the Dāyabhāga attributed to him. Colebrooke suspected its genuineness, but the colophon of the commentary[1019] gives the same details about Raghunandana as are found in his admitted works. It is to be noticed that the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana sets forth the same principles of Hindu law that are peculiar to Jīmūtavāhana, though in matters of detail they disagree in a few cases. The Vīramitrodaya styles the author of the Dāyatattva a follower of Jīmūtavāhana.[1020] It has been held by the Calcutta High Court that Raghunandana's is the best commentary on the Dāyabhāga and that the authority of Raghunandana is acknowledged and respected universally in the Bengal School.[1021]

Besides the above, Raghunandana wrote also Tīrthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva, the Dvādaśayātrātattva (on the principal festivals at Jagannathapuri, one in each month), Tripuṣkaraśānti-tattva, Gayāśrāddhapaddhati and Rāsayātrāpaddhati. His works however are not very much in vogue elsewhere than in Bengal.

Raghunandana was the son of Harīharabhaṭṭācārya and was a Bengal Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa. He was a pupil of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, whose works are frequently quoted in the several *tattvas* (vide Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 351 n. 2). According to tradition Raghunandana and the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, who was

1019 इति श्रीवन्द्यघटीयहरिहरभट्टाचार्यात्मजरघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्यकृता दायभागटीका समाप्ता ।

1020 जीमूतवाहनस्तु भ्रात्रादिविभागेषु यदुक्तं तदेवानेन व्यवस्थाप्यते न तु तत्सहिताः सर्वं धनम् । ... इत्याह । तदनुगामी दायतत्त्वकृदप्येवम् । वीर० p. 703.

1021 I. L. R. 4 Cal. 550 at p. 554 ; I. L. R. 23. Cal. 347 at p. 351.

the shining light of the new logic (navyanyāya) at Navadvīpa and were residents of that place (Sarvadhikari's Tagore Law Lectures, first edition p. 403ff.).

Among the authors and works quoted in his encyclopaedia by Raghunandana those noted below deserve mention.[1022]

Aufrecht placed Raghunandana between 1430–1612 A. D. Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 10) places him early in the 16th century. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.) at p. 695 it is said that Raghunandana belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. As Raghunandana's works are quoted and criticised by the Viramitrodaya (pp. 79, 531, 683, 697, 703 etc.,) and by Nīlakaṇṭha, Raghunandana is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. As he names Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuṭa, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he is later than about 1500 A. D. If tradition is to be believed that he was a fellow-student of Caitanya he must have been born about 1490 A. D. Caitanya is said to have been born in 1485 or 1486 A. D.[1023] In his Jyotiṣatattva he mentions *śake* 1421[1024] in connection with the position of Viṣuva. That shows that the work was not composed probably very much long after that date (i. e. 1499-1500 A. D.) In the same Tattva (vol. I. p. 568)

1022 अद्भुतसागर, अनन्तभट्ट, अनिरुद्ध, अपिपाल, आचारचन्द्रिका, आचारचिन्तामणि, आचारादर्श, कर्मोपदेशिनी, कल्पतरु, कविकान्तसरस्वती, कामधेनु, कामरूपीयनिबन्ध, कालकौमुदी, कालनिर्णय (of माधव), कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुल्लूकभट्ट, कृत्यकौमुदी, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव, गङ्गावाक्यावलि, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, गोविन्दभट्ट, गोविन्दमानसोल्लास, चण्डेश्वर, जिकन, जीमूतवाहन, डुण्डुपद्धति, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, दानवाक्यावलि, दीपकलिका, दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी, द्वैतनिर्णय, नव्यवर्धमानोपाध्याय, निर्णयामृत, पण्डितसर्वस्व, पशुपति, पारिजात, पितृदयिता, पितृभक्ति, पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी, पृथ्वीधरमिश्राचार्य, प्रयोगसार, प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, बल्लालसेनदेव, बालक, ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व, भवदेवभट्ट, भीमपराक्रम, भुजबलभीम, भोज, मदनपारिजात, महादाननिर्णय, माधवाचार्य, युद्धजयार्णव, योगलोक, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, रायमुकुट, रुद्रधर, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, विद्यापति, विवादचिन्तामणि, व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शूलपाणि, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका (of his teacher), श्रीदत्त, सुगतिसोपान, हरिनाथ, हरिभक्ति, हरिहर, हेमाद्रि.

1023 Vide Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's 'Chaitanya's pilgrimage and teachings' for 1485 (as birth date) and M. T. Kennedy's 'Religious life of India' (1925) p. 13 for 1486 A. D.

1024 विषुवं मीनकन्यार्के त्वेकाक्षीन्द्रे शकाब्दके । (Jivanand,s vol. I, p. 562).

for calculating ravi-saṁkrānti he takes śake 1489 as the basis (i. e. 1567 A. D.). So that Tattva was composed just about that year. A ms. of the Chandoga-śrāddha-tattva was copied in *śake* 1497 (1575-76 A. D.)[1025] and a ms. of the Maṭha-pratiṣṭhā-tattva was copied in *śake* 1498 (i. e. 1576-77 A. D.).[1026] Therefore he must have flourished before 1575. Thus he flourished between 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity, which must have been spread over a long period if we consider the number of his works, lies between 1520-1570. Vide an interesting discussion about his date in JASB for 1915, pp. 354-357 by M M. Chakravarti who places Raghunandana between 1510-1565 A. D.

103. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the most famous of the celebrated family of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. For a detailed account of the family and the contribution of the several members thereof to dharmaśāstra, *vide* my Introduction to the Vyavahāramayūkha (v-xvi). M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri has brought to light a biography of this family written by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, a son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Ind. Ant. for 1912 vol. 41, pp. 7-13). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's father Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa whose *gotra* was Viśvāmitra migrated from Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) in the Deccan to Benares. Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa was a very learned man and his learning drew to him students from the whole of India. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born according to Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's biography in *śake* 1435 in the month of Caitra (i. e. about March 1513 A. D.). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the eldest of three sons, the other two being Śrīdhara and Mādhava. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa learnt all the śāstras at the feet of his father. *Paṇḍits* all over India looked up to him as their leader and patron and he was an assiduous collector of Sanskrit mss. It is said that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa brought down by his holiness rain in a season of drought and thereby induced the Mahomedan ruler that had razed the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares to the ground to allow him to rebuild it. For his erudition and piety Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was honoured with the title 'Jagadguru' and his family was given the first place of honour in the assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas and at the recitations of the Vedas. It was Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his equally worthy descendants that raised dākṣiṇātya *paṇḍits* to the

1025 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 50 No. 1081.

1026 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 53 No. 1083.

position of high eminence at Benares which they still hold. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote numerous works on dharmaśāstra among which may be mentioned the Antyeṣṭipaddhati (printed by Nirṇayasāgara Press), the Tristhalīsetu (dealing with the ceremonies to be performed generally at all sacred places and particularly at Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā) and the Prayogaratna (printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1915 A. D.). This last contains detailed descriptions and rituals of the saṁskāras from *garbhādhāna* to *vivāha*. His are standard works on the subjects they deal with and are used even now almost throughout the whole of India. He composed a commentary on the introductory verses contained in the Kālamādhava (vide Madras Triennial cat. vol. III. Sanskrit C. p. 4114 No. 2852) and a commentary on portions of the Śāstradīpikā of Pārthasārathimiśra. He composed a work on ordeals which is referred to in the Vyavahāratattva of Nīlakaṇṭha (vide p. 457 of my edition and Bikaner cat. p. 387 No. 832 for a Divyānuṣṭhāna-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa) and also paddhatis on the dedication of gardens, tanks etc. He exercised a profound influence over later writers directly and indirectly through his sons and grand-sons.

As he was born in 1513 A. D. and composed the commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara in 1545 A. D., his literary activity must be placed between 1540 and 1570 A. D. This is further corroborated by the fact that his grandson Kamalākarabhaṭṭa composed the Nirṇayasindhu, one of his earliest works, in 1612 A. D.

There is a work on dharmaśāstra called Dharmapravṛtti composed by a Nārāyaṇa. Mr. K. P. Jayasval holds that this was composed by *jagadguru* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts III-IV, p. IX). The same view is held by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri (Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 7). But this identity is extremely doubtful. The benedictory verses[1027] in the Dharmapravṛtti are different from those of the Prayogaratna and Tristhalīsetu, the method of treatment and the style are different and the colophons are also different. The author of the Dharmapravṛtti does not mention his ancestors as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa does. Nīlakaṇṭha in his Vyavahāramayūkha

1027 The introductory verse is नारायणं नमस्कृत्य कामदां च सरस्वतीम् । गणनाथं गुरूंश्चैव धर्मसंरक्षणाय वै ॥ धर्मप्रवृत्यै क्रियते कलौ नारायणेन तु । I. O. cat. p. 480 No. 1560.

finds[1028] fault with the Dharmapravṛtti by saying that certain quotations therein are unauthoritative.

104. Ṭodarānanda

Rājā Ṭoḍaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar, compiled an extensive encyclopædia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine. The several parts of that encyclopædia dealing with *ācāra*, *dāna*, *vyavahāra*, *śrāddha*, *viveka*, *prāyaścitta*, *samaya* were called *saukhyas*. An account of some of the *saukhyas* that were available to me may be concisely given here. The Vyavahārasaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76) begins with an invocation of Śiva, speaks of the *pārasika* emperor[1029] (Akbar) of Hind (India) and then deals with the several topics of judicial procedure such as the king's duty to look into disputes, the *sabhā*, judge, meaning of the word *vyavahāra*, enumeration of 18 *vyavahārapadas*, time and place of *vyavahāra*, the plaint, the reply, the agent of the parties (*pratinidhi*), *pratyākalita*, the superiority of one mode of proof over another, witnesses, documents, possession, inference, ordeals and oaths, grades of punishments and fines. The Vyavahārasaukhya does not dwell on the exposition of the several titles of law. Besides the smṛti writers, it principally relies on the Kalpataru, the Pārijāta, Bhavadeva, the Mitākṣarā, the Ratnākara, Harihara and Halāyudha. The several sections are styled *harṣas*.

The Vivāhasaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 868 of 1884-87) is concerned with the astrological aspects of marriage (e. g. the proper year, month, day, sign, nakṣatra &c., for marriage). It names numerous authors and works, some of which are noted below.[1030]

1028 Vide p. 134 of व्यवहारमयूख (my edition).

1029 श्रीमान्हैन्दवपारसीकधरणीशाकब्बरराजाग्रणी राजा टोडरमल्लचण्डकिरणस्तोमप्रतापोदयः । लोकानामतिगाढदुर्नयतमोध्वंसाय पद्योत्सवानातन्वन् व्यवहारनिर्णयकरश्रेणीं तनोत्युज्ज्वलाम् ॥ 2nd verse.

1030 उत्पल, चण्डेश्वर (on राजाभिषेक), चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, जयतुङ्ग, त्रिविक्रम, दैवज्ञमनोहर (दैवज्ञ ?), दैवज्ञचिन्तामणि, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, भीमपराक्रम, भुजबल, माहेश्वर, राजमार्तण्ड, रत्नकोश, लाट, विवाहपटल (of वराह), विवाहवृन्दावन, व्यवहारचण्डेश्वर, व्यवहारोच्चय, श्रीपति, सत्याचार्य, सारावलि, संहिताप्रदीप, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

The Śrāddhasaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87) is an extensive work and deals with the usual topics such as the different kinds of śrāddhas, the time and place for śrāddha, the proper brāhmaṇas, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa &c. The sections of this work also are divided into *harṣas*. Besides those enumerated above the authors and works mentioned are noted below.[1031]

The Jyotiḥsaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92) constitutes the Saṁhitā branch of Indian astronomy and deals with such topics as the results of eclipses, the appearance of comets, the rise of Agastya, Ursa major, the signs of the Zodiac &c. It frequently refers to Kāśyapa, Garga (or Vṛddhagarga), Parāśara, Mayūracitra, Varāha. The colophons state that Ṭoḍaramalla was a scion of the Ṭaṇḍala (or - na) family and that the work was compiled by Nīlakaṇṭha at the order of Ṭoḍaramalla.[1032] This Nīlakaṇṭha appears to be the author of the Sañjñatantra on which a commentary was written by his son Govinda in 1622 A. D., in which it is stated that Nīlakaṇṭha was honoured by Akbar and had composed the Ṭoḍarānanda.[1033] In the Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī of Nīlakaṇṭha it is stated that the author composed works on the three branches of Jyotiṣa which gave delight to Ṭoḍara.[1034]

The Jyotiḥsaukhya was composed in śake 1494[1035] (i. e. 1572 A. D.). The ms. of the Vyavahārasaukhya bears at the end the date *saṁvat* 1638 (1581-82[1036] A. D.) which seems to be the date of its composition. Ṭoḍaramalla was a man of versatile genius. He distinguished himself as an able commander as well as a great

1031 कर्क, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, नारायण, प्रकाशकार, माधवीय, वर्धमान, वासुदेव, श्राद्धपल्लव, श्राद्धविवेक, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिमञ्जरीकार.

1032 इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीटंडलवंशतिलकटोडरमल्लकारिते श्रीदैवज्ञवर्यनीलकण्ठविरचिते टोडरानन्दे ज्योतिःसुखे संहितास्कन्धे &c. folio 23a.

1033 Vide cat. of BBRAS mss. part I, p. 187 No. 262.

1034 यन्नाम प्रथितं हि भूमिवलये शिष्यप्रशिष्यैर्महद् भूमीपालसमूहसेवितपदाद्योकब्बरेणान्वितः । श्रीदिल्लीप्रभुणा हि टोडरविभोरानन्ददं ज्योतिषं त्रिस्कन्धं स्वकृतैः सुपद्यनिवहैस्तत्ताजिकं चाकरोत् ॥ 9th verse, Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss., extract No. 502.

1035 'तथा च सांप्रतिकः शकः १४९४ षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः ४०२० ' folio 38.

1036 ' संवत् १६३८ समये कुरसुदि २ शुक्रवार ' D. C, ms. No. 366 of 1875-76.

financier and statesman. For a brief account of his life, vide Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, vol. I. pp. 351-352. It is there stated that he was *Khetri* by caste, that, though it is generally stated that he was born at Lahore, he was really born at Laharpur in Oudh (p. 620) and that he died at Lahore on the 11th day of 998 of the Mussulman era [1037] (i. e. 1589 A. D.). The Marathi magazine 'Itihāsasaṁgraha' publishes an inscription on a stone found in the Draupadīkuṇḍa at Benares wherein it is said that Ṭoḍara of the Ṭaṇḍana family constructed that beautiful reservoir in 1646 of the Vikrama era[1038] (i.e. 1589 A. D.). Therefore it follows that literary works were compiled under the patronage of Todarmal between 1565-1589 A. D.

105. Nandapaṇḍita

Nandapaṇḍita was a voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra. An account of his principal works on dharmaśāstra is given below, particularly because most of them are yet unpublished.

He composed a commentary called Vidvanmanoharā on the Parāśarasmṛti. He expressly mentions therein that he follows the commentary of Mādhavācārya.[1039] This commentary is referred to in his Vaijayantī.[1040]

He also appears to have written a commentary called Pramitākṣarā or Pratītākṣarā on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.[1041] This com-

1037 Vide also 'Akbar' in the Rulers of India series (1890) p. 134 where the date of his death is given as 10th Nov. 1589 A. D.

1038 Vide इतिहाससंग्रह ed. by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, vol. I, part 4, p. 20. ऋतुनिगमरसात्मासंमिते (१६४६) वत्सरेशो सुकृतिकृतिहितैषी टोडरक्षोणिपालः । विहितविविधपूर्तोचीकरच्चारुवापीं विमलसलिलसारां बद्धसोपानपङ्क्तिम् ॥

1039 धर्माधिकारिकुलकैरवकाननेन्दुश्रीरामपण्डितसुतेन विनायकेन । व्याख्यायते कलियुगोचितवर्णधर्मशास्त्रं पराशरमुखोद्गतमल्पशब्दैः ॥ माधवाचार्यनिर्दिष्टव्याख्यामार्गानुसारिणः । स्खलन्नपि (स्खलतोऽपि ?) न मे दोषः परप्रत्ययगामिनः ॥ verses 3 and 5, I. O. cat. p. 377 No. 1301.

1040 विवृतं चैतत्पराशरस्मृतिविवृतौ विद्वन्मनोहरायां दत्तकमीमांसायां चास्माभिरिति नेह प्रतन्यते । वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 42.

1041 On विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15.9 he says 'स्वैरिण्याः पुनःसंस्काराभावश्चोपपादितोस्माभिः सविस्तरं मिताक्षराटीकायां प्रतीताक्षरायामिति नेहोच्यते ।' folio 86 b of the I. O. ms. (of वैजयन्ती); on विष्णु० 16. 1 'विशेषस्तु मिताक्षराटीकायां प्रमिताक्षराख्यायामस्मत्कृतायामवगन्तव्यः' (folio 93 b).

mentary was probably not completed, as only fragments are found with his descendants.

Nandapaṇḍita also composed a work called Śrāddhakalpalatā, which is referred to in his Śuddhicandrikā[1042] and in the Vaijayantī. In this work[1043] he refers to a city called Sādhāraṇa (probably modern Saharanpur) where the Sahagila family ruled. He speaks of Siṁhamalla, Vasāvana, Rūpacandra, Bhūpacandra and Paramānanda as successive members of the dynasty and says that he was urged to write the work by the last of them and that he relies upon the Śrāddhadīpikā of Govindapaṇḍita.[1044] At the end of the ms. of the Vaijayantī in the Deccan College Collection it is said that the Vidvanmanoharā, the Smṛtisindhu and the Śrāddhakalpalatā were the commentaries composed by Nandapaṇḍita.[1045] But from the contents given in the India Office Catalogue it does not appear that the work was a commentary. It is divided into five *stabakas* and deals with the usual topics, viz. what is śrāddha, the proper time and place for it, the proper brāhmaṇas, various kinds of śrāddhas &c. The principal authors and works named therein are given below.[1046] The Śuddhicandrikā, a commentary on the Ṣaḍaśīti or Aśaucanirṇaya of Kauśikāditya, is also one of the works of Nandapaṇḍita. It is referred to in his Vaijayantī[1047]. The Bhadkamkar collection made by Prof. Velankar contains a ms. of this work and it has recently been published in the Chowkhamba S. series. The principal authors and works quoted therein are noted below.[1048]

1042 'स च ज्येष्ठु एवेत्युपपादितं श्राद्धकल्पलतायाम्' folio 31 b of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका; on विष्णु 21. 19 'अत्रान्यो विशेषः श्राद्धकल्पलतायामस्माभिरुपपादित इति नेहोच्यते'। folio 123 b (वैजयन्ती).

1043 Vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1731 for श्राद्धकल्पलता.

1044 गोविन्दपण्डितकृतामवलम्ब्यातियत्नतः। श्राद्धकल्पलतामेतां कुर्वे तां श्राद्धदीपिकाम् ॥ I. O. cat. p. 557.

1045 'पराशरस्मृतेष्टीका विद्वन्मनोहरा स्मृतिसिन्धुः। श्राद्धकल्पलता चैता नन्दपण्डितकृता टीकाः ॥' D. C. ms. No. 39. of 1866–68.

1046 कालविधान, कालादर्श, चन्द्रप्रकाश, धर्मप्रदीप, निर्णयप्रदीपिका, पुराणसमुच्चय, श्राद्धकमल, श्राद्धकाशिका, श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धनिर्णय, श्राद्धप्रदीप, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, स्मृतिसार.

1047 on विष्णु 22. 8 'विस्तरस्तु शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायामवगन्तव्यः' folio 125 b of वैजयन्ती.

1048 अमृतव्याख्या (on पारस्करगृह्य), धर्मप्रदीप, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, नारायणसर्वज्ञ, भट्टभालूक (?), मदन, माधव, ललित, लोल्लट, वर्धमान, विज्ञानेश्वर, विश्वादर्श, विश्वेश्वर, शङ्खधर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरदत्त (on गौतमधर्मसूत्र), हारलता, हारलताविवरण.

Another work of Nandapaṇḍita is the Smṛtisindhu, which seems to have been an extensive digest of smṛti material. Portions of it have been recovered. In the Deccan College Collection there is a ms. of the Saṁskāra-nirṇayataraṅga of the Smṛtisindhu, which, according to a verse at the end, was composed by Nandapaṇḍita at the command of king Harivaṁśa-varman of the Māhendra family and son of king Maṅgo.[1049]

It appears that he compiled a summary of the doctrines of his work Smṛtisindhu. That summary was called Tattvamuktāvalī.[1050] It is almost certain that the fragment of the Tattvamuktāvalī noticed in the BBRAS cat. at p. 217 is part of this work. That fragment contains 8 verses on upākarma and three on holikā with commentary and the verses are numbered from 557 to 564 and then 607-609. If the above surmise be correct, the work was a large one and contained over 610 verses. Two of the verses name Hemādri and Pārijāta.[1051]

The Vaijayantī or Keśava-Vaijayantī is a famous work of his. It is a commentary on the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra. Extracts from it have been published by Dr. Jolly in his edition of Viṣṇu. This is an extensive work. The following account is taken from the ms. in the India Office Library (vide cat. p. 393 No. 1342 for a brief description). In this work he refers to a Brāhmaṇa dynasty of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* at Vijayapura (Vijayanagara ?) in Karṇāṭa country, in which was born Koṇḍapanāyaka, whose son was Keśavanāyaka, whose son was Ananta *alias* Vāvarasa, whose sons were Keśava and Rudra. Keśava, son of Koṇḍapa, seems to have gone

1049 'अस्ति श्रीहरिवंशवर्मनृपतिर्मङ्गोनृपस्यात्मजो माहेन्द्रान्वयमौलिभूषणमणिः सङ्कलचिन्तामणिः । निर्बन्धेन निबन्धराजमसृजत्तत्कीर्तिबन्धोज्ज्वलं तस्याज्ञामनु नन्दपण्डित इमं धर्माधिकारी भुवः ॥ D. C. ms. No. 612 of 1883-84 ; vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 353 for extract.

1050 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 476 No. 1204 for a ms. of the तत्त्वमुक्तावली with the commentary बालभूषा. The last verses are : तत्त्वमुक्ताः समुद्धृत्य स्मृतिसिन्धोः स्वयंकृतात् । तत्त्वमुक्तावलीमेतां निर्ममे नन्दपण्डितः ॥ तत्त्वमुक्तावलीव्याख्या बालभूषा कृता मया । बाललीलाधरः कृष्णः प्रीयतामनया सदा ॥

1051 It begins श्रावणे श्रवणे कुर्युरुपाकर्माश्वलायनाः । 557; verse 561 is घटिकाद्वयमप्युक्तं पारिजातमतश्रुतेः । and 564 is हेमाद्रिरप्युवाचात्र पञ्चमीं केवलामपि ।

to Benares with his sons and grand-sons and made extensive gifts of all kinds.[1052] There is a hyperbolical description of his great gifts (*mahādānas* including *tulā*, i. e. weighing against gold or silver). Keśavanāyaka enjoined upon Nandapaṇḍita the task of composing a commentary on the Viṣṇusmṛti.[1053] In the colophons at the end of the chapters of Viṣṇu, Koṇḍapanāyaka is styled Mahārājādhirāja and it is said that Nandapaṇḍita was encouraged in the task by Keśavanāyaka *alias* Tammasānāyaka. At the end of chapter 101, we are told that Keśavanāyaka, Nandapaṇḍita's patron, secured *mokṣa* by breathing his last on the Maṇikarṇikā in Benares.[1054] There are six verses at the end one of which says that in the Kali age there is no one more liberal than Vāvarasa (a son of Keśavanāyaka) and no one more learned than Nandapaṇḍita.[1055] As he wrote on the encouragement of Keśava, the commentary is also styled Keśava-Vaijayantī. Among the authors and works mentioned in this commentary are Devasvāmi, Budhasmṛti, Bhavadeva, Mādhavācārya, Vācaspati, Sarvajña, Subodhinī (com. on the Mit.), Haradatta, Hemādri. In the Vaijayantī he refers to no less than six of his works viz : the Vidvan-manoharā, the Pramitākṣarā, the Śrāddhakalpalatā, the Śuddhicandrikā, the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā (vide note 1040 above). But in the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā itself he refers to his Keśava-Vaijayantī as already composed.[1056] Therefore it follows that both works were probably being composed at the same time. The Vaijayantī is one of the leading authorities of the Benares School of modern Hindu Law.[1057]

1052 श्रीविश्वनाथेक्षणकाम्ययासौ पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैश्च युतः प्रपौत्रैः । गम्भीरवेदीव गजः स्वयूथ्यैः कदाचिदानन्दवनं विवेश ॥ (verse 63).

1053 धर्मायद्यपि कोटिशोत्र विहिताः संतोषमन्तस्ततो नैव प्राप यदा तदा रचयितुं विष्णुस्मृतेर्व्याकृतिम् । ऐच्छत्तत्र च रामपण्डितसुतं श्रीकेशवः क्ष्मापतिर्विद्वत्संसदि नन्दपण्डितमतिप्रीत्या न्ययुङ्क्त स्वयम् ॥ verse 91.

1054 कामो वावरसाह्वणप्रभृतिभिः पुत्रैः शुभैः स्थापितो मोक्षः श्रीमणिकर्णिकाभुवि तनुत्यागेन संपादितः ॥

1055 कलौ वावरसादन्यो वदान्यो न महीतले । श्रीनन्दपण्डितादन्यो विद्वान्मान्यो न जातुचित् ॥

1056 'अस्मत्कृतायां विष्णुस्मृतिटीकायां केशववैजयन्त्यामवधेयम्' । (on priority among the twelve kinds of sons) p. 112 of दत्तकमीमांसा.

1057 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.

Nandapaṇḍita, though he generally follows the **Mitākṣarā**, was not a slavish admirer of Vijñāneśvara. He does not accept the explanation the Mitākṣarā gives of Yāj II. 17 (sākṣiṣūbhayataḥ etc.). Similarly on Viṣṇu 8. 12, 22. 41, 23. 11, 27. 2 he emphatically says that the Mitākṣarā is wrong.[1058] He prefers the father to the mother as an heir (on Viṣṇu 17. 6-7) and seems to have placed the paternal grandmother as an heir after the mother but before the brother (folio 101 b). He explains *sapiṇḍa* relationship in the same way as the Mit.[1059] does. He says that the word ' bhrātaraḥ ' in Yāj. should be explained as standing for ' brothers and sisters ' and that in the father's line, after the brother and brother's son, the brother's grandson succeeds and, on failure of the brother's grandson, the paternal grandfather, his son and grandson are heirs one after another. i. e. in each line three generations succeed and then there is a devolution in favour of the next higher line. This view is opposed to that of the Subodhinī and the Smṛticandrikā, which take only the son and grandson of each paternal ancestor. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha for fuller details (pp. 253-254). Nandapaṇḍita stands alone among modern *nibandhakāras* in having recognised a uterine brother[1060] (i. e. the son of the same mother but of a different father) as an heir. It is remarkable that Nanda-

1058 एतेन पुंसवनस्य क्षेत्रसंस्कारतयासकृत्करणं मन्यमानो विज्ञानेश्वरोपि परास्तः । वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 27. 2.

1059 पिण्डो देहो जनकः स समानो येषां ते सपिण्डास्तेषां भावः सपिण्डता । वैजयन्ती on विष्णु. 22. 5 (folio 124 a).

1060 Vide वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 8 (folio 102 a). The important portion is ' तत्र प्रथमं समानमातापितृका भ्रातरो गृह्णीयुः । पित्रवयवाधिक्येन प्रत्यासन्नतरत्वात् । तदभावे समानमातापितृका भगिन्यो गृह्णीयुः । तासां भिन्नमातृकभ्रात्रपेक्षया संनिहितत्वात् । भिन्नोदराणां मात्रा भिन्नबीजानां पित्रा विप्रकर्षात् । तदभावे तु तेपि गृह्णीयुः । ... तत्रापि प्रथमं समानपितृकाः पश्चात्समानमातृका बीजस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रत्यासत्तेश्च क्रमनियामकत्वात् । तद्यथा । एकस्य द्वे पत्न्यौ । तत्रैकस्यां द्वौ पुत्रावन्यस्यामेकः पुत्रस्तेन जनितोनन्तरं च द्विपुत्रान्यपतिमाश्रित्य पुत्रान्तरं जनयामासेति तस्मात्रयः पुत्रा बभूवुः । तत्र पूर्वयोरन्यतरस्मिन्प्रमीते तद्धनं समानमातापितृक एव प्रथमं गृह्णीयात् । तदभावे समानपितृको भिन्नोदरोपि गृह्णीयात् । बीजप्राधान्यात् । तदभावे समानमातृको भिन्नपितृकोपीति '.

paṇḍita preferred a person's predeceased son's widow (i. e. widowed daughter-in-law) as an heir to that man's own daughter.[1061]

The Dattaka-mīmāṁsā is the most famous work of Nandapaṇḍita. It was translated very early by Sutherland (comprised in Stoke's Hindu Law Books). In the following the edition of Bharatacandra Śiromaṇi (published in 1885 with his own commentary) has been used. In this work he lays down rules as to the person who may adopt, when he may adopt, who can give in adoption, who may be adopted, the motives of adoption, the necessary ceremonies of adoption, the results of adoption. Among the authors and works quoted or referred to those mentioned below may be noted.[1062]

From very early days of the British rule in India the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā came to be regarded as the standard work on adoption. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga*[1063] the Privy Council says "Again of the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā of Nandapaṇḍita and the Dattaka-candrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that, when they differ, the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern jurists, while the former is held to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithilā and Benares." That this estimate is somewhat too strongly put has been said by the Privy Council itself in *Bhagwansingh v. Bhagwansingh*[1064] 'to call it infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Bühler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law.' The Privy Council further lays down 'their Lordships cannot concur with Knox J. in saying that

1061 वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 4 (folio 100a) श्वशुरमरणे श्वश्रूस्नुषयोः स्वत्वसाम्येन श्वश्रूमरणे स्नुषाया एव साधारणसाम्यात् (?)। तदभावे क इत्याह। तदभावे दुहितृगामि। तेषां पुत्रादिस्नुषान्तानामभावे दुहितरो धनं गृह्णीयुः। Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 376 where this view is referred to.

1062 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, देवस्वामी, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रवरमञ्जरी, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, वाचस्पति, वैजयन्ती, सर्वज्ञ, सुबोधिनी, शबरस्वामी (com. on सत्याषाढश्रौत), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि.

1063 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 437.

1064 L. R. 26 I. A. 153 at p. 161.

their (of the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā and Dattaka-candrikā) authority is open to examination, explanation, criticism, adoption or rejection like any scientific treatises on European jurisprudence'.[1065] Even in those parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority, the Dattakamīmāṁsā has on the subject of adoption been preferred in certain matters to the Vyavahāramayūkha. For example, the Bombay High Court, following the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā, has laid down that among the three higher castes a man cannot adopt his own daughter's, sister's, or mother's sister's son. The view of the Vyavahāramayūkha, on the contrary, is that he can take these in adoption. The limits to which Nandapaṇḍita will be followed by the courts are laid down in *Ramachandra v. Gopal*: 'The authority of Nandapaṇḍita must be accepted except where it can be shown that he deviates from or adds to the *smṛtis* or where his version of the law is opposed to such established custom as the Courts recognise'.[1066]

Several views expressed in the Dattakamīmāṁsā have been set at naught in the various provinces by the British Indian Courts. Nandapaṇḍita held that a widow could not adopt at all.[1067] Except in Mithilā this view has nowhere been entertained in India and the Courts have held that the Law of Benares, Bengal, Madras and Bombay is different. Nandapaṇḍita put forward the position that the brother's son must be preferred for adoption over any other *sagotra* or *sapiṇḍa*.[1068] This has, however, been treated in all provinces as no more than a mere recommendation and that failure to observe it entails no legal or religious consequences whatever. The expression 'putracchāyā' in 'putracchāyāvaham' occurring in the text of Śaunaka was explained by Nandapaṇḍita to mean 'similarity to a son born' and he said that the similarity consisted in the possibility of being begotten by means of *niyoga* and the like.[1069] Sutherland wrongly introduced the word 'marriage' after

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1065 L. R. 26 I. A. 113 at p. 132.

1066 I. L. R. 32 Bom, 619 at p. 624.

1067 अनेन विधवाया भर्त्रनुज्ञानासंभवात् अनधिकारा गम्यते ।

1068 संनिहितसगोत्रसपिण्डेषु च भ्रातृपुत्र एव पुत्रीकार्यं इति ।

1069 पुत्रच्छाया पुत्रसादृश्यं तच्च नियोगादिना स्वयमुत्पादनयोग्यत्वं यथा भ्रातृसपिण्डसगोत्रादिपुत्रस्य । ततश्च भ्रातृपितृव्यमातुलदौहित्रभागिनेयादीनां निरासः ।

niyoga in his translation and some of the High Courts in India, following this wrong translation, evolved the rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopting father could not have legally married in her maiden state.[1070] But the Bombay High Court has laid down that the rule is restricted to the three specified cases of the daughter's son, the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son.[1071] From the text (brāhmaṇāditraye nāsti bhāgineyaḥ sutaḥ kvacit), Nandapaṇḍita evolved the curious rule that a widow cannot adopt to her deceased husband her own brother's son. But the Privy Council has refused to follow this *dictum* on the ground that the gloss of Nandapaṇḍita is an extension not based on the authority of any smṛti and has upheld such an adoption.[1072]

About the personal history of Nandapaṇḍita we do not know much. Mandlik in his Hindu Law (LXXII, *n*. 3) gives what information he could gather from descendants of Nandapaṇḍita living in Benares. According to him the founder of the family was Lakṣmīdhara who was a resident of Bidar (now in the Nizam's dominions) and who went to Benares. Nandapaṇḍita was the sixth in descent from him. Dr. Jolly visited at Benares Pandit Dhuṇḍirāja Dharmādhikārī who was 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita (Tagore Law Lectures, p. 15) and Mandlik's information also was gathered from persons who were 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita. Mandlik also gives a detailed genealogical tree. We learn from several works of Nandapaṇḍita and their colophons that he was also named Vināyakapaṇḍita and was the son of Rāmapaṇḍita of Benares who is styled Dharmādhikarī. Nandapaṇḍita also is described as Dharmādhikarī in the Saṁskāranirṇaya-taraṅga of the Smṛtisindhu (vide note 1049 above). It appears that Nandapaṇḍita was at different times patronised by rich patrons from different parts of India. He composed the Śrāddhakalpalatā for Paramānanda of the Sahagila family of Sādhāraṇa, the Smṛtisindhu for Harivaṁśavarman of the Māhendra family and the Vaijayantī for Keśavanāyaka of Madhurā.

1070 Vide I. L. R. 11 Mad. 49 (F. B.), I. L. R. 27 All. 417, I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830.

1071 Vide I. L. R. 32 Bom. 619, I. L. R. 36 Bom. 533, 15 Bom. L. R. 824 (paternal aunt's son could be validly adopted), I. L. R. 39 Bom. 410 (adoption of half-brother held valid).

1072 *Puttulal v. Parbati* I. L. R. 37 All. 359 (P. C.).

Mandlik notes that Nandapaṇḍita is credited with the authorship of 13 works. Eight works of Nandapaṇḍita have been named and described above. Mandlik names six of these. Besides these he is said to have written Navarātra-pradīpa, three sections of a work named Harivaṁśavilāsa (viz. dānakautuka, āhnikakautuka and saṁskāra-kautuka), Bālabhūṣā, Tīrthakalpalatā, Kālanirṇayakautuka, Kāśīprakāśa, Mādhavānanda. But we saw above (note 1050) that the Bālabhūṣā is only a commentary on the Tattvamuktāvalī (probably composed by another writer). The Kāśīprakāśa was certainly composed by Nandapaṇḍita as he is described in the India Office ms. to have been the son of Rāmapaṇḍita.[1073] That work was composed at the order of one Sarvabhaṭṭa, who was the *guru* of Kṛṣṇanāyaka of Madhurā. In Mitra's Notices two works, Jyotiḥśāstrasamuccaya and Smārta-samuccaya, are described as composed by Nandapaṇḍita, son of Devaśarman and Vṛndā.[1074] The latter seems to have been an extensive work and dealt with *tithinirṇaya*, intercalary month, marriage, sapiṇḍa relationship, the saṁskāras, daily observances, *antyeṣṭi* (funeral rites), *āśauca*, *śuddhi*, *śrāddha*, *prāyaścitta*, *dāyabhāga* and *vyavahāra*. Though the name of the father, Devaśarman, creates suspicion in one's mind, both these works must be regarded as the works of Nandapaṇḍita, son of Rāmapaṇḍita, as in the Smārtasamuccaya the author refers his readers to his Dattaka-mīmāṁsā for the subject of adoption. It is not unlikely that just as Nandapaṇḍita had the *alias* Vināyaka, his father Rāmapaṇḍita was also called Devaśarman.

Mandlik (Hindu Law LXXII, n. 3) notes that on a copy of the Mādhavānanda-kāvya composed by Nanda the year *saṁvat* 1655 (1599 A. D.) is given, probably in Nandapaṇḍita's own hand-writing. The Vaijayantī was one of Nandapaṇḍita's latest works. That work, we are told, was composed at Kāśī in Vikrama *saṁvat* 1679 (Nov. 1623) on the Full moon of Kārtika when the sun was in Scorpion and the moon in Taurus.[1075] Therefore the literary

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1073 Vide I. O. cat. p. 391 No. 3701.

1074 Vide vol. V. p. 80 No. 1762 and vol. VI, p. 165 No. 2105.

1075 वर्षे विक्रमभास्करस्य गणिते नन्दाद्रिषड्भूमिभिः
पूर्णे कार्तिकमासि वृश्चिकगते भानौ वृषस्थे विधौ ।
काश्यां केशवनायकस्य नृपतेराज्ञामवाप्य स्मृते-
र्विष्णोर्व्याकृतिमाचकार विमलां श्रीनन्दशर्मा सुधीः ॥ 7th verse at the end.

activity of Nandapaṇḍita must be placed between 1595 and 1630 A. D. Mandlik in his Hindu Law (p. 281) says that the Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita is referred to in the Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha. I have not been able to find the reference in the latter work.

106. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa

Kamalākarabhaṭṭa was one of the foremost scions of the Bhaṭṭa family. He was a grandson of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa. He was one of three brothers, the eldest being Dinakara *alias* Divākara[1076] and the youngest was Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa,[1077] who studied under Kamalākarabhaṭṭa. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's father Rāmakṛṣṇa also was a very[1078] learned man and a profound *mīmāṁsaka* and his mother Umā immolated herself as a *satī*. Kamalākara was a man of profound erudition and composed works on almost every śāstra. In some of his own works there are high eulogies of his learning and proficiency in Tarka, Nyāya, grammar, mīmāṁsa (in both the schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara), Vedānta, Poetics, dharmaśāstra and Vedic sacrifices.[1079] He composed more than twenty-two works. At the end of his Vivādatāṇḍava, it is said that he composed the Nirṇayasindhu, a commentary on the Vārtika (of Kumārila), a work on the *mīmāṁsā* (śāstratattva) and a series of 20 other works.[1080] At the end of a ms. of the

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1076 बिन्दुमाधवपादाब्जरोलम्बीकृतविग्रहम् । ज्यायांसं भ्रातरं भट्टदिवाकरमुपास्महे ॥ 6th Intro. verse of निर्णयसिन्धु.

1077 अर्धित्य लक्ष्मणाख्येन कमलाकरसोदरात् । आचाररत्नं सुधियां यथामति वितन्यते ॥ 7th Intro. verse of आचाररत्न.

1078 यो भाट्टतन्त्रगहनार्णवकर्णधारः शास्त्रान्तरेषु निखिलेष्वपि मर्मभेत्ता । योत्र श्रमः किल कृतः कमलाकरेण प्रीतोमुनास्तु सुकृती बुधरामकृष्णः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर.

1079 तर्के दुस्तर्कमेधः फणिपतिभणितिः पाणिनीये प्रपञ्चे न्याये प्रायः प्रगल्भः प्रकटितपटिमा भाट्टशास्त्रप्रघट्टे । प्राभः प्राभाकरीये पथि प्रथितदुरूहान्तवेदान्तसिन्धुः । श्रौते साहित्यकाव्ये प्रचुरतरगतिर्धर्मशास्त्रेषु यश्च ॥ from काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या D. C. ms. No. 433 of 1895–1902.

1080 येनाकारि प्रोद्भटा वार्तिकस्य टीका चान्या विंशतिग्रन्थमाला । श्रीरामाङ्घ्र्योरर्पिता निर्णयेषु सिन्धुः शास्त्रे तत्त्वकौतूहले च ॥ Vide I. O. cat. p. 455 No. 1502; also vide D. C. ms. No. 122 of 1883–84 for a ms. of कमलाकर's commentary on the first *pāda* of the 2nd chap. called भावार्थ of the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

Śāntiratna in the Bhau Daji collection there is a list of 22 works of his out of which the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been the first.[1081] More than half of these works are concerned with topics of Dharmaśāstra, viz. the Nirṇayasindhu, the Dānakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Pūrtakamalākara, Vratakamalākara, Prāyaścittaratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Bahvṛcāhnika, Gotrapravaradarpaṇa, Karmavipākaratna, Śūdrakamalākara, Sarvatīrthavidhi. The Śūdrakamalākara, the Vivādatāṇḍava and the Nirṇayasindhu are the most famous of his works on dharmaśāstra. Brief references may be made here to some of the works of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa other than the three mentioned above. It appears from the introductory verses of the Vratakamalākara that Kamalākara intended to compose a digest on dharma called Dharmatattva in ten paricchedas[1082] and not only carried it out but added some more works on dharma. It will be noticed that nine out of these 10 sections are enumerated under the same names at the end of the Śāntiratna quoted above, the one not named being the section on *ācāra*. Burnell mentions a work called Ācāradipa by Kamalākara on daily duties and on the same page notices another work on āhnika by Kamalākara.[1083] It is difficult to say whether both are names of the same work. It is not unlikely that the ācāra section of the digest Dharmatattva is the same as the Bahvṛcāhnika enumerated at the end of the Śāntiratna. There is a ms. of the Bavṛcāhnika at Bikaner.[1084] It deals with daily duties commencing with rising

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1081 आदौ निर्णयसिन्धुस्तु वार्तिके टिप्पणी पुनः । काव्यप्रकाशगा व्याख्या दाने च कमलाकरः ॥ शान्तिरत्नं ततः पूर्तव्रतयोः कमलाकरः । ग्रन्थो वेदान्तरत्नं च सभादर्शकुतूहलम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्ते रत्नमेकं व्यवहारे तथापरम् । बह्वृचाह्निकमन्यच्च गोत्रप्रवरदर्पणः ॥ रत्नं कर्मविपाकाख्यं कार्तवीर्यस्य पद्धतिः । सोमप्रयोगः शूद्राणां धर्मो रुद्रस्य पद्धतिः ॥ टिप्पणी च तथा शास्त्रदीपिकालोकसंज्ञिता । मीमांसायां तथा शास्त्रतत्त्वस्य कमलाकरः ॥ सर्वतीर्थविधिश्चैव भक्तिरत्नं तथोत्तमम् । रामकृष्णसुतेनेत्थं कमलाकरशर्मणा । द्व्यधिकाविंशतीनां च ग्रन्थानां रत्नमालिका । सेवां कर्तुमशक्तेन ह्यर्पिता रामपादयोः ॥ concluding verses of शान्तिरत्न.

1082 रामकृष्णतनूजेन कमलाकरशर्मणा । क्रियते धर्मतत्त्वानां कमलानामिहाकरः ॥ व्रतदाने कर्मपाकः शान्तिपूर्ते तथैव च । आचारो व्यवहारश्च प्रायश्चित्तमथापरम् ॥ शूद्रधर्मस्तीर्थविधिः परिच्छेदा दशात्र तु । Intro. verses to व्रतकमलाकर, vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 499, No. 1071.

1083 Vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 135 b.

1084 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p, 355 No. 767.

from one's bed at the *brāhma muhūrta*. In this work Kamalākarabhaṭṭa refers to his own Prāyaścittaratna, and to the Madanapārijāta, Madanaratna, Mādhava and Śūlapāṇi. The Pūrtakamalākara[1085] was an extensive work and dealt with the dedication of tanks, wells, trees and gardens to the public, the dedication of Aśvattha tree and five sacred trees, dedication and laying the foundation of public buildings, consecration of sacred images, of Śālagrāma, of temples and flags, repairing of images, accidental breaking of temples, consecration of Vināyaka, pacification of planets, coronation of kings and emperors. In this work he mentions his own Dānakamalākara.

The Śāntiratna or Śāntikamalākara is a huge work.[1086]

It deals with various rites for propitiating Vināyaka, the nine planets, and for averting the consequences of portentous occurrences and evil omens, birth on such constellations as *mūla*, the observances known as Ekādaśini, Laghurudra, Mahārudra, Śatacaṇḍī &c. He refers to his own Nirṇayasindhu in this work.

For his Gotrapravaradarpaṇa or Gotrapravaranirṇaya, vide I. O. cat. p. 579 No. 1780. He follows the Pravaramañjarī in this work. This work is referred to in his Nirṇayasindhu.

In the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library there is a ms. of his Saṁskāra-prayogakamalākara which appears to be over and above the 22 works enumerated above.[1087] He starts with an enumeration of the 48 *saṁskāras* mentioned by Gautama, deals with the several saṁskāras of puṁsavana, jātakarma, marriage &c., and with utsarjana and upākarma, propitiatory rites on the first appearance of menses, the Aṣṭakā śrāddha &c.

His Śāstratattva-kautūhala or Tattva-kamalākara appears to have been a work of considerable interest dealing with the bearing of the doctrines and maxims of the Mīmāṁsā system on ritual and dharmaśāstra.[1088] A ms. of it is dated *saṁvat* 1695 caitra śukla 4 Friday (i. e. 9th March 1638 A. D.).

1085 Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 138 No. 1881 for पूर्तकमलाकर; in the Bombay Asiatic Society's collection there is a portion of this.

1086 Vide I. O. cat. p. 568 No. 1758 and BBRAS cat. p. 234 No 729 for शान्तिरत्न.

1087 Vide I. O. cat. p. 514 No 1630 for संस्कारकमलाकर.

1088 Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p .335 No. 1331 for तत्त्वकमलाकर.

For the Prāyaścittaratna, vide Bühler's report, 3, p. 108.

I was able to secure a ms. of the Vivādatāṇḍava from the Mandlik collection in the Fergusson College at Poona. That work closely resembles in method and matter the Vyavahāramayūkha of Kamalākara's cousin Nīlakaṇṭha, the section on ordeals being almost the same in both. It treats of the following subjects: the *sabhā*; members of the *sabhā*; Judge, amātya; the scribe and the accountant; conflict of smṛtis; the plaint, the reply, the modes of proof, viz., documents, witnesses, possession; modes of punishment; the principal and secondary sons; the enumeration of the eighteen titles of law; partition of heritage and detailed description of the other titles. Like the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Vivādatāṇḍava quotes the Madanaratna as frequently as (or perhaps more frequently than) the Mitākṣarā. The other writers and works quoted are noted below.[1089] As it mentions several works of his own, viz. Nirṇayasindhu, the Dānakamalākara, the Prāyaścittaratna and the Śūdradharma (i. e. Śūdrakamalākara), the Vivādatāṇḍava was one of his latest works. On several points he differs from his own cousin Nīlakaṇṭha. For example, he prefers the mother to the father as an heir and does not give the sister a high place among the *gotraja* heirs as Nīlakaṇṭha does. The Vivādatāṇḍava has been frequently noticed in judicial decisions.[1090]

The Śūdrakamalākara (also called Śūdra-dharmatattva or Śūdra-dharmatattvaprakāśa) has been printed in Bombay several times (with Marathi translation). I used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1895. In this work he refers to his own Dānakamalākara, Pūrtakamalākara, Prāyaścittaratna and Nirṇayasindhu. Out of about two hundred authors and works quoted therein, prominent ones are noted below.[1091] This work is a standard treatise on the duties and religious observances of Śūdras.

1089 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, गोविन्दराज, जीमूतवाहन, दिव्यतत्त्व (of गौड i. e. रघुनन्दन), भोज, मनुटीका, माधवीय, रत्नाकर, विश्वरूप, शिरोमणि, शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य.

1090 Vide I. L. R. 33 Bom. 452 at p. 459, I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 334, I. L. R. 39 Cal. 319 at p. 331 for references to विवादताण्डव.

1091 आचार्यचूडामणि, तिथितत्त्व, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, रूपनारायणीय, शुद्धिविवेक (of रुद्रधर), शूलपाणि, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिकौमुदी, हरिहरभाष्य.

He first starts with the discussion that the Śūdra is not authorised to study the Vedas, but that he can listen to the recitation by Brāhmaṇas of smṛtis and purāṇas and religious rites are to be performed for Śūdras with Purāṇic *mantras*. Then the following subjects are dealt with :– worship of Viṣṇu and other deities by Śūdras and the observances of *vratas* and fasts by them ; Śūdra can make gifts of works of public utility (pūrta) ; Śūdra can adopt a son ; the conflicting views as to the number of saṁskāras for a Śūdra, most authors holding that he is entitled to ten saṁskāras (without Vedic *mantras*), viz. garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śiśuniṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākarma, karṇavedha and vivāha ; the five great daily yajñas were to be performed for the śūdra according to the Vājasaneyaśākha ;[1092] śrāddhas for Śūdra (to be performed with uncooked food) ; actions prescribed and forbidden in the case of Śūdras ; the details of various rites and saṁskāras of Śūdras ; the daily duties of Śūdras ; impurity on birth and death ; rites after death ; duties of wives and widows ; persons of mixed castes who have to follow the rules laid down for Śūdras ; rules for those who are born of *pratiloma* connections ; about *Kāyasthas*.

The Nirṇayasindhu or Nirṇayakamalākara is the most famous of Kamalākara's works. It is a monument of erudition, industry and lucidity. It has been judicially referred to as a work of authority.[1093] I have used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1905 (with Marathi translation). In the whole range of nibandhakāras there is hardly any other writer, except perhapas Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra, who lays under contribution as many works as Kamalākara does. In the Nirṇayasindhu about one hundred smṛtis and over three hundred nibandhakāras are mentioned by name. In the introductory verses he expressly says that he pondered over the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and other learned writers. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*. The following is a very concise

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1092 This is interesting 'तथा शूद्राणां पञ्चमहायज्ञाश्च भवन्ति । ... ते च वाजसनेयिशाखया कार्याः । शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनिबन्धे दृष्टोक्तेः । हरिहरभाष्ये विवाहप्रकरणेऽप्येवमुक्तम्' शूद्रकमलाकर p. 51; vide शूद्रकृत्यविचारतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 634) and मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I, p. 792) for an explanation of this.

1093 I. L. R. 3 Bom. at p. 197 ; *Khushalchand v. Bai Mani* I. L. R. 11 Bom. 247 at p. 254 ; I. L. R. 46 Bom. at p. 556 ; I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 757 ; I. L. R. 9 Cal 315 at p. 324.

statement of the contents of this voluminous work. The principal subject is to give decisive opinions as to the proper times for various religious acts; the various views about the year being solar, lunar, sidereal etc., months of four kinds, lunar, solar etc., saṁkrānti rites and gifts; intercalary month; *kṣayamasa*; about *tithis*, *śuddhā* and *vidhhā* (combined with another *tithi* on same day); *vratas*; the various *vratas* and festivals during the twelve months of the year; the *saṁskāras* from garbhādhāna onwards; sapiṇḍa relationship; consecration of images; auspicious times (*muhūrtas*) for various actions such as sowing operations, buying horses and cattle &c.; śrāddha; impurities on birth and death; rites after death, rites for *satī*; saṁnyāsa.

The time when Kamalākara flourished can be determined with great accuracy. We saw above that the Nirṇayasindhu was one of his earliest works and that it is referred to in several works of his. According to a verse at the end of the Nirṇayasindhu the work was composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha when cyclic year was Raudra (i. e. on the 20th February 1612 A. D.). In a ms. noticed by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri the same verse is read differently, so as to refer the composition to Vikrama *saṁvat* 1678; but it is clearly a copyist's error or misreading, since the cyclic year Raudra cannot tally with Vikrama 1678.[1094] We saw above that a ms. of the Tattvakamalākara is dated 1638 A. D. Kamalākara was a voluminous writer and therefore we shall be not far wrong if his literary activity be assigned to the period between 1610 A. D. and 1640 A. D. This date is corroborated in several ways. His grandfather Nārāyaṇbhatta was born in 1513 A. D. and he quotes in his Nirṇayasindhu the Todarānanda compiled in the last quarter of the 16th century. Gāgābhaṭṭa *alias* Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, who officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D., was Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's nephew.

1094 वसुऋतुऋतुभूमिते गतेऽब्दे नरपतिविक्रमतोऽथ याति रौद्रे । तपसि शिवतिथौ समापितोऽयं रघुपतिपादसरोरुहेऽर्पितश्च ॥ 6th verse at end; vide Notices of mss. by Haraprasad Śāstri vol. X, p.324, No. 4233 where the reading is वसुमुनिऋतुभूमिते.

107. Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa

In my introduction to the Vyavahāramayūkha (Poona, 1926) I have dealt exhaustively with the personal history of Nīlakaṇṭha, his works, their contents, their position in dharmaśāstra literature, the period of Nīlakaṇṭha's literary activity and his position in modern Hindu Law. In the following a brief résumé of the conclusions there arrived at is given.

Nīlakaṇṭha was a grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was a profound *mīmāṁsaka* and composed several works on mīmāṁsā, viz. a com. on the Śāstradīpikā, the Vidhirasāyanadūṣaṇa, the Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa. He also wrote Dvaitanirṇaya (vide Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol, III part 2. pp. 67-72 for an account of it) and the Dharmaprakāśa or Sarvadharmaprakāśa. Nīlakaṇṭha composed an encyclopaedia of religious and civil law, styled Bhagavantabhāskara, in honour of his patron Bhagavantadeva, a Bundella chieftain of the Seṅgara clan, that ruled at Bhareha near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal. This work is divided into 12 sections (called *mayūkhas* 'rays') on saṁskāra, ācāra, kāla (or samaya), śrāddha, nīti, vyavahāra, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi, śānti. These have been printed at Benares and some of them have been printed in Bombay at the Gujarati Press and by Mr. Gharpure. Besides this encyclopaedia he composed also a work called Vyavahāratattva, which is a summary of the Vyavahāramayūkha, and probably a work styled Dattakanirṇaya. The Vyavahāratattva has been for the first time published by me as appendix I to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha.

Nīlakaṇṭha is one of the foremost *nibandhakāras*. Being brought up in a family that had made the study of mīmāṁsā its own for several generations, he is very acute in applying the maxims and rules of *mīmāṁsā* to dharmaśāstra. He stands unsurpassed by any mediaeval Sanskrit writer on dharmaśāstra in mastery over the vast smṛti lore, in lucidity of exposition, in conciseness and ease of style, in clarity of vision and sobriety of judgment. Though he admired the learning and labours of such predecessors as Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri and others, he does not slavishly follow their dicta and expresses his dissent from them most frankly.

His Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu law according to the decisions of the Bombay High Court in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and northern Konkan.[1095] Even in the other parts of the Bombay Presidency such as the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District the Vyavahāramayūkha occupies a very important place though it is subordinate to the Mitākṣarā.[1096] The general principle on which the Bombay High Court acts in construing the rules laid down in the Mitākṣarā and the Vyavahāramayūkha is that the two works are to be harmonized with one another wherever and so far as that is reasonably possible.[1097] Though the Mitākṣarā is a paramount authority in the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District and though it is silent about the sister's right as a *gotraja* heir, the courts, in deference to the authority of the Vyavahāramayūkha, have assigned to the sister a high place as an heir even in the Maratha country and in Ratnagiri. Among the other Mayūkhas, the Saṁskāramayūkha has been frequently relied upon by the courts.[1098] The Prāyaścittamayūkha and the Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha[1099] have also been relied upon in the High Court.

The period of Nīlakaṇṭha's literary activity can be settled within very narrow limits. He was the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. In the Dvaitanirṇaya, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa quotes the views of the Ṭodarānanda which, as we saw above, must have been composed between 1570 and 1589 A. D. So the Dvaitanirṇaya could not have been composed before 1590 A. D. Nīlakaṇṭha, the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, could hardly have commenced his literary career earlier than Kamalākarabhaṭṭa who was the second son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's elder brother. Kamalākara composed his Nirṇayasindhu in 1612

1095 Vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 418; I. L. R. 6 Bom. 541 at p. 546; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at pp. 623-624; I. L. R. 24 Bom. 367 (F. B.) at p. 373.

1096 Vide *Krishnaji v. Pandurang* 12 Bom. H. C. R. 65 at pp. 67-68; 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J) 181 at p. 185; 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J) at p. 169; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at p. 616.

1097 *Gojabai v. Shrimant Shahajirao* I. L. R. 17 Bom. 114 at p. 118 and *Kesserbai v. Hunsraj* I. L. R. 30 Bom. 431 at p. 442 (P. C.).

1098 I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 425; I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361; I. L. R. 32 Bom. 81 at pp 88 and 96; 46 Bom. at p. 884.

1099 *Vide Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34 Bom. 278 at p. 283 (for प्रायश्चित्तमयूख) and 22 Bom. L. R. p. 334 (for प्रतिष्ठामयूख).

A. D. So Nīlakaṇṭha's literary activity must have commenced a good deal after 1610. One ms. of the Vyavahāratattva bears the date *saṁvat* 1700 (1644 A. D.). This shows that the Vyavahāratattva was composed not later than 1644 A. D. The Vyavahāratattva refers to the Vyavahāramayūkha as already composed. Hence we may say, without being far from the truth, that Nīlakaṇṭha's literary career falls between 1610 and 1645 A. D. This date is confirmed by the fact that Nīlakaṇṭha's son Śaṅkara wrote the Kuṇḍabhāskara in 1671 A. D. and Divākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Nīlakaṇṭha's daughter, composed his Ācārārka in 1686 A. D. It appears that there was probably a rivalry between the two great cousins Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and Nīlakaṇṭha. On many matters their views diverged. Though the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era, yet from the references to several works of his own in the Nirṇayasindhu it looks as if Kamalākara revised it from time to time by adding on references to his own other works and to those of others. The Nirṇayasindhu (III *pariccheda*, section on Dattakagrahaṇa) emphatically says that he who asserts the absence of ownership in one's son in spite of Vedic indications is a fool.[1100] It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is a hit at Nīlakaṇṭha who must have been younger than Kamalākara and who tries hard in his Vyavahāramayūkha to establish that there is no ownership in one's wife and children.

108. The Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra

The Vīramitrodaya is a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra embracing almost all branches of dharmaśāstra. Excepting the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri, this work is probably the largest known on dharmaśāstra. But it surpasses in interest and usefulness even Hemādri's work since it deals with vyavahāra also. It was divided into sections called *prakāśas*. So far the *prakāśas* on vyavahāra, paribhāṣā, saṁskāra, rājanīti, āhnika, pūjā, tīrtha and lakṣaṇa have been published, the first by Jīvānanda (Calcutta 1875) and the rest in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The text of the dāyabhāga portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa was also published by Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri with an English translation (Calcutta 1879). It appears that

1100 ' पुत्रे स्वत्वाभावं वदन् मूर्ख एव ' निर्णयसिंधु, contrast व्यवहारमयूख p. 92 ' यथा-दाविव भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तस्यामुत्पन्नेपत्ये तदभावात् । '

Mitramiśra wrote on prāyaścitta also.[1101] But that work has not yet been met with. The very names of the sections of the Viramitrodaya convey an idea of the subjects dealt with in them. The Lakṣaṇaprakāśa deals with the auspicious signs of men, women, the several parts of human body, elephants, horses, thrones, swords, bows and with the characteristics and qualities of the queen, the ministers, the astrologer, physician, doorkeeper, description of śālagrāma, śivaliṅga, rudrākṣa beads etc. In the *āhnikaprakāśa* he dilates upon the daily duties beginning with one's rising from bed on brāhmamuhūrta, śauca, ācamana and ending with going to bed. The Vyavahāraprakāśa is probably the largest *nibandha* on *vyavahāra*. This is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the meaning of *vyavahāra*, the constitution of the *sabhā* (court of justice), the appointment of judges, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra, assessors, the various grades of courts, the procedure about plaints and defendant's replies and their faults; the burden of proof and the means of proof. The second gives a detailed exposition of the means of proof, viz. witnesses, documents, possession and ordeals. The third treats of the eighteen titles of law including *dāyavibhāga* and the fourth very briefly speaks of those matters which were to be started *suo motu* by the king and not by a private individual. The *dāyavibhāga* portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa occupies a little more than one-fourth of the whole of the work.

In the Tīrthaprakāśa he deals with the nature of *tīrthas*, the utility thereof for men, the persons entitled to undertake pilgrimage, the proper times for pilgrimage, the ceremonial acts to be performed at *tīrthas* such as shaving, fasts, bathing, gifts, the description of the several *varṣas* and *dvīpas* and of sacred rivers like the Ganges, Narmadā, sacred places like Gayā, Prabhāsa, Badrī, Puṣkara and Purī.

In the Pūjāprakāśa he speaks of the definition of *pūjā*, persons entitled to perform *pūjā* (worship of gods), the rewards of *pūjā*, proper times and places for *pūjā*, śālagrāma, the proper articles and clothes for the worship of idols, proper flowers, fragrant substances, *naivedya*, the detailed method of worshiping Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Durgā, Brahmā etc. In the printed edition there are no introductory verses here.

1101 अस्वोढुत्वात्पद्भुर्भर्तीनां स्वनेनापि निष्कासनमित्यादि प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाशे (प्रकरणे ।) विवेचयामः । वीर० p. 640 (व्यवहार section, Jivananda).

In the Saṁskāra-prakāśa the author enumerates the saṁskāras and describes in detail garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, anavalobhana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śiśuniṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cuḍā, upanayana, *vivāha* etc., the duties of brahmacārins, *gotras*, *pravaras* and *sapiṇḍya*, all astrological matters in connection with marriage, piṇḍapitṛyajña, sarpabali, aṣṭakāśrāddha, śūlagava.

The Rājanītiprakāśa treats of the definition of *rājan*, the proper time and procedure of coronation, the daily routine for kings, the qualifications of ministers, commander-in-chief and the dependents of the king, forts, capital, palaces, the four expedients of *sāma* etc., the six *guṇas*, auspicious and evil signs, marching for battle, Kaumudī and Indradhvaja festivals etc.

In all his works Mitramiśra mentions hundreds of authors and works. The portion on vyavahāra is full of long-drawn controversies in which he refutes the views of numerous predecessors. The Vīramitrodaya enters into polemics far more frequently than Nīlakaṇṭha. He generally upholds the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara against all its critics, particularly the writers of the Bengal school. But he does not slavishly admire the Mitākṣarā in every thing. Now and then he rebukes even Vijñāneśvara. For example, he does not approve of what the Mitākṣarā says about the son called *Kānīna*.[1102] He finds fault with Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the verse 'anyodaryastu' as extremely forced and far-fetched and as simply exhibiting the author's pedantry.[1103] Out of the host of works and writers that he names in the vyavahāra section the important ones are noted below.[1104]

1102 या तु मिताक्षराकृता यद्यनूढायामुत्पन्नस्तर्हि मातामहस्यैतोऽप्यूढायां तदा वोढुरेवेति व्यवस्था कृता सापि मनसि न चमत्कारमादधाति। वीर॰ p. 606.

1103 विज्ञानेश्वरेणापि मानवसंवादायान्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योदर्यो धनं हरेदिति पाठेन योगीश्वरवचनस्य यत्तद्व्यावृत्त्यध्याहारादिना क्लिष्टमत्यन्ताप्रतीयमानार्थकं स्वपाण्डित्यविलसितमात्रम्। वीर॰ p. 681; vide वीर॰ pp. 183, 668 for other criticisms of the मिताक्षरा.

1104 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, गोपाल, चण्डेश्वर, जीमूतवाहन, तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि (of उदयन), दायतत्त्व, धारेश्वर, नयविवेक, पारिजात, पार्थसारथि, प्रकाश, प्रदीप, भवदेव, भवनाथ, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रघुनन्दन, रत्नाकर, लीलावती, वाचस्पति, वादभयङ्कर, विज्ञानयोगिन्, विद्यारण्य, व्यवहारतत्त्व, व्यवहारतिलक (of भवदेव), व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शारदातिलक, शास्त्रदीपिका, शूलपाणि, सोमेश्वर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतितत्त्व, हलायुध.

The Viramitrodaya is a work of high authority in the Benares School of Hindu Law. The Privy Council has laid down that 'the Viramitrodaya is properly receivable as an exposition of what may have been left doubtful by the Mitākṣarā and declaratory of the law of the Benares school.'[1105] Similarly it has been said by the same high tribunal that the Viramitrodaya may be referred to even in Bengal where the Dāyabhāga is silent.[1106] But where the text of the Mitākṣarā on any point is quite clear, the gloss of the Viramitrodaya on the text of any sage which is in conflict with the rule laid down in the former cannot be referred to for the purpose of casting a doubt on the clear rule of the Mitākṣarā.[1107] The Viramitrodaya is inferior to the Vyavahāramayūkha in Western India[1108] and its doctrines are not followed in those provinces when in conflict with those of the other two works. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Vedachala v. Subramania*[1109] 'although the Smṛticandrikā in the Southern Presidency is regarded as the most authoritative commentary on Vijñāneśvara's work, the Viramitrodaya holds, as in Western India, a high position. It supplements many gaps and omissions in the earlier commentaries and illustrates and elucidates with logical preciseness the meaning of doubtful prescriptions.'

There is a ms. of the Dānaprakāśa in the Deccan College (No. 305 of 1884-1887). It is an extensive work and contains the usual topics about gifts.

Besides the digest called Viramitrodaya Mitramiśra composed a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. There is a ms. in the Deccan College (No. 58 of A 1883-84) which contains portions (with gaps) of the commentary on the three kāṇḍas (ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta). From the portion available it appears that

1105 Vide *Gridharilal v. The Bengal Government* 12 Moo. I. A. 448 at p. 466 (where following the Viramitrodaya the maternal uncle was held to be an heir as a *bandhu*); vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438.

1106 *Moniram v. Keri Kolitani* I. L. R. 5 Cal. 776 (P. C.) at p. 789 (where it was held that unchastity in the case of a widow subsequent to her inheriting her husband's property does not work forfeiture of her rights).

1107 I. L. R. 25 Cal. 354 at pp. 367-368.

1108 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438 and I. L. R. 3 Bom. 369.

1109 I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) at p. 764 = L. R. 48 I. A. p. 349.

the commentary was of considerable extent, though not as voluminous and as full of polemics as his digest. The ācāra portion had at least 446 folios (with 6 lines on each side and 30 letters in each line), the vyavahāra at least 257 and prāyaścitta a great many more than 153. Besides the works noted above he quotes the Karmapradīpa and the Smṛtisāra. In this work he does not quite approve of the reasons for the preference shown to the mother over the father as an heir by the Mitākṣarā, viz. the occurrence of the word ' mātā ' as the first word when the word ' pitarau ' is dissolved and the greater propinquity of the mother as compared with the father, since the latter can beget sons from another wife.[1110] The commentary gives three varieties of *dāsī*.[1111] Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 and Peterson's 2nd report pp. 49-53 for further details about this commentary.

In the Ācāraprakāśa he quotes besides some of the works mentioned above the following also, viz. Kullūka, Prayogapārijāta, Prāyaścittaviveka, Madanapārijāta, Śrīdatta (vide I. O. cat. p. 437 No. 1471).

In the introductions to the several sections of his digest and also in the colophons therein Mitramiśra furnishes considerable information about himself, his family and the family of his patron. Mitramiśra was the son of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita and grandson of Haṁsapaṇḍita. Haṁsapaṇḍita seems to have been a native of Gopācala (Gwalior) and was endowed with the rare combination of wealth and learning. One Caṇḍeśvara of Kāśī was the *guru* of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita. Mitramiśra indulges in hyperbolic[1112] descrip-

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1110 इत्थं च विग्रहवाक्ये मातृशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातात् पित्रपेक्षया वैमात्रेयाजनकत्वेनासाधारणप्रत्यासत्तिसत्त्वाच्चेति मिताक्षरालिखनं चिन्त्यम् । folio 149 of the com. on व्यवहार section of याज्ञ०; compare वीरमित्रोदय p. 666 (Jivananda) where Mitramiśra is apologetic about the same reasons of the Mit.

1111 दासी पुरुषविशेषेण विवाहापरिगृहीता । सा च त्रिविधा । एकेन पुरुषेण स्वभोगार्थं पुरुषान्तरभोगतो निरुद्धा भुजिष्या वेश्या चेति । भुजिष्या च स्वामिव्यतिरिक्तपुरुषान्तरोभोगविषया स्वपरिचर्याकारिणी । folio 247.

1112 मा कुर्वन्तु मुधा बुधाः परिचयं ग्रन्थेषु नानाविधे-
ष्वत्यर्न्तं न हि तेषु सर्वविषयः कश्चित् कचिद्वर्तते ।
पश्यन्तु प्रणयादनन्यमनसो ग्रन्थं मदीयं त्विमं
धर्माधर्मसमस्तनिर्णयविधिर्यस्मिन्दरीदृश्यते ॥ verse 39 of आह्निकप्रकाश.

tions of his own learning and naively tells his readers that they need study only his work and may neglect all other *nibandhas*. Mitramiśra was commanded by Virasiṁha to compose his great digest.[1113] The introduction to the Āhnikaprakāśa starts with king Medinimalla who was a scion of the Kāśirāja family. His son was Arjunadeva who became ruler of Bundelkhand. His son was Malakhāna, whose son was Pratāparudra (founder of the capital Orccha). His son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Virasiṁha. Virasiṁha's son was[1114] Jujhāra who is described as 'young' (yuvā in verse 23). His son was Vikramārka whose son was Narasiṁhadeva. There is no such introduction to the printed Pujāprakāśa and Narasiṁhadeva is not mentioned in the introductions to the other prakāśas. From the article of Mr. Lala Sitaram in the Calcutta Review (May and July 1924) further information can be gathered about Birsinghdeo (i. e. Virasiṁhadeva). In the article it is shown how and under what circumstances Virasiṁha killed Abul Fazal, the friend of Emperor Akbar and a great literary genius. We are told there that there is a work called Virasiṁhadeva-carita composed in Vikrama year 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) by Keśavadāsa, author of Kavipriyā and Rasikapriyā. Virasiṁha was 7th out of the eight sons of Madhu-

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1113 स्वामिन् श्रीयुतवीरसिंहनृपतेराज्ञावशादुत्सुकः
श्रीमित्रमिश्रपण्डितः प्रतिदिशं कीर्त्यानिशं मण्डितः ।
नानानिबंधवर्णनं व्यसनिनां संस्थापनां प्रीतिदं
संपाद्यव्यवहारसाधकमिमं कुर्वे प्रकाशं परम् ॥ 2nd Intro verse to व्यवहारप्रकाश (Jivananda).

1114 राज्यं प्राप जुझारसिंहनृपतिर्यस्यायतो भूपते-
स्तत्पुत्रोऽपि गुणार्णवः समजनि श्रीविक्रमार्को नृपः ।
तत्सूनुर्नरसिंहदेवनृपतिरस्तं वीरसिंहं विना
लेभे राज्यपरम्परासुखमिदं मन्ये महेन्द्रोऽपि किम् ॥ verse 27 of आह्निकप्रकाश.
The colophon at the end of the first part of व्यवहारप्रकाश is इति श्रीमत्सकलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमञ्जरीनीराजितचरणकमलश्रीमहाराजाधिराजप्रतापरुद्रतनूज-श्रीमन्महाराजमधुकरसाहसूनु-श्रीमहाराजाधिराजचतुरुदधिवलयवसुन्धराहृदयपुण्डरीकविकासदिनकरश्रीवीरसिंहदेवोद्योजित-श्रीहंसपण्डितात्मज-श्रीपरशुराममिश्रसूनुसकलविद्यापारावारपारीणधुरीणजगद्दारिद्र्यमहागजपारीन्द्रविद्वज्जनजीवातु-श्रीमन्मित्रमिश्रकृते वीरमित्रोदयाभिधनिबन्धे व्यवहारप्रकाशे &c.

Vide Pogson's 'History of the Boondelas' pp. 10-11 for Arjunadeva and his descendants.

karasāha. Not only was he a soldier, but he was a great builder. He built the palace forts of Orchha and Datia, the temple of Keśavadeva at Mathurā, several lakes called Birasāgara, Siṁhasāgara and Deosāgara (after the three parts of his own name). He is said to have ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627 A. D. From the introduction to[1115] the commentary on Yājñavalkya it appears that Virasiṁha commanded Mitramiśra to write it and that a learned man Sadānanda, the ornament of Tirabhukti (Tirhoot), was also connected with its composition. It will be seen that the title Vīramitrodaya very cleverly suggests that Mitramiśra wrote it under the patronage of Vīrasiṁhadeva. The title may mean ' the rise of Vira and Mitra ' or ' the rise of the friend of Vīra ' or ' the rise of the sun, viz. Vīra '.

The time when Mitramiśra flourished can be easily settled on account of his relations with Vīrasiṁhadeva. In his Āhnikaprakāśa he mentions the great-grand-son of Vīrasiṁha. Therefore that section must have been written when Vīrasiṁha was advanced in age. Vīrasiṁha ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627. Hence the literary activity of Mitramiśra must be placed in the first quarter of the 17th century. This date agrees with the fact that he names Vācaspati and Raghunandana. We thus see that Mitramiśra was almost a contemporary of Kamalākarabhatta and Nīlakaṇṭha. The two latter do not refer to him nor does Mitramiśra name them.

In the Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī of Anantāśrama[1116] of Punyastambha (Puntāmbe) on the Godāvarī, a commentary on the Rasamañjarī of Bhānudatta, the author gives a pedigree of his patron. He describes the Kāśirāja family at Benares, in which was born Pratāparudra whose son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Vīrasiṁhadeva. Ananta wrote the commentary for Candrabhānu, a son of Vīrasiṁhadeva, in 1635 A. D. This corroborates the dates above given by Mr. Lala Sitaram. Therefore it is almost beyond doubt that the literary activity of Mitra-miśra lies between 1610 and 1640 A. D.

1115 I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 ' विस्तं मत्वाप्यसारं विनगदृविरलं याज्ञवल्क्योक्तिमुक्त्वा वारं स्मृत्यर्थसारं रचयितुमथ स प्राहिणोन्मित्रमिश्रम् । उत्तंसस्तीरभुक्तेरखिलबुधगुरुः श्री-सदानन्दधीमान् श्रीमाज्ञो मित्रमिश्राज्जगदुपकृतये विशदादेशदीपम् ॥ ज्ञानानां दैन्य-दोषापहमकृतिमयं याज्ञवल्क्योक्तिकोशाद् दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्यर्थसारं समचिनुत यशो धर्मलक्ष्मी-विहारम् । verses 15 and 16.

1116 Vide I. O. cat. p. 356 No. 1224.

109. Anantadeva

Anantadeva compiled a vast digest called Smṛtikaustubha divided into several sections on saṁskāra, ācāra, rājadharma, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, tithi and saṁvatsara. The section on saṁskāras and that on rājadharma are also called Saṁskāra-kaustubha and Rājadharma-kaustubha. Each Kaustubha is subdivided into parts called didhiti. The Saṁskāra-kaustubha is the most popular and most well-known work of his. It has been printed several times, the best editions being that of the Nirṇayasāgara Press (1913) and that issued at Baroda (1914) under the patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwad (with a Marathi translation by Sastri Venkatacarya Upadhyaya). I have used the latter. The Saṁskara-kaustubha is recognised as an authoritative work by the highest court for India.[1117] The following is a very brief summary of the contents :-

The sixteen saṁskaras, the first being garbhadhana, the astrological aspects of the first appearance of menses and the various propitiatory rites therefor ; the proper times for garbhadhana and the several rites connected therewith ; puṇyahavacana, nāndiśraddha, matṛkapujana ; narayaṇabali and nagabali ; pañcagavya, kṛcchra and other prayaścittas ; candrayaṇavrata ; adoption, who is entitled to adopt, who can be adopted, rites of adoption, *gotra* and *sapiṇḍya* of the adopted son, mourning to be observed by the adopted, succession of the adopted ; putrakameṣṭi ; puṁsavana ; anavalobhana ; simantonnayana ; rites on the birth of a child or son ; impurity on birth ; propitiatory rites for evil aspects at birth; nāmakaraṇa; niṣkramaṇa ; annaprasana ; piercing the ear ; celebration of birth day ; caula ; upanayana, proper times for it, the necessary materials for it, the *gayatri*, the vows of a brahmacarin; samāvartana; marriage, sapiṇḍya for it, *gotras* and *pravaras*, proper times for marriage, forms of marriage, vāg-niścaya, simāntapujana, madhuparka, kanyādana, vivāhahoma, saptapadi, homa on the entrance of the married couple etc.

The portion of the Saṁskāra-kaustubha on the subject of adoption is frequently cited separately as Dattakadidhiti and is so entered in the catalogues of mss. It is a treatise of great importance and deserves to be studied along with the Dattakamimāṁsā, the Vyava-

1117 *Vide Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438 ; *Sakharam v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361.

hāramayūkha and other similar works. The more important of his views are set out below. Like the Dattakamīmāṁsā he recommends that the nephew is the most suitable for adoption, then one may select any *sagotra, sapiṇḍa,* then an *asagotra sapiṇḍa,* then a *sagotra* but *asapiṇḍa,* then any one of the same caste though not *sagotra,* but a daughter's or sister's son cannot be adopted nor can a brother, a paternal or maternal uncle be adopted. A Śūdra may adopt a daughter's or sister's son. The person to be adopted must not be an only son or the eldest. A wife can adopt with the consent of her husband and a widow does not require the express permission of her husband. The boy to be adopted may be below five or above five and may be taken before or after the *cūḍā* ceremony is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva refers to the[1118] view of some that the verses of the Kālikāpurāṇa on this subject are not found in several mss. and so are unauthoritative and tells us that others hold that the whole passage refers to the adoption of an *asagotra* boy. Anantadeva himself holds, like the Vyavahāramayūkha, that even an *asagotra* boy may be adopted after his upanayana is performed in the natural family. When the ceremony of *caula* and the rest are performed in the family of the adopter, the adopted boy belongs to the *gotra* of the adopter, but where the *upanayana* alone is performed in the adoptive family or the adoption is made after *upanayana* the boy belongs to both *gotras.* But this holds good only as regards obeisance, śrāddha etc. while for marriage every adopted boy has to avoid the *gotra* and *pravara* of both families. If a natural son be born to the adopter after he takes a boy in adoption, the adopted boy becomes an equal sharer with the *aurasa,* if all the saṁskāras up to *upanayana* are performed by the adoptive father for the adopted boy, or he takes only a

1118 एषां वचसां बहुषु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकेष्वदर्शनान्निर्मूलत्वादिति केचित् । अन्ये तु समूलत्वेपि आद्यश्लोकत्रयस्यासगोत्रदत्तकविषयत्वात्तत्प्रायपठितत्वेनान्त्यश्लोकस्यापि तद्विषयत्वमेवोचितम् । अतः सगोत्रस्य दत्तकस्य नायं नियम इति परिणीतोपि दत्तको भवेदित्याहुः । वस्तुतस्तु नासगोत्रेप्युपनयनान्तसंस्कारोत्तरं दत्तकत्वसामान्यनिषेधः कर्तुं शक्यः पुराणवचोभिर्वैदिकलिङ्गविरुद्धस्मृतिवचसां प्रामाण्यासंभवस्य बलाबलाधिकरणवार्तिकराणकसिद्धत्वात् । संस्कारकौस्तुभ pp. 169-170 ; compare व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 for remarks on the कालिकापुराण passage. The निर्णयसिंधु appears to regard the कालिकापुराण verses as genuine and holds on their strength that the adoption of a boy after *upanayana* is prohibited.

fourth share if only some of the saṁskāras ending with *upanayana* are performed by the adopter and he gets no inheritance but only provision for marriage if he was adopted after upanayana is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva, disagreeing with Nīlakaṇṭha, holds that a girl may be adopted.[1119]

Like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha, Anantadeva in the Saṁskārakaustubha and elsewhere names several hundred authors and works. It is not necessary to set out the whole lot. His authorities are practically the same as those of the former. He principally relies among *nibandhas* upon the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, Hemādri, Mādhava, Madanaratna, Madanapārijāta. The Smṛtikaustubha was divided into several *dīdhitis* (rays, parts). In the Smṛtikaustubha published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press it is expressly stated that the *tithidīdhiti* has been already[1120] expounded. At the end also it is said that the work is only the complete *abdadīdhiti* (i. e. portion dealing with saṁvatsaras of five kinds). The year is said to be of five kinds, cāndra, saura, sāvana, bārhaspatya and nākṣatra. The printed work treats of the several rites, observances, festivals and *vratas* on the important *tithis* of the twelve months of the cāndra year with the intercalary month and observances thereof, the rites proper to saura year and saṁkrāntis (the sun's passage from one sign into another), the rites of the *sāvana* year, the rules about rites when Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the rites of the nākṣatra year, the actions forbidden and allowed in Kali age according to Anantadeva and discussion of the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and the Madanapārijāta thereon.

The Rājadharmakaustubha[1121] was divided into several parts (dīdhitis). The first deals with the characteristics and defects of

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1119 दत्तकपुत्र्या अपि स्वीकार उक्तविधिना कार्यः । वक्ष्यामि पुत्रसंग्रहमित्यादिगतपुत्रस्य पुमान् पुत्र इत्यादिवैदिकप्रयोगमूलकेन वृत्तिकृदुक्तन्यायेन पुत्रीसाधारण्यात् । दानप्रतिग्रहविधिषु उद्देश्यविशेषपुंस्त्वाविवक्षायाश्च । इतिहासपुराणेषु कुन्त्या दत्तकत्वोक्तेश्च । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 188 ; contrast व्यवहारमयूख p. 108 ' दत्तकश्च पुमानेव भवति न कन्या &c. ' (my edition, Poona).

1120 तिथिदीधितिरुक्ता प्राग्वक्ष्यामोऽब्दौघदीधितिम् । अब्दभेदाद्वदाम्येनां माधवोक्त्यनुसारतः ॥ Intro. verse 20 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

1121 Vide Mitra's Bik. cat. p. 444 No. 955 at the end ' राज (बाज ?)बाहदुरचन्द्रभूपतेः कौस्तुभेऽत्र नृपधर्मगोचरे । दीधितिः प्रथमभाग ईदृशस्तोषकृत्सुकृतिनां व्यजायत ' ; vide also Mitra's Notices vol, I p. 196 No. 346 for the same.

kings, the qualities and characteristics of queens, ministers, *purohita*, astrologer, the rites to be performed at coronation, duties to be observed after coronation. Another portion of the same work deals with vyavahāra viz., the sabhā, the judge, the plaint, the reply, means of proof, ordeals etc.

It is unnecessary to go into details about the other treatises on prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā[1122] &c. Anantadeva also wrote several prayogas such as the Agnihotraprayoga, Cāturmāsyaprayoga. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is a ms. of a drama called Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-candrikā composed by Anantadeva in which the characters are a Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Mīmāṁsaka, Tārkika &c.

In the Smṛtikaustubha (Nirṇayasagara edition of 1909) Anantadeva gives a pedigree[1123] of his patron's family. The family claimed descent from the moon. Whether the first three kings mentioned in the Smṛtikaustubha were related as father and son is doubtful. Lakṣmaṇacandra is said to have been the son of Rudra-candra and it was he who conquered several chiefs wielding sway over the Himalayan territories.[1124] Trimallacandra, the successor

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1122 Vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 272b where there is a reference to प्रतिष्ठादीधिति 'अथ राजधर्मा उच्यन्ते तत्र राज्याभिषेकदीधित्युक्तलक्षणलक्षितो राजा प्रासादप्रतिष्ठादीधित्युक्तप्रकारेण दुर्गगृहनिर्माणं भद्रासनं च निर्माय ... व्यवहारा निरू-प्यन्ते ।'; vide also Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 21 No. 556 for the same.

1123 The pedigree is as follows :—

ज्ञानचन्द्र
|
कल्याणचन्द्र
|
रुद्रचन्द्र
|
लक्ष्मणचन्द्र (son)
|
त्रिमल्लचन्द्र
|
नीलचन्द्र
|
बाजबाहदुर

1124 तेनानेकहिमाचलस्थनृपतीन् दुष्टान्विजित्य स्वके
राज्ये वृद्धिरकारि तुष्टिरमिना बाधाऽयि विद्वद्धृदि ॥ verse 5.

(and probably the son) of Lakṣmaṇacandra, is praised for his continual liberality to the learned men of Benares.[1125] It was at the command of Baz Bahadurcandra and for pleasing him that Anantadeva compiled his Smṛtikaustubha.[1126] At the end Anantadeva tells us that Baz Bahadurcandra conquered several mountain forts in the Himālayas.[1127] After giving a pedigree of his patrons' family Anantadeva gives some information about himself. He was a descendant of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha whom he describes as endowed with Vedic sacrifices and as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.[1128] That this Ekanātha is the same as the great Maratha saint is vouchsafed by Kāśīnātha, author of Dharmasindhu, in another work of his.[1129] Anantadeva was the great-great-grand-son of Ekanātha and he was the grandson of Ananta and son of Āpadeva, the author of the Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa *alias* Āpadevī-.

1125 काशीस्थ विद्वद्भ्यो धनराशीनदात्सदा ॥ verse 6.

1126 तस्यात्मजं वैदिकशास्त्रविज्ञं सन्तोसकृत्प्राहुरनन्तदेवम् ।
बाजाहुराख्यो वचसा विधेयं निबन्धसारोद्धरणं त्वयेति ॥
अनन्तदेवेन तदाज्ञयाथो मुदे हरेः पूर्वनिबन्धरूपम् ।
क्षीराम्बुधिं बुद्धिगुणैर्मथित्वा प्रकाश्यतेयं स्मृतिकौस्तुभः कौ ॥ verses 17–18.

1127 येनार्जितानि युधि सर्वरिपून् विजित्य दुर्गाणि दुर्ग्रहतराणि धनैर्युतानि । श्रीबाजबाहदुरचन्द्रनृपस्य तस्य वाचा हिमाचलगतावनिदेवतुष्ट्यै ॥ योनन्तदेवकृतमन्थनसन्निबन्धक्षीराब्धिजोथ सततं हरिणा धृतो यः । नित्यं निजे हृदि सतां प्रमुदेस्तु तस्य सर्वाब्द-दीधितिरियं स्मृतिभास्करस्य ॥ verses 2 and 3.

1128 आसीद्गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः । श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥ verse 13 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

The pedigree of अनन्तदेव is

एकनाथ
|
आपदेव
|
अनन्त
|
आपदेव
|
अनन्तदेव — जीवदेव

1129 Vide his विठ्ठलऋङ्मन्त्रसारभाष्य folio 37 a (D. C. ms. No, 100 of 1869-70).

Mīmāṁsā lore seems to have been a hereditary endowment in the family as in the case of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. In all his works, particularly in the Saṁskārakaustubha, Anantadeva applies at every step the maxims and doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā for the decision of doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra. Anantadeva had a younger brother Jīvadeva whose Gotrapravaranirṇaya he draws upon in the Saṁskārakaustubha while dealing with sāpiṇḍya for marriage.[1130] Bhandarkar notices an Āśaucanirṇaya of Jīvadeva in which the Nirṇayasindhu is cited as an authority.[1131]

West and Bühler in their digest[1132] thought that Anantadeva flourished about the same time as the author of the Nirṇayasindhu. But this requires some correction. Baz Bahadur, the patron of Anantadeva, seems to have been a scion of the Candra (or Chand) family and ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A. D. It is said in the Imperial Gazetteer[1133] that the first of the Chandrarājas was Somachand who hailed from Jhūsi near Allahabad and came to the Himalayan regions in the 10th century and that in 1563 the capital was transferred to Almora by Kalyancand, whose son Rudracandra was a contemporary of Akbar and made his obeisance to the latter in 1587 A. D. at Lahore. The Smṛtikaustubha does mention the ancestors Kalyanacandra and Rudracandra of Baz Bahadur. Between Baz Bahadur and Rudracandra there are three names. Supposing that they are the three direct ascendants of Baz Bahadur and allowing a period of 25 years for each after Rudracandra's known date of 1587 A. D., we get the year 1662 A. D. for Baz Bahadur. We are told in the Gazetteer that in 1672 Baz Bahadur introduced a poll tax, the proceeds of which he remitted to Delhi as tribute. Therefore Anantadeva must have been patronised by Baz Bahadur between 1645 and 1675 A. D. A greater approximation can be made in another way. The saint Ekanātha finished his Marathi Bhāgavata at Benares in śake 1495 and 1630 of the Vikrama era on Kārtika full-moon day (i. e. 9th November

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1130 अथ गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयो मदनुजजीवदेवकृत एवास्मिन्नवसरे प्रदर्श्यते । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 687.

1131 Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 58 (for जीवदेव).

1132 Vide Digest p. 24 (3rd ed.) and p. 25 (4th ed.).

1133 Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India vol. XVIII. p. 324 and vol. V. p. 245.

1573) as he himself tells us.[1134] Anantadeva was the fourth in descent from him (exclusive of Ekanātha). Counting 25 years for each of the four generations, Anantadeva should have been a grown up man in 1673 A. D. There are controversies about the dates of the birth and death of Ekanātha, the commonly accepted dates being śake 1450-1521 (b. 1528-d. 1600 A. D.).[1135] The date of his death is *śake* 1521 Fālguna dark half 6th day (25th February 1600). Others give 1548-1599 A.D. as the dates. Whichever date is correct, the literary activity of Anantadeva must be assigned to the third quarter of the 17th century. This date is confirmed by the fact that in the Āśaucanirṇaya of Jīvadeva, younger brother of Anantadeva, the Nirṇayasindhu composed in 1611-12 A. D. is cited as an authority.

110. Nāgojibhaṭṭa

The learning of Nāgojibhaṭṭa was of an encyclopaedic character. Though his special *forte* was Vyākaraṇa (grammar) he wrote standard works also on poetics, dharmaśāstra, yoga and other śāstras. The total number of his works is about thirty. On dharmaśāstra he composed several works, viz. Ācārenduśekhara, Āśaucanirṇaya, Tithinduśekhara, Tīrthenduśekhara, Prāyaścittenduśekhara or Prāyaścittasārasaṁgraha, Śrāddhenduśekhara, Sapiṇḍīmañjarī and Sāpiṇḍyadīpikā or Sāpiṇḍyanirṇaya. Of his far-famed works on the Pāninean system, such as the Mahābhāṣya-pradīpoddyota, the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā (in large and small recensions), the Subdenduśekhara (big and small) and of his

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1434 वाराणसी महामुक्तिक्षेत्र । विक्रमशक वृषसंवत्सर ।
शके सोळाशें तिसोत्तर । टीका एकाकार जनार्दनरूपा ॥
महामंगळ कार्तिकमासीं । शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णिमेसी ।
सोमवार शिवयोगेंसी । टीका एकादशी समाप्त झाली ॥
स्वदेशींचा शक संवत्सर । दण्डकारण्य श्रीरामक्षेत्र ।
प्रतिष्ठान गोदावरीतीर । येथील उच्चार तो ऐका ।
शालिवाहनशक वैभव । संख्या चौदाशें पंचाण्णव ।
श्रीमुख संवत्सराचें नांव । टीका अपूर्व तें जाहली ॥
verses 552-555 of the last अध्याय (Nirṇayasāgara edition).

1135 Vide Mr. Bhave's महाराष्ट्रसारस्वत ed. of *śake* 1846 part 1 p. 245 and Mr. L. R. Pangarkar's life of Ekanath (Marathi) chap. II (ed. of 1911).

commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa, the Kuvalayānanda, the Rasagaṅgādhara, the Rasataraṅgiṇī, the Rasamañjarī, nothing can be said here for want of space.

For his Prāyaścittenduśekhara, *vide* Mitra's Notices vol. V, p. 23 No. 1735, where detailed contents are given ; for the Śrāddhenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. extract No. 360 p. 139, for the Tīrthenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. p. 120, extract No. 312.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Satī and was a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kāla (Kāḷe). At the beginning and end of several works of his (such as the Rasagaṅgādhara-marmaprakāśa, the Mañjūṣā) he tells us that he was patronised by Rāma of the Bisena family,[1136] the ruler of a city named Śṛṅgavera (which seems to be on the Ganges above Allahabad). He was the pupil of Haridīkṣita,[1137] son of Vīreśvara and pupil of Rāmāśrama and grandson of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita.[1138] Tradition says that he composed the grammatical work Śabdaratna and ascribed it to his teacher Haridīkṣita in gratitude. In the[1139] commentary on the Prauḍhamanoramā Haridīkṣita refers to the Śabdaratna as his own work and to the Śabdenduśekhara as that of his pupil.

Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita was a pupil of the Mīmāṁsaka Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and of Śeṣa Śrīkṛṣṇa and almost a contemporary of Jagnnāthapaṇḍita. Bhaṭṭoji's pupil Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla wrote a work in saṁvat 1663 (Dr. Belvalkar in ' Systems of Sanskrit Grammar ', p. 47). Therefore he flourished in the first half of the 17th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji's grandson. Therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa must have flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa's literary activities, looking

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1136 याचकानां कल्पतरोररिकक्षहुताशनात् । नागेशः शृङ्गवेरपुरागमतो लब्धजीविकः ॥ रसगङ्गाधरमर्मप्रकाश.

1137 अधीत्य फणिभाष्याब्धिं सुधीन्द्रहरिदीक्षितात् । at the end of the मञ्जूषा.

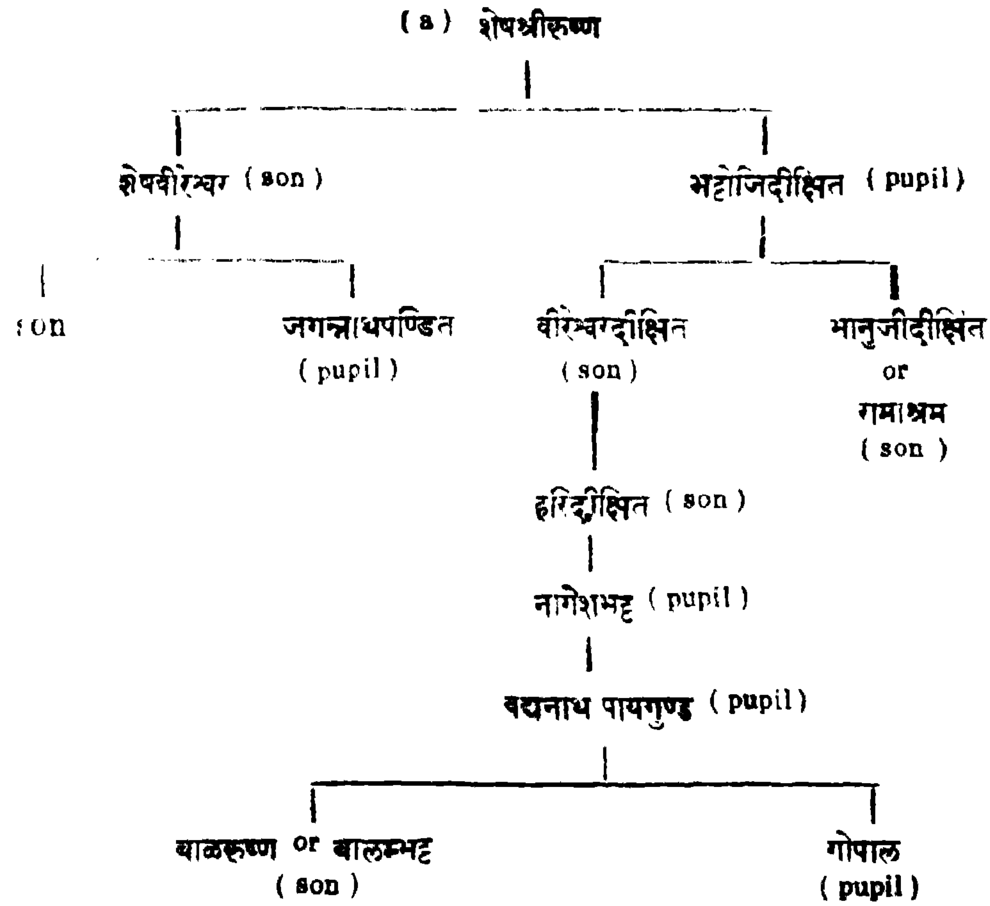
1138 गूढोक्तिग्रथितां पितामहकृतां विद्वत्प्रमोदप्रदां भक्त्याधीत्य मनोरमां निरुपमाद्रामाश्रमात्सद्गुरोः । तत्त्वाज्ञानवशात्परेण कलितान्दोषान् समुन्मूलयन् व्याचष्टे हरिरेष तां फणिमतान्यालोच्य वैरेश्वरिः ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to the शब्दरत्न, I. O. cat. p. 174 Nos. 651-52.

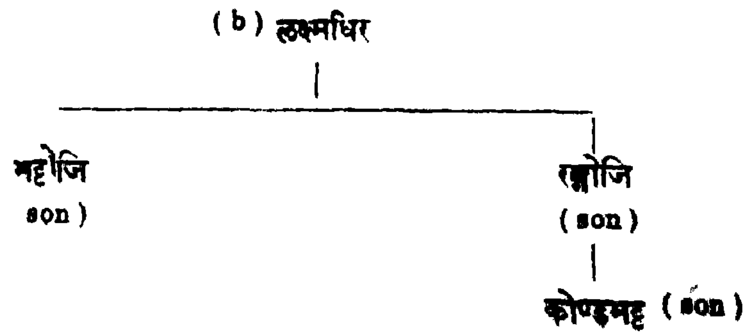
1139 विस्तरस्तु अस्मत्कृते शब्दरत्ने मदन्तेवासिकृतशब्देन्दुशेखरादौ च द्रष्टव्यः । at end of D. C. ms. No. 520 of 1886-1892 and Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4913 (1st verse).

to his vast out-put, must have extended over a long period of more than 50 years. The pedigree[1140] from Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, through a succession of teacher and pupils or father and son, is given below. *Vide* introduction to the Rasagaṅgādhara (Nirn. ed); Trivedi's introduction pp. 18–20 to the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣana of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji (B. S. series) ; Dr. Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit grammar pp. 46–50 and Kielhorn's preface to the Paribhāṣenduśekhara p. xxv (where the succession of teacher and pupil is brought down to the days of Kielhorn himself) for further details. In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 41 p. 247, Mr. S. P. V. Ranganātha

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1140 The pedigrees are :—





Svāmi makes Bhaṭṭoji a pupil of Śeṣa Vīreśvara and not of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the passage of the Manoramākucamardana, if properly interpreted, makes it clear that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and not of Vīreśvara.[1141] A ms. of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's commentary on the Rasamañjarī is dated *saṁvat* 1769, Māgha 7th bright half, Wednesday, i. e. 21st January 1713 A. D. (vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 365). It is not unlikely that Nāgojibhaṭṭa first composed his commentaries on the comparatively easy śāstra of poetics and that he then worked upon Dharmaśāstra and Vyākaraṇa. The edition of the Rasagaṅgādhara in the Kāvyamālā series says that there is a tradition that Nāgoji was invited by king Savai Jaising of Jaipur to a horse-sacrifice in 1714 A. D., but that Nāgoji declined on the ground of *Kṣetra-saṁnyāsa*. Therefore his literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A. D. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri says (Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 12) that Nāgoji died about 1775. But this appears rather improbable. If one of his works was copied in 1713 A. D. he could hardly have lived up to 1775, unless he was about 100 years old at that time.

111. Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālambhaṭṭa

The Lakṣmīvyākhyāna *alias* the Bālambhaṭṭī is a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, ascribed to a lady named Lakṣmīdevī. The commentary is a voluminous one and displays uneven workmanship. The commentary on the ācāra section of the Mitākṣarā is the most learned part of the whole book and is almost an

1141 इह केचित् ... शेषवंशावतंसानां श्रीकृष्णपण्डितानां चिरयार्चितयोः पादुकयोः प्रसादासादितशब्दानुशासनाः तेषु च पारमेश्वरं पदं प्रयातेषु ... तत्रभवद्भिरुल्लासितं प्रक्रियाप्रकाशमाशयानवबोधनिबन्धनैर्दूषणैः स्वयं निर्मितायां मनोरमायामाकुल्यकार्षुः । सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकृतां पौत्रैः ... अस्मद्गुरुपण्डितवीरेश्वराणां तनयैर्दूषितापि स्वमतिपरीक्षार्थं पुनरस्माभिर्निरीक्ष्यते ॥ p. 3 of the Intro. to the रसगङ्गाधर. If पादुका means 'pupil' here as Mr. Ranganath Svami contends (Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 251), why should the dual be necessary or be used and not the singular or plural? The प्रक्रियाप्रकाश is a com. on the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Vide Journal of Oriental Research vol. III, part 2, p. 146 where it is said that Jagannātha was a pupil of वीरेश्वर, son of शेषकृष्ण, who lived under the partronage of Giridhārī, son of Toḍarmal and that Bhaṭṭoji was pupil of शेषकृष्ण and later of अप्पयदीक्षित.

independent work. The ācāra portion has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. The vyavahāra portion of the Bālambhaṭṭī was published by Mr. S. S. Setlur, Advocate, Bombay in 1911 and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (1914). This portion of the commentary explains the Mitākṣarā word by word and also engages in lengthy discussions on important topics. The portion of the commentary on the prāyaścitta section has not yet been published ; but Mr. Govinda Das who examined it (vide Mr. Gharpure's edition of the ācāra portion, p. 27 at end) reports that it is meagre as compared with the preceding sections. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used.

In the Bālambhaṭṭī the author quotes by name a host of writers and works. As the Bālambhaṭṭī is almost the latest work on Dharmaśāstra worth special mention in this work, no useful chronological purpose will be served by giving the names of all such writers and works. It may however be stated that he names the Nirṇayasindhu, the Vīramitrodaya, the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Saṁskārakaustubha, Siddheśvarabhaṭṭa the nephew of Nīlakaṇṭha, Khaṇḍadeva the author of Bhāṭṭadīpikā on the Mīmāṁsāsūtra, the Kāyasthadharmapradīpa of Gāgābhaṭṭa and the author's father's commentary thereon.

Of the Bālambhaṭṭī ascribed to Lakṣmīdevī, West and Bühler say 'she generally advocates latitudinarian views and gives the widest interpretation possible to every term of Yājñavalkya. Her opinions are held in comparatively small esteem and are hardly ever brought forward by the *śāstris*, if unsupported by other authorities'.[1142] For example, in the Bālambhaṭṭī the word 'bhrātaraḥ', occurring in Yājñavalkya's verses laying down the order of succession to a man dying without male issue, is interpreted as including sisters and the author says that sisters succeed immediately after brothers.[1143] This dictum of Bālambhaṭṭa taken along with the words of the Vyavahāramayūkha seems to have influenced their Lordships of the Privy Council in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai* on the question of the rights of the sister as an

1142 Digest of Hindu Law, 3rd ed. p. 17.

1143 'भ्रातृपुत्रो इत्येकशेषेण प्रागुक्तसिद्धान्तरीत्या पूर्वं भ्राता तदभावे स्वसा।' बालम्भट्टी p. 209 (Gharpure) on याज्ञ. II. 135 ; 'तत्पुत्रा इति भ्रातुः पुत्राः कन्याश्च स्वसुः पुत्राः कन्याश्चेत्यर्थः' p. 210.

heir.[1144] In *Sakharam v. Sitabai*[1145] Sir Michael Westropp C. J. went so far as to say on the construction of the term 'brethren' in the Mitākṣarā as including sisters, which construction was adopted in that case (in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai*) both by the Supreme Court and the Privy Council, "we must treat the Mitākṣarā also as preferring sisters to half brothers, whom it brings in after brothers." But this was a mere *obiter dictum*, since the case in which these observations were made was governed by the law of the Vyavahāramayūkha which expressly prefers full sisters to half brothers. It has been laid down in several cases in Bombay[1146] that Bālambhaṭṭa's doctrine that the word 'brothers' includes 'sisters' has not been accepted in that Presidency and that Sir Michael Westropp was under a misapprehension as to the exact drift of the Bālambhaṭṭi which nowhere says that the term 'brothers' excludes half brothers and which does not bring in the full sister before the half brother, but expressly says that the full brother inherits first, then the half brother and then comes the sister. The Bālambhaṭṭi not only brings in the sisters after full and half brothers, but places the sons and daughters of sisters after the sons and daughters of brother's, full or half. This is in direct conflict with the order of succession expressly mentioned by the Mitākṣarā and the Bombay High Court has refused to give the sister's son the place which the Bālambhaṭṭi assigns to him and treats him as a mere *bandhu*.[1147] The Bālambhaṭṭi is regarded as of little authority in the interpretation of the Mitākṣarā in the Bombay Presidency and its interpretations cannot be accepted without due caution and examination.[1148] Even in the Benares[1149] School where the Bālambhaṭṭi has been accepted as one of the leading authorities, the authority of Bālambhaṭṭa has been held to be inferior to that of Nandapaṇḍita in matters of adoption, it being held that a widow cannot adopt in the Benares School without express authority from her husband (while Bālambhaṭṭa holds that she can adopt without such authority). Similarly it has

1144 9 Moo. I. A. 516 = 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at pp. 122-123; *vide* also *Sakharam v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at pp. 360 and 363.

1145 I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363.

1146 *Vide Mulji v. Cursandas Natha* 24 Bom, 563 at p. 579 and *Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 305.

1147 *Vide Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 312.

1148 *Vide Dattatraya v. Gangabai* I. L. R. 46 Bom. 557 at p. 558.

1149 Vide *Tulshi Ram v. Behari Lal* I. L. R. 12 All. 328 at p. 368 (F. B.).

been held that the Bālambhaṭṭī cannot prevail over the views of the Vīramitrodaya and that a daughter-in-law is not in the line of heirs at all though the Bālambhaṭṭī says that she is so.[1150]

The author of the Bālambhaṭṭī is somewhat of an enigma. Such women as Śīlā, Vijjā, Avanti-sundarī have been worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of Poetry. A lady has been associated with the composition of a work on Mathematics, viz. the Līlāvatī. Inspiration for several works on Dharmaśāstra was, we know, derived from queens and princesses, as in the case of the Vivādacandra compiled by Queen Lakṣmīdevī through Misarumiśra, the Dānavākyāvali compiled by Mahādevī Dhīramatī of Mithilā through Vidyāpati, the Dvaitanirṇaya composed by Vācaspati at the bidding of queen Jayā, wife of king Bhairavendra. It gives one great pleasure to contemplate that at least one work on Dharmaśāstra, the Bālambhaṭṭī, is claimed by a lady as her own. But this pleasure receives a rude shock if the question of the authorship of the Bālambhaṭṭī is dispassionately considered. The introductory verses no doubt start by saying that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, and the daughter of Mahādeva of the Mudgala *gotra* and surnamed Kheraḍā, composed the work, her maiden name being Umā.[1151] The colophon at the end of the ācāra portion says that the work was composed by Lakṣmī, the daughter of Mahādeva and Umā, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa and the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa.[1152] At the end of the vyavahāra section in the printed editions we have the words 'mother of Lālākṛṣṇa' but this is obviously a mis-reading of the mss. or a mistake of the copyists. The pretence that the work was composed by a lady is made extremely plausible by

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1150 I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324 ; *vide* also I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at pp. 376-77 (about brother's widow).

1151 श्रीलक्ष्मीरमणं नत्वा लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीं शिशुप्रसूः । खेरडामुद्गलापत्यगणेशापत्यकृष्णकः । महादेवः सुतस्तस्य वेदमूर्तिर्जटान्तवित् । श्रौतस्मार्तार्थनिपुणो दीक्षितो राजपूजितः ॥ पत्नी तस्य ह्युमारूपा साप्युमा तस्य कन्यका । पायगुण्डोपाख्यवैद्यनाथपत्नी पतिव्रता । मिताक्षराया विवृतिं तनुते सर्वसंविदे ॥ बालम्भट्टी, Intro. verses of आचारकाण्ड.

1152 इति श्रीमन्मिताक्षराव्याख्याने महादेवभट्टात्मजोमाङ्गजवैद्यनाथार्धाङ्गभूतबालकजननी-पायगुण्ड इत्युपाख्यश्रीलक्ष्मीदेवीविरचिते लक्ष्म्याभिधे आचारप्रकरणम् ।. Vide for an identical colophon at the end of the व्यवहार section, I. O. cat. p. 369-370 No. 1282 and Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 262 b.

the frantic efforts made in it for the rights of women in matters of inheritance. But this pretence is not kept up in the body of the work at all. In several places the author of the Bālambhaṭṭī refers to the Mañjūṣā and other works of his *guru* and to works of his father.[1153] We know that Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa was a pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa,[1154] who composed several Mañjūṣās (on grammar) and a work on prāyaścitta. Therefore it follows either that the Bālambhaṭṭī was composed by Vaidyanātha himself and ascribed to his wife or that the work was composed by Bālakṛṣṇa *alias* Bālambhaṭṭa, son of Vaidyanātha, and was ascribed to his mother. Nāgojibhaṭṭa who certainly attained a very advanced age was the *guru* of Vaidyanātha as well as of the latter's son Bālakṛṣṇa. That Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa was a learned man like his father Vaidyanātha follows from several circumstances. He wrote a work called Upākṛtitattva.[1155] Gopāla *alias* Manudeva, in his commentary called Laghubhūṣanakānti on the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣanasāra, styles Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa his *guru*.[1156] Looking to the colophons where Lakṣmī is referred to as the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa and to the fact that the work is known as Bālambhaṭṭī, we must conclude that it was composed by Bālambhaṭṭa and not by his father Vaidyanātha. What motive impelled Bālambhaṭṭa to publish the work in the name of his mother it is difficult to say. Tradition

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1153 e. g. आचार० p. 448 'अत्र मनुवाक्ये नञोऽल्पार्थकत्वेन यागीयहिंसायामपि स्वल्पदोषोऽस्त्येवेति प्रतिपादितं गुरुचरणैर्मञ्जूषायाम्। विशदीकृतं चैतत् पाषण्डखण्डनेपि अश्वपशुप्रकरणेऽस्माभिरिति दिक्', p. 314 'तथा उपादिरूपक्षत्रियत्वेपि तेषां न क्षत्रियत्वं किं तु शूद्रत्वमेवेति गुरुचरणकृतव्रात्यप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णये स्पष्टम्। तत एव बोध्यम्। स्फुटीकृतं चैतत्पितृचरणैः कायस्थनिर्णये। ... तत्सर्वं गागाभट्टकृतकायस्थप्रदीपे पितृचरणकृततत्प्रदीपे च स्पष्टमिति नेह प्रपञ्च्यते।'. The first passage is not properly arranged in Mr. Gharpure's edition; vide p. 415 for व्रात्यप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय.

1154 वैद्यनाथः पायगुण्डो नत्वा नागेश्वरं गुरुम्। व्याख्यां प्रभाख्यां तनुते कौस्तुभस्य स्वबुद्धये॥. V. de I. O. cat. p. 163 No. 610 for the प्रभा, a com. on भट्टोजि's शब्दकौस्तुभ.

1155 Vide Stein's cat. p. 302 श्रीम्हालसापतिं नत्वा खण्डेरायं कपर्दिनम्। पायगुण्डो बालकृष्णः प्राह तत्त्वमुपाकृतौ॥

1156 बालम्भट्टाभिधं पायगुण्डोपाख्यं परं गुरुम्। गोपालदेवनामासौ पण्डितो बालबुद्धये॥ कृष्णदेवानुजो लोके मनुदेवापराभिधः। I. O. cat p. 189 No. 717.

says that he did so to console Lakṣmīdevī in her bereavement on the death of a child. Vaidyanātha composed several commentaries on grammatical works such as on the Mahābhāṣyapradīpoddyota of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, on the Paribhāṣenduśekhara (com. called Kāśikā and Gadā), on the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjūṣā (com. called Kalā), on the Laghuśabdenduśekhara (com. Cidasthimālā), on the Laghu-śabdaratna (com. Bhāvaprakāśa). Mr. Govinda Das (p. 27 in Mr. Gharpure's edition of ācāra portion) says that these works were really composed by Bālambhaṭṭa and ascribed to his father. In these grammatical works the names of Vaidyanātha's parents are given as Mahādeva and Veṇī.

The I. O. cat. (pp. 458–59, No. 1507) notices an incomplete work called Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha compiled by Bālaśarman Pāyaguṇḍa, son of Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī and patronised[1157] by Colebrooke. The work dealt with topics of civil law, viz. definition of vyavahāra, *sabhā*, the judge, the sabhyas, the relative strength of smṛtis etc., return of debts etc. It breaks off at folio 79. On the ms. there is a note in Colebrooke's own hand (which is not complimentary to the honesty of Bālaśarman) dated 1st may 1800 " fresh sheets were received from Bālaśarma Pāyaguṇḍa on this date. This is little else but the Vīramitrodaya revised. As it is a scarce book and very little known Bālaśarma and his pupil Manudeva did not suspect I could detect the plagiarism."

The foregoing shows that Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, that his father and mother were Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī, that his maternal grandfather was Mahadeva, also a Deccani Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kheradā, that he was the pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa and that he was a *paṇḍit* of Colebrooke. Mr. Govinda Das is not right when he identifies (p. 27) Vaidyanātha the commentator of several grammatical works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa with Vaidyanātha the author of several commentaries on Alaṅkāra works.(such as the Udāharaṇa-candrikā on the Kāvya-prakāśa and the Prabhā on the Kāvyapradīpa). The reasons are two. Vaidyanātha, author of the Udāharaṇacandrikā,

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1157 श्रीकोंपणी विजयते रणरङ्गधीरः ॥ ४ श्रीशं नत्वा श्रीनिवासी दाक्षिणात्यो निबन्धकृत् । नागेशपादनिरतो वैद्यनाथात्मजः सुधीः ॥ ५ सुमनःकुलबुरुकसाहेबाख्यजीविकः । लक्ष्मीसूनुर्भवान्यम्बो विप्रद्वयविलेखकः ॥ ६ धर्मशास्त्रिमहादेवनप्तृ (नु ?) देवसहायकः । बालशर्मा बालबुद्धिः पायगुण्डोपनामकः ॥ ७.

was the son of Rāmabhaṭṭa, son of Viṭṭhala Tatsat, while Vaidyanātha the grammarian was a son of Mahādeva and Veṇī. Besides the Udāharaṇacandrikā was composed[1158] in *saṁvat* 1740 Kārtika śuddha 8, Wednesday (i. e. 17th October 1683). We saw above that Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa was a pupil of Nāgoji, who flourished towards the end of 17th and the first half of the 18th century. If Vaidyanātha, the writer on poetics, were the same as the commentator of Nāgoji, he could not have composed a work on poetics so early as 1683 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar (Systems of Sanskrit Grammar p. 60) says 'Lakṣmīdevī, the wife of king Candrasiṁha of Mithilā, was probably his patroness in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahārakāṇḍa of the Mitākṣarā.' This throws to the winds all chronology. We saw above (pp. 399 and 404) that the Mithilā princess Lakṣmī or Lachimādevī flourished in the first half of the 15th century, while the Bālambhaṭṭī quoting as it does writers and works like Gāgābhaṭṭa and the Kaustubha could not have been composed before 1700 A.D.

Mr. Govinda Das says that a ms. of the ācārakāṇḍa of the Bālambhaṭṭī in the Benares palace library is dated *saṁvat* 1831 (i. e. 1774-75 A. D.). The I. O. cat. (pp. 458-459) notices that Bālambhaṭṭa was about 80 years old when Colebrooke entrusted the Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha to him about 1800 A. D. Besides both Bālambhaṭṭa and his father Vaidyanātha were the pupils of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The ms. of the Upākṛtitattva (Stein's Jammu cat. p. 302) is dated *saṁvat* 1848 i. e. 1791-92 A. D. and the ms. of the Laghubhūṣanakānti of Bālambhaṭṭa's pupil is dated *saṁvat* 1856 (i. e. 1799-1800 A. D.). Hence it follows that Bālambhaṭṭa must have flourished between 1730 and 1820 A. D. Mr. Govinda Das says that Bālambhaṭṭa died at the age of 90 and gives his dates as 1740 to 1830 A. D. (p. 29 of Mr. Gharpure's ācāra section of Bālambhaṭṭī at the end).

1158 Vide I. O. cat. p. 329 No. 1151 for the उदाहरणचन्द्रिका and its date वियद्वेदमुनिक्ष्माभिर्मितेऽब्दे कार्तिके सिते । बुधाष्टम्यामिमं ग्रन्थं वैद्यनाथोऽभ्यपूरयत् ॥ ; vide Stein's cat. pp. 60, 61, 62, and 80 for commentaries on the काव्यप्रदीप, कुवलयानन्द, चन्द्रालोक and the कादम्बरी by वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र.

112. Kāśinātha-Upādhyāya

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya or Bābā Pādhye composed an extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra or Dharmābdhisāra, which is popularly known as Dharmasindhu. It is now the leading work in matters of religious observances in the Deccan and has been referred to even in judicial decisions.[1159] It has been published several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1926 with Marathi translation has been used. He says that he consulted former *nibandhas* and, following the order of the subject matters in the Nirṇayasindhu, composed the work which sets forth only the established conclusions after eliminating the original smṛti texts.[1160] At the end he says that the work is not meant for learned men conversant with *mīmāṁsā* and Dharmaśāstra, but for men whose intellect is not sharp and yet who want to know the established conclusions on matters of dharma. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*, the third being the longest and split into two parts. The first deals with *kāla* in general, viz. the kinds of year, month, the saṁkrāntis, intercalary months and kṣayamāsa, what *tithis* are proper for what rites, conclusions about *tithis* from the first to the 15th and about amāvāsyā, eclipses ; the second deals with the festivals, fasts and observances of particular months from Caitra to Phālguna ; the third in the first part speaks in detail about the saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to marriage, sāpiṇḍya, gotras and pravaras, duties of brahmacārin, the daily duties from rising to going to bed, the five daily mahāyajñas, consecration of sacred fires, idols and dedication of tanks and works of public utility, kalivarjya ; the latter part of the third *pariccheda* dilates upon the details of śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, the rites after death, the duties of widows, *saṁnyāsa*.

Kāśinātha was a very learned man and a great devotee of God Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. He wrote several other works, such as the Prāyaścittenduśekhara (Bühler 3. 110), an exposition of the Vedastuti in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 87)

1159 I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 756.

1160 नत्वार्यान् वितनोमि माधवमुखान् धर्माब्धिसारं मितम् ॥ 3rd Intro verse; तस्यानन्ताभिधानस्योपाध्यायस्य सुतः कृती । काशीनाथाभिधो धर्मसिन्धुसारं समातनोत् ॥ last verse; दृष्ट्वा पूर्वनिबन्धान् निर्णयसिन्धुक्रमेण सिद्धार्थान् । प्रायेण मूलवचनान्युज्झित्वा लिखामि बालबोधाय ॥ 4th Intro. verse.

and a work called Viṭṭhala-ṛṅmantrasārabhāṣya.[1161] In the latter he takes several Ṛk verses (such as Ṛgveda I. 95. 1-11 and I. 164. 31) and explains them as applying to God Viṭṭhala.

We know a good deal about the family of Kāśīnātha Pādhye from his own works and from the biography of the great Marathi poet Moropant published by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar (ed. of 1908, chap. 16 pp. 107-119). His family hailed from Golavali, a village in the Ratnagiri District. They were Karhāḍā Brāhmaṇas and had the Joshi and Upadhye *vṛtti* of seventy-two villages in the Saṅgameśvara *taluka* of the Ratnagiri District. At the end of the Dharmasindhu he says that his grandfather was Kāśyupādhyāya who had two sons Yajñeśvara and Ananta. Ananta was a very pious man and a great devotee and left his native land Koṅkaṇa, and resided at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhīmā. The Dharmasindhu does not give the reason for Ananta's migration from Koṅkaṇa. But it is said that the Pādhyes had a dispute with another family about the *upadhye vṛtti*, took it for decision to the Peshwa's Court at Poona and were defeated, on which they cursed the Peshwa, vowed not to stay in the territories under the Peshwa's rule and migrated to Pandharpur. The Dharmasindhu was composed[1162] in *śake* 1712 i. e. 1790-1 A. D. Kāśīnātha was related to the great Marathi poet Moropant, as his daughter Āvaḍī was married to Rāmakṛṣṇa, the second son of the poet. He had great veneration for Moropant and refers to the Mantrabhāgavata of the latter.[1163]

1161 Vide D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated *śake* 1731. In this विठ्ठल is derived as 'विद् वेदनं ज्ञानं तेन ठाः शून्याः तान् लाति स्वीकरोति.'

1162 'अयनांशाः ज्योतिःशास्त्रे प्रसिद्धाः । ते चेदानीं द्वादशाधिकसप्तदशशतसंख्याके शालिवाहनशके एकविंशतिरयनांशाः इति &c.' धर्मसिन्धु p. 3.

1163 एकेनैव प्रकारेणैकस्मिन्नेव पद्ये क्रमेण वर्णोद्धारे व्यवधानेपि चमत्कारातिशयोनुभवसिद्धो नापलपितुं शक्यः । अत एव श्रीमयूरेश्वरपण्डितकवीश्वरेण मन्त्रमयभागवते मन्त्रमयरामायणे च द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्रवर्णाः श्रीरामजयरामेत्यादित्रयोदशाक्षरवर्णाश्च क्रमेणोपनिबध्य वर्णान्तरसंमिश्रणेन कथार्थं बोधयन्तो मन्त्रानुपूर्वीमपि बोधयन्तीति चमत्कारविशेषात्तादृशकाव्यरचनोपपद्यते । विठ्ठलऋङ्मन्त्रभाष्य folio 36a of D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70.

Kāśinātha became a saṁnyāsin and died in śake 1727 i. e. 1805-6 A. D.[1164]

113. Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana

After the British took over the administration of Bengal from the Nabobs, attempts were made to compile easily accessible digests of the personal law of the Hindus. The Vivādārṇavasetu[1165] compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by several *pandits* was translated into English from a Persian rendering and was published in 1774 A. D. as Halhed's Gentoo Code. But this was a very unsatisfactory work. Another attempt was made at the instance of Sir William Jones by Trivedi Sarvoruśarman who compiled in 1789 A. D. a digest of civil law called Vivādasārārṇava[1166] in nine *tarangas*. But the most famous of such digests that owed their inspiration to the British is the Vivādabhaṅgārṇava compiled by Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana of Triveṇī on the Ganges, son of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa. This digest was suggested by Sir William Jones and two parts of it on contracts and succession were translated by Cole-

1164 The pedigree is :—

मास्कर उपाध्याय or पाध्ये
|
नारो
|
अनन्त
|
काश्युपाध्याय
|
यज्ञेश्वर   अनन्त died *s'ake* 1696 = अन्नपूर्णा who became a *sati*
|
काशीनाथ alias बाबा died *s'ake* 1727   विट्ठल died about *s'ake* 1747

1165 The विवादार्णवसेतु is published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Bombay (*s'ake* 1810); *vide* also I. O. cat. p. 458.

1166 Vide I. O. cat. p. 457 for विवादसारार्णव.

brooke in 1796. The translation was first published in 1797 A. D. and is known to the legal profession as Colebrooke's Digest. This work exercised great influence over the courts in their administration of Hindu Law in the early days. The work is divided into *dvīpas*, each *dvīpa* being subdivided into *ratnas*. The principal topics dealt with are : recovery of debts, deposits, sale without ownership, partnership, rescission of gifts, non-payment of wages, rescission of sale and purchase, emancipation from slavery, disputes between master and servant, duties of man and wife, inheritance and partition. Jagannātha is said to have died at the venerable age of 111 in 1806.[1167] Though Jagannātha exercised great influence in moulding Hindu Law in Bengal, his work has been held from very early times not to have any binding authority in Western India.[1168]

114. Conclusion

In the foregoing pages most of the classical works and the most prominent writers on Dharmaśāstra during a period of about twenty five centuries have been passed in review. The number of authors and works on dharmaśāstra is legion. All these numberless authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motives of regulating the Aryan society in all matters, civil, religious and moral, and of securing for the members of that society happiness in this world and the next. They laid the greatest emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan society, as a member of the particular class to which he belonged and very little emphasis on the privileges of men. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders. They preserved Hindu culture and literature in the midst of alien cultures and in spite of bigoted foreign domination. There is no doubt that the authors on dharmaśāstra in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices of people with the dicta of ancient sages were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments, divisions and

1167 Vide 'Dawn of new India' by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee, 1927, Calcutta (pp. 81–91).

1168 Vide *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai*, 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at p. 124.

sub-divisions and also of thinking that religious rites and formularies were the be-all and end-all of human existence. But living as most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government that sympathised with their ideals, they were driven more and more to revolve within their own narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. In spite of these defects, the work done by the writers on dharmaśāstra should excite our admiration and entitles them to the regard of all those that are interested in the study of the vicissitudes of Hindu society for thousands of years.

GENERAL INDEX

N. B. In the case of several works and authors like the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, which occur almost on every page, exhaustive references are not given. Where a work or author is described as the special subject of a section or as a special topic, thick type has been used to indicate such pages.

APPENDIX A.

List of Works on Dharmaśāstra

It is necessary to say a few words about the methods followed in preparing this list of the works on dharmaśāstra. Purely śrauta works have generally been excluded, except where they have been profusely quoted or relied upon by dharmaśāstra writers. Works of the Tantra class and the Purāṇas have been passed over, inasmuch as they form in themselves independent and extensive branches of Sanskrit literature requiring an exhaustive and detailed treatment, which from considerations of space had to be abandoned here. All individual prayogas, mahātmyas, vidhis, vratas, śāntis, stotras have been omitted, except where the names of the authors are well-known or there is some importance or peculiarity attaching to them. Purely astrological works on jātaka, and tajika have not been included, but works of the muhūrta class that are closely connected with everyday religious practices have been included. Though the gṛhyasūtras and their commentaries were not dwelt upon in the body of the present work, they have been included in this list as their subject matter is closely allied to dharmaśāstra. Only works up to about 1820 A. D. have been entered here. Works on politics (arthaśāstra) have also been included. I am afraid that all the restrictions set out above have not been rigorously observed in the following and crave the indulgence of scholars in this respect. I must gratefully acknowledge, as everyone engaged in preparing a similar list on any branch of post Vedic literature must do, my indebtedness to the monumental Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht. But even that catalogue leaves many things doubtful and necessarily gives meagre information. For removing such doubts I was compelled to read and compare the original catalogues of Sanskrit mss. such as that of the India Office, the Notices of Sanskrit mss. by Dr. Mitra and and M. M. Haraprasāda. Besides the third part of Aufrecht's Catalogue was published in 1903. Since then several other catalogues, such as the Descriptive Catalogues and Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Govt. mss. Library, Notices of mss. (new

series, part III) by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Catalogue of Palmleaf and Paper mss. of Nepal Durbar Library by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri, Hultzsch's Report (part III), Catalogue of Central Provinces Sanskrit mss. by Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Catalogue of the mss. collected by the Bihar and Orissa Govt. (vol. I), have been published. Moreover I have consulted hundreds of mss. from collections like those at the Deccan College (now in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute at Poona), at the Ānandāśrama Institution (Poona), the Bhadkamkar memorial collection started by Prof. H. D. Velankar in Bombay at the Wilson College and the vast collection of the Baroda Oriental Institute. In preparing this list I give wherever possible and desirable the names of the authors and of their ancestors, the names of the works quoted by them or of the works that quote them, the age of the work (or of the mss.) their contents &c. In most cases the very name of the work indicates its subject-matter. In spite of all this many doubtful points are still left. Various circumstances tend to create confusion in preparing such lists as are offered here. The same work appears under two, three or even more names in the mss. and the catalogues. Sometimes the names of the authors and even their fathers' names are the same as in the case of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and Śaṅkara, son of Nīlakaṇṭha. Very often portions of a large work appear separately as distinct works in the Catalogues. The same author appears under several forms, as Narasiṁha and Nṛsiṁha, Nāgeśa and Nāgoji. I have made great efforts to remove such doubts as far as I could and hope that I have been able to make my own humble contributions to the work so ably done by Aufrecht and others. I do not give references to catalogues in the case of each work, nor do I give all possible references to catalogues against each entry. Only in imporant cases have I given references to catalogues. It has been my endeavour to give earlier references to works and authors wherever I could than those given by Aufrecht and to find out the age of a work or author by resort to various devices. Only a detailed comparison with Aufrecht can show this, which task I must in all humility leave to the readers who will use this list. One more feature of this list to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is that I have pointed out what works have been printed. In doing this I generally refer only to well-known series and editions like the Bombay Sanskrit series,

the Benares Sanskrit series and have not set out editions to which very few can have access. For those who want exhaustive information on this point, the catalogues of printed works in the British Museum Library which have now been brought up to 1928 will be found helpful.

Besides the abbreviations given at the beginning of this work, the following abbreviations have been employed in this list and the next.

a = author of.

Ānan. sm. = The collection of smṛtis published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

Ānan. P. = Ānandāśrama Press (Series of books).

Ano. = Anonymous.

Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford by Dr. Aufrecht (1864).

Baroda O. I. = Colletion of Mss. at the Baroda Oriental Institute.

Ben. S. Series = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Bhad. col. = Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection made by Prof. H. D. Velankar of Wilson College, Bombay.

Bik. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner by Rajendralal Mitra (1880).

B. O. cat. = Cat. of mss. collected for the Bihar and Orissa Government, vol. I.

Burnell's Tanj. Cat. = Classified Index to the Sanskrit mss. in the palace at Tanjore by Dr. A. C. Burnell (1880).

C = commentary (of a work under which this letter occurs).

CC = commentary on a commentary.

Ch. S. Series. = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

com. = commentary or commentator, according to context.

C. P. cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal (1926, Nagpur).

G. O. Series = Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

Govt. O. Series. = Government Oriental Series, Poona.

Hultzsch's R. = Reports on Sanskrit mss. in Southern India by Dr. Hultzsch, parts I-III.

Jivananda sm. = collection of smṛtis edited by Jivananda in two parts.

m. = mentioned (by or in).

Mysore G. O. L. = Mysore Government Oriental Library Series.

N. = Notices of Sanskrit mss. in Bengal vol. I-XI (vol. I-IX by Dr. R. Mitra and X-XI by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri).

N. (new series) = Notices of Sanskrit mss., new series, vol. I-III by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri.

Nir. P. = Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

pr. = printed.

q. = quotes.

Stein's cat. or Stein = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. in the Raghunath temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, by Dr. M. A. Stein (1894).

Ulwar cat. = Catalogue of mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar, by Dr. Peterson.

Venk. P. = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

W. and K. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library, vol. II (1905) by Dr. Winternitz and Prof. A. B. Keith.

अंशबलि gives propitiatory rites (Śānti) for any particular aṁśa of a man's rāśi.

अकालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश ; composed in Śake 1636 (अङ्काग्निरसक्षोणी) on intercalary months, how to calculate them and on the special duties performed in them.

अक्षमालाप्रतिष्ठा.

अखण्डादर्श by अखण्ड (?) m. in स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ. Divided into kāṇḍas on dharma and vyavahāra.

अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता-m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, in अपरार्क.

अग्निकार्य.

अग्निकार्यपद्धति.

अग्निनिर्णय by कमलाकर.

अग्निसंधानवचन on ceremonies performed to make up for omission in the daily performance of aupāsana.

अग्निस्थापन.

अग्निहोत्रकर्मन्.

अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थचन्द्रिका by वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल. About 1683 A. D.

अग्निहोत्रिदाहविधि.

अघदीपिका.

अघनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश, son of रघुनाथ and grandson of सरस्वतीवल्लभ ; names विज्ञानेश्वर, अखण्ड, स्मृत्यर्थसार, वरदराज.

C. by author.

C. called दीपिका by रामानुजयज्वन्.

C. by वैदिक सार्वभौम (this is probably the same as the author's own com.).

अघनिर्णय by वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र.

अघपञ्चाविवेचन by मथुरानाथ.

अघपञ्चषष्टि by मथुरानाथ (in 65 verses).

अघपञ्चषष्टि by वीथि (-थि- or -जि -नाथ of the कौशिकगोत्र).

C. स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्र बुध.

अघप्रकाशिका (in 11 khaṇḍas).

अघप्रदीप.

अघप्रदीपिका ascribed to याज्ञवल्क्य.

अघषाडव or दानसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 7129 C.).

अघविमोचन.

अघविवेक by नीलकण्ठदीक्षित, son of अप्पयदीक्षित अद्वैताचार्य of भारद्वाजगोत्र (in 6 प्रकरणs).

अघविवेचन by रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of भारद्वाजकुल, in two परिच्छेदs.

C. refers to मुक्ताफल.

C. by रुचिदत्त.

अघशतक.

अघषट्क.

अघसंशयतिमिरादित्यसूत्र.

अघसंग्रह.

अघसंग्रहदीपिका (Hultzsch R. I. No. 270).

अङ्कुरार्पणप्रयोग (from प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

अङ्कुरार्पणविधि (from पाञ्चरात्रागम).

,, (from शारदातिलक).

अङ्गिरस् Vide sec. 39.
C. by **कुलमणि शुक्ल**.

अचलनिबन्ध.

अणुछलारीय by **शेषाचार्य**.

अण्णादीक्षितीय by **अण्णादीक्षित**.

अतिक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्त.

अतिरुद्रशान्ति.

अतीचारनिर्णय by **महेश** (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 2, No. 3).

अतीचारनिर्णय by **भुजबलभीम** (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 3, No. 4).

अत्रि Vide sec. 19.
C. by **कृष्णनाथ**.
C. by **तकनलाल**. Later than 1686 A. D.
C. by **हरिराम**.

अद्भुतदर्पण or **अद्भुतसंग्रह** by **माधवशर्मन्** of the **बुधबाण** family, son of **रघुनाथ** and elder brother of **गोविन्द**. Based on the **अद्भुतसागर** of **बल्लालसेन**. On **दिव्य**, **नाभस** and **भौम** phenomena. Quotes **मयूरचित्र**. N (new series) vol. I, pp. 2–4.

अद्भुतविवेक by **महीधर**.

अद्भुतसागर by **बल्लालसेन** son of **विजयसेन** (printed in 1905 by Prabhakari and co, Calcutta); m. by **रघुनन्दन**, **कमलाकर**, **नीलकण्ठ**, **अनन्तदेव**; begun in 1090 Śake (1068 A.D.) and finished by **लक्ष्मणसेन**.

अद्भुतसागरसार by **चतुर्भुज**.
" by **श्रीपति**.

अद्भुतसिन्धु; quoted by **नारायण** in **शान्तितत्त्वामृत**.

अद्भुतामृत on **उत्पात**s of three kinds, **दिव्य**, **आन्तरिक्ष**, **भौम**.

अद्भुतोत्पातशान्ति of **शौनक**.

अधिकमासप्रकरण

अधिकमासनिर्णय- vide **मलमासनिर्णय**.

अधिकमासफल.

अधोमुखजननशान्ति attributed t[o] **शौनक**.

अध्यायोपाकर्मप्रयोग.

अनन्तभाष्य- m. in **समयमयूख**.

अनन्तव्रतपूजापद्धति (from the **व्रतार्क** of **शङ्कर**).

अनन्तव्रतोद्यापन.

अनन्तभट्टी or **स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति** of **अनन्तभट्टदीक्षित** son of **विश्वनाथ**, surnamed **यज्ञोपवीत**. Vide under **प्रयोगरत्न**.

अनन्ताह्निक.

अनाकुला, com. of **हरदत्त** on **आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र**. Vide sec. 86.

अनाचारनिर्णय.

अनावृष्टिशान्ति of **शौनक**.

अनुभोगकल्पतरु by **जगन्नाथ**.

अनुमरणप्रदीप by **गौरीशभट्ट**.

अनुमरणविवेक (quoted by **रघुनन्दन** in **शुद्धितत्त्व**).

अनुयागपद्धति by **आनन्दतीर्थ**, son of **जनार्दन**.

अनुयागपद्धति by **कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती**.
C. by **आर्यावर्तीन्द्र** (Baroda O. I. No. 12537).

अनुष्ठानपद्धति.
C. by **रघुनाथ**.

अनूपविलास or **धर्माम्भोधि** written under Anūpasiṁha Rāthor by **मणिराम दीक्षित**, son of **गङ्गाराम**, son of **शिवदत्त**, divided into six parts, **आचाररत्न**, **समयरत्न**, **संस्काररत्न**, **शान्ति-**

रत्न, दानरत्न, शुद्धिरत्न. Refers to Alamgir, emperor of Delhi. अनूपसिंह was contemporary of Shah Jehan. About 1660 A. D.

अनूपविवेक attributed to अनूपसिंहदेव of Bikaner. Treats of the शालग्रामपरीक्षण in five ullāsas. अनूपदेव ruled in 1673, son of कर्णसिंह (1634). Vide D. C. ms. 22 of 1902-1907 copied in śake 1691. Vide under दानरत्नाकर.

अन्तरिक्षवायुवीर्यप्रकाश.

अन्त्यकर्मदीपिका by हरिभट्ट दीक्षित.

अन्त्यकर्मपद्धति.

अन्त्यक्रियाविधि by मणिराम. Quotes शुद्धिमयूख. Later than 1640 A. D.

अन्त्येष्टि.

अन्त्येष्टिक्रियापद्धति.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by केशव, son of अनन्तभट्ट of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntāmbe on the Godāvari). Later than 1450 A. D.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by रामाचार्य.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by हरिहर son of भास्कर alias भानुभट्ट, following भारद्वाजसूत्र and the भाष्य thereon; says there are a hundred पद्धतिs following भारद्वाज, but his is quite different.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by भट्टनारायण, son of रामेश्वर; vide sec. 103.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रकाश by दिवाकर, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. N (new series) vol. III. p. 3.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशी) by केशवभट्ट from his प्रयोगमणि.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग by विश्वनाथ, based on आश्वलायन.

अन्त्येष्टिविधि by जिकन, quoted by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.

अन्त्येष्टिसामग्री.

अन्त्येत्यष्टक printed in Bombay in 1890 A. D.

अन्नदान

अन्नप्राशन.

अन्नप्राशनप्रयोग.

अन्वष्टका.

अन्वष्टकानवमीश्राद्धपद्धति.

अपमृत्युञ्जयशान्ति ascribed to शौनक.

अपिपालपद्धति (or शूद्रपद्धति) of अपिपाल m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

अपिपालकारिका m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

अपेक्षितार्थद्योतिनी, com. by नारायण; m. in मदनरत्न (शान्त्युद्द्योत).

अब्दपूर्तिप्रयोग or वर्षसिद्धि.

अब्दमूर्तिपूजा.

अब्धि by केदार (?); quoted by श्रीधर in स्मृत्यर्थसार.

अभक्ष्यभक्ष्यप्रकरण.

अभिनवप्रायश्चित्त.

अभिनवमाधवीय by माधवाचार्य.

अभिनवषडशीति (on अशौच) by सुब्रह्मण्य, son of वेङ्कटेश of पौन्द्ररिवंश (printed in Telugu script, Madras 1874). Vide Hultzsch's R. vol.II p. 113 and preface p. VI.
C. धर्मप्रदीपिका by the author himself; refers to चन्द्रिका, माधवीय and षडशीति of कौशिकादित्य. Later than 1400 A. D.

अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि, alias मानसोल्लास by चालुक्य king सोमेश्वर (vol. I in G. O. S. and also in Mysore G. O. L); composed in 1051 śake (i. e. 1129 A. D.); has 100 chapters divided into five विंशतिs on 'means of acquiring rājya,' 'means of the stability of the kingdom,' 'royal enjoyments,' '*vinoda* or recreations 'and 'krida (games and sports).

अभ्युदयश्राद्ध.

अमृतव्याख्या m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित. Earlier than 1575 A.D.

अम्बिकार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

अयननिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.

अयाचितकालनिर्णय.

अयुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमाः by राम, a protegee of अनूपसिंह of Bikaner. About 1650 A. D.

अयुतहोमविधि by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.

अरुणस्मृति m. in दानचन्द्रिका, निर्णयसिन्धु. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1253 and extract 285, which show that there are 149 verses on acceptance of gifts and प्रायश्चित्तs connected therewith.

अर्कविवाहपद्धति by शौनक.

अर्कविवाह (on marriage with the Arka plant before marrying a third wife on the death of the first two). BBRAS. cat. p. 240.

अर्घ्यदान.

अर्घ्यप्रदानकारिका.

अर्घ्यानुष्ठान.

अर्जुनार्चनकल्पलता by रामचन्द्र (on worship of कार्तवीर्य).

अर्जुनार्चापारिजात by रामचन्द्र.

अर्थकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका. Vide sec. 101.

अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य ; vide sec. 14.
C. प्रतिपदपञ्चिका of भट्टस्वामिन (ms. on chap. 8-36 of 2nd अधिकरण).
C. नयचन्द्रिका of माधवयज्वमिश्र.
C. श्रीमूल by गणपतिशास्त्रिन (Tri. S. S.).

अर्थप्रदीप m. in राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

अर्धोदयपर्वपूजन (Baroda O. I. No. 3742).

अर्हन्नीति of हेमाचार्य; 1088-1172 A.D. (printed at Ahmedabad, 1906).

अलङ्कारदान.

अलसकाजीर्णप्रकाश.

अल्पयम m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

अवधूताश्रम—Ano. Gives denominations of ten classes of saṁnyāsins and their duties. N (new

series) vol III preface p. IX and p. 8.

अवसानकालप्रायश्चित्त.

अशुद्धिचन्द्रिका (or rather शुद्धिचन्द्रिका) by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

अशौचनिर्णय by उमानाथ (B. O. cat. No. 10 p. 7).

अशौचप्रकाश-vide under आशौचप्रकाश. Many works on अशौच indiscriminately use the words अशौच and आशौच.

अशौचसार by सत्पण्डितश्रीबलभद्र; mentions कुबेरपण्डित, मीमोपाध्याय, भवदेवभट्ट and स्मृतिसमुच्चय.

अश्वत्थपूजा.

अश्वत्थप्रतिष्ठा.

अश्वत्थोद्यापन (from शौनकस्मृति) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.

अश्वत्थोपनयनपद्धति-(acc. to शौनक) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.

अश्वदान.

अष्टकाकर्मन्.

अष्टकाकर्मपद्धति.

अष्टकाशौचभाष्य-vide मृतकनिर्णय.

अष्टमहाद्वादशीनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of माधव (Baroda O. I. No. 12586 A). About 1550-1625 A. D.

अष्टमहामन्त्रपद्धति quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

अष्टविंशतिमुनिमत (Baroda O. I. No. 12743).

अष्टश्राद्धविधानविधि.

अष्टादशगोत्र (Baroda O. I. No. 3854).

अष्टादशजातिनिर्णय (Stein p. 82).

अष्टादशविवादसंक्षेप (Stein p. 82).

अष्टादशसंस्काराः by चतुर्भुज.

अष्टादशस्मृतिसार.

अष्टादशस्मृतिसारसंग्रह: (Baroda O. I. No. 10214).

असगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा by अहोबल. N (new series) vol. III. p. 11.

असपिण्डासगोत्रपरीक्षा- probably the same as असगो...परीक्षा above.

असपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहविधि by अहोबलशास्त्रिन्.

आस्थिप्रक्षेप (from चन्द्रप्रकाश Baroda O. I. No. 5478).

अस्थिशुद्धि.

अस्थिशुद्धिप्रयोग.

अस्थ्युद्धरण.

अहर्विधि.

अहल्याकामधेनु (Ms. in Benares S. college) by केशवदास, called after अहल्या, wife of खण्डेराव, son of मल्लारिराव ; seems to refer to Ahilyābai, the famous ruler of Indore in the latter half of the 18th century).

अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (Pr. at Adyar by Schrader).

अर्हन्नीति by हेमाचार्य, दायभाग portion, pr. at Lucknow in 1891.

आग्रयणपद्धति by विठ्ठल दीक्षित- Part of यजुर्वल्लभा (q. v.).

आङ्गिरसस्मृति on प्रायश्चित्त in 12 chapters. (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1304).

आचारकाण्ड.

आचारकौमुदी by गोपाल (Baroda O. I. No. 11133).

आचारकौमुदी by राजाराम son of सोमेश्वर (Vaiṣṇavite treatise on good conduct and devotion to Viṣṇu) ms. (N. vol. VIII. 191) dated संवत् 1782 (1725-26 A. D.).

आचारखण्ड (Baroda O. I. No. 12796).

आचारचन्द्रिका by त्रिविक्रमसूरि.

आचारचन्द्रिका by पद्मनाभदत्त. In 1367 A.D. he composed his सुपद्म grammar and his पृषोदरादिवृत्ति in 1375 A.D.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रत्नेश्वरमिश्र.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रमापति.

आचारचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथाचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य (on duties of शूद्रs and द्विजs), ms. copied in Śake 1410 (1488-89 A.D.); m. by रघुनन्दन; flourished about 1475 A.D.; vide I. O. cat. p. 524 for date Śake 1410 of the ms.

आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश by महेश, son of सारस्वतदुर्ग and pupil of विठ्ठल पुरुषोत्तम कविवर of मिथिला; divided into 8 परिच्छेदs in relation to the duties of the eight parts of the day for Vājasaneyas; composed under माधव, youngest of the three sons of a chief named नानू, king of लावपुर on the banks of इरावती on the Western coast of India. Later than 1500 A. D. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 97 and I. O. cat. p. 506.

आचारचन्द्रोदय by सदाराम.

आचारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; m. by रघुनन्दन, श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 98.

आचारतरङ्गिणी by रविनाथमिश्र.

आचारतत्त्व by हरिप्रसाद son of मकरन्द (Stein's cat. pp. 83 and 301).

आचारतिलक quoted in द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका and निर्णयदीपक; earlier than 1500 A. D.

आचारतिलक by गङ्गाधर in 108 verses. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 for a fragment.

आचारदर्पण by श्रीदत्त-same as आचारादर्श; vide sec. 89.

आचारदर्पण of बोपदेव, m. in पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि-

आचारदर्शन.

आचारदीधिति part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

आचारदीप-or प्रदीप by कमलाकर resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon) on the Godāvari.

आचारदीप by नागदेव on ahnika in 8 अध्यायs; quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his आचारमयूख and by अग्निहोत्रिहरिहर on कात्यायन's स्नानविधिसूत्र; ms. (B. O. cat. No. 22) dated 1436 A. D.

आचारदीपक of गंगाविष्णु, patroniesed by त्रिविक्रम; ms. copied 1752 A.D.

आचारदीपिका.

आचारदीपिका by कमलाकर.

आचारदीपिका, a com. by हरिलाल on the आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त.

आचारदीपिका-from सारसङ्ग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 10910).

आचारद्वैतविवेक by विद्याकर, composed under king रामभद्र of मिथिला; solves doubts on श्राद्ध. About 1500 A. D.

आचारनवनीत by अप्पा दीक्षित, a native of गौरीमायूर; composed in the time of Shahaji (1684-1711 A.D.); divided into four kāṇḍas on आचार, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि and कालनिर्णय.

आचारनिर्णय by गोपाल.

आचारनिर्णय-- in 66 verses on duties of ब्राह्मणs, origin of कायस्थs &c.

आचारपञ्चाशिका by महाशर्मन्.

आचारपद्धति by वासुदेवेन्द्र.

,, by दिवाकर.

,, by श्रीधरसूरि.

आचारप्रकाश by भास्कर, son of आप्पाजी (Baroda O. I. No. 12789).

आचारप्रकाशिका quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

आचारप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट, quoted in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचारप्रदीप by नागदेव. He wrote निर्णयतत्त्व also.

आचारप्रदीप by भट्टोजि.

आचारप्रशंसा.

आचारभूषण of त्र्यम्बक राम ओक (in 1741 Śake) in 9 किरणs; pr. in Ānan. P.

आचारमञ्जरी by मथुरानाथ.

आचारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ (ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by Gujarati P., Bombay). Vide sec. 107.

आचारमाधवीय of माधवाचार्य, the first part of his com. on पराशरस्मृति.

आचारमाला by निधिराम.

आचाररत्न m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचाररत्न by मणिराम (first part of मधुपविलास).

आचाररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. He was younger brother of कमलाकरभट्ट and so flourished 1580-1640 A. D. Pr. at Nir. P.

आचाररत्न by चन्द्रमौलि.

आचाररत्नाकर quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

आचारवाक्यसुधा.

आचारवारिधि by रमापति उपाध्यायसन्मिश्र. He wrote विवादवारिधि also.

आचारविधि.

आचारविवेक by मानसिंह.

आचारविवेक by मदनसिंह (part of मदनरत्न).

आचारव्रतादिरहस्य.

आचारसंग्रह by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोली संजीवेश्वरशर्मा.

आचारसंग्रह by हरिहरपण्डित, son of नारायण.

आचारसागर of बल्लालसेन quoted in the मदनपारिजात (p. 58), स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, and in author's own work दानसागर (composed about 1168 A. D.).

आचारसार—m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 900.)

आचारसार by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण, son of नारायण; seems to be the same work as आचाररत्न above.

आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव, son of गदाधर.

आचारादर्श, by श्रीदत्त (मैथिल). About 1300 A.D. (pr. at Benares, saṁvat

1920 and by Ven. P.); m. in the शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर and mentions कामधेनु, कल्पतरु and हरिहर; vide sec. 89.

C. by गौरीपति, son of दामोदर, composed in Benares in 1696 संवत (1640 A.D.). Pr. by Ven. P.

C. आचारदीपिका by हरिलाल.

आचारादर्शिका, abridgment of the आचारादर्श.

आचारार्क- a part of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण; refers to नीलकण्ठ author of मयूखs who was his maternal grandfather; composed in संवत 1743 (i. e. 1686-87 A. D.).

C. by तकनलाल.

आचारार्कक्रम (अनुक्रमणिका of आचारार्क) by the author's son वैद्यनाथ who wrote अनुक्रमणिका to दानहीरावलि and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका also.

आचारार्क by मथुरानाथ.

आचारार्क by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

आचारेन्दु of त्र्यम्बक, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे. Composed in Śake 1760 (1838 A.D.) at सप्तर्षि (modern Satara). Pr. in Anan. P.

आचारेन्दुशेखर by नागोजभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110.

आचारोद्योत by टोडरानन्द.

" part of मदनरत्नप्रदीप by मदनसिंहदेव.

आचारोल्लास first part of the परशुरामप्रकाश by खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित धर्माधिकारिन् at Benares at the bidding of परशुराममिश्र, who was a शाकद्वीपीयब्राह्मण and son of होलिल (र) मिश्र, who was given the title वाणीरसालराय by the Emperor. The 25th मयूख speaks of the origin of शाकद्वीपीयब्राह्मणs. N (new series) vol. II. pp. 10-12).

आचारोल्लास by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

आचार्यगुणादर्श, of वेङ्कटाचार्य son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य (Madras ms. contains only the chap. called पंचकालक्रम dealing with rites and worships performed by वैष्णवs during the day divided into five parts).

आचार्यचूडामणि.

C. on शूलपाणि's श्राद्धविवेक, quoted by रघुनन्दन and in शूद्रकमलाकर.

आतिथ्येष्टि.

आतुरसंन्यास- Vide B. B. R. A. S. Cat. Vol. II. p. 241.

आतुरसंन्यासकारिका.

आतुरसंन्यासपद्धति (Baroda O. I. No. 5803).

आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by आङ्गिरस.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by कात्यायन.

आतुरादिपद्धति- D. C. Ms. No. 138 of 18886-92.

आत्रेयधर्मशास्त्र in 9 अध्यायs (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1305). There is another in 6 chapters (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381, No. 1308).

आत्रेयधर्मशास्त्र m. by विश्वरूप, हेमाद्रि.

आत्रेयस्मृति (in 369 verses). I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381.

आथर्वणगृह्यसूत्र (ms. in Bom. University Library) in 14 adhyāyas and 141 khandikas ; ends with anadhyāya (school holidays) ; m. in **नीतिमयूख**.

आथर्वणप्रमिताक्षरा by **वासुदेव**, son of **श्रीपति**. (Baroda O. I. No.7603). Mentions **हेमाद्रि** and **त्रैविक्रमीपद्धति**.

आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to Tulājirāja (1765-88 A. D.).

आदिस्मृत्यर्थसार- Vide **स्मृत्यर्थसार**.

आनन्दकरनिबन्ध- m. in **स्मृतिसारोद्धार** of **विश्वम्भर**.

आपस्तम्बप्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी- vide **प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी**.

आपस्तम्बयल्लाजीय.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका or **त्रिकाण्डमण्डन** by **भास्करमिश्र**, son of **कुमारस्वामिन्**. It contains four **काण्ड**s on **अधिकार**, **प्रतिनिधि**, **पुनराधान**, **आधान** (pr. B. I. series).

C. Vide Stein (Cat. p. 12).

C. **पदप्रकाशिका** or **त्रिकाण्डमण्डनविवरण** ano. (Is it same as above?)

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र (ed. by Winternitz and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30).

C. **अनाकुला** by **हरदत्त** (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. Series).

C. by **कर्क**.

C. **कपर्दिकारिका** (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1916).

C. **गृह्यतात्पर्यदर्शन** by **सुदर्शनाचार्य** (pr. Kashi S. series).

C. **प्रयोगवृत्ति** by **तालवृन्तनिवासिन्** (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1902).

आपस्तम्बगृह्यप्रदीपिका.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रह quoted by **हेमाद्रि**.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसार by **महामहोपाध्याय-गोपनभट्ट** (**आन्ध्र**).

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रकारिका by **सुदर्शन**, son of **वाग्विजय**.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रकारिकावृत्ति by **नरसिंह** (exposition of **आपस्तम्बगृह्य** in 969 verses composed in śake 1536, 1614-15 A. D.; pr. in 1922 with Telugu tr.).

आपस्तम्बजातकर्म by **बापण्णभट्ट**.

आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र Vide sec. 7.

C. **उज्ज्वला** by **हरदत्त** (pr. in B. S. Series and at Kumbhakonam).

आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

आपस्तम्बपद्धति by **विश्वेश्वरभट्ट**.

आपस्तम्बपरिभाषासूत्र (edited with two com. in Mysore G. O. L. series 1894 and in Ānand. series No. 93).

C. by **कपर्दिस्वामिन्**.

C. by **हरदत्त**.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगकारिका.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति by **शिङ्गणभट्ट** (Hultzsch R. 1. No. 87).

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न by **नारायणयज्वन्**.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार by **मल्लणभट्ट**.

आपस्तम्बप्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

C. by **वेङ्कटवाजपेयिन्**.

आपस्तम्बश्राद्धप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रकारिका.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रसंग्रह.

आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse in 10 chapters) pr. by Jivananda.

आपस्तम्बस्मृति, quoted by विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव, हरदत्त.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by काशीनाथभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by गोवर्धन कविमण्डन.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by रुद्रदेव तोरो.

आपस्तम्बीयद्वादशसंस्काराः.

आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ ed. by Dr. Winternitz.

आपस्तम्बीयसंस्कारप्रयोग.

आब्दिकनिर्णय.

आभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध.

आभ्युदयिकश्राद्धपद्धति.

आरामादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by गङ्गाराम महाडकर.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति-see जलाश्रयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by भट्टनारायण.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by शिवराम.

आरामोत्सर्गप्रयोग (Baroda O. I. No. 5424).

आर्धचन्द्रिका.

आर्धचन्द्रिका by वैद्यनाथ.

आर्ष्टिषेणस्मृति m. by निर्णयसिन्धु.

आवसथ्याधानपद्धति of श्रीदत्त.

आशौच by वेङ्कटेश.

आशौचकाण्ड, part of दिनकरोद्योत.

आशौचकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित (a part of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल).

आशौचकारिका.

आशौचगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर.

आशौचचन्द्रिका.

आशौचचन्द्रिका by वेदाङ्गराय, son of त्यगलाभट्ट or तिमलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 83).

आशौचचन्द्रिका by राजकृष्णतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

आशौचतत्त्व- vide शुद्धितत्त्व.

आशौचतत्त्व by महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ of the अगस्त्यगोत्र, in 48 verses. Hultzsch R. II. p. 143

C. by शिवसूरि (महाजन), son of त्र्यम्बक.

आशौचतत्त्वविचार.

आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी-see त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी ; pr. at Aligarh.

C. दीप by राघवभट्ट, whose guru was मुकुन्द ; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसारनिर्णयामृत.

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 3883 is dated संवत 1579, 1522-23 A. D.).

C. by भट्टोजि.

आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी by विज्ञानेश्वर ; vide under दशश्लोकी also.

C. विवरण by भट्टोजि.

C. by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; composed in A. D. 1578.

C. (विवृति) by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर ; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर and वाचस्पति, भट्टोजि (Stein's cat. p.302 for extract); later than 1650 A.D.

C. by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

C. by श्रीधर.

C. by हरिहर (I. O. ms dated संवत् 1589 i. e. 1532 A. D.; vide cat. p. 565).

आशौचदीधिति, part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by अनन्तदेव.

आशौचदीपक by a prince of कोटिलिङ्गपुरी (Cranganore).

C. by author.

आशौचदीपिका by अघोरशिवाचार्य.

आशौचदीपिका by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट. N. VI. p. 136. Portion of दिनकरोद्योत on आशौच.

आशौचदीपिका by श्यामसुन्दर-भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचदीपिका by कम्भालूर नृसिंह, who consulted हेमाद्रि, माधवीय, षडशीति, पारिजात.

आशौचनिर्णय or षडशीति. Aufrecht II. p. 11 identifies षडशीति with अभिनवषडशीति.

आशौचनिर्णय by आदित्याचार्य or कौशिकादित्य.

C. शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपण्डित (pr. Ch. S. series) between 1590-1625 A. D.

आशौचनिर्णय of कौशिकाचार्य (in Bhadkamkar collection); contains 146 verses, refers to 86 verses of कौशिकादित्य and adds certain texts of गोभिल.

आशौचनिर्णय by गोपाल, composed in शाके 1535 (1613 A.D.); quoted by him in शुद्धिनिर्णय. N. IX p. 267.

आशौचनिर्णय by गोविन्द, son of वृद्धपर्वत who is styled मातामह also by गोविन्द.

आशौचनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of आपदेव; born on the Godāvarī; probably brother of अनन्तदेव.

आशौचनिर्णय by त्र्यम्बक पण्डित, son of रघुनाथ, son of नारायण of the आङ्गिरसगोत्र (divided into अंशs).

(pr. at Nir. P.). Quotes निर्णयसिन्धु and नागोजिभट्टीय; about 1760 A. D.

आशौचनिर्णय by नागोजि, son of शिवभट्ट.

आशौचनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (1560-1620 A. D.).

आशौचनिर्णय by माधव son of रामेश्वर; about 1515-1570 A. D.

आशौचनिर्णय by रघुनन्दन.

आशौचनिर्णय by रघुनाथपण्डित; vide under त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

आशौचनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.

आशौचनिर्णय by वरद, son of श्रीनिवास. Refers to आशौचदशक and आशौचशतक as his authorities.

आशौचनिर्णय by वीरेश्वर.

आशौचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य; see अघनिर्णय.

आशौचनिर्णय by वेदान्तरामानुजतातदास, son of वेङ्कटेशवरदतातार्य.

आशौचनिर्णय by वैदिकसार्वभौम (Is it same as आशौचशतक ?).

C. by शठकोपदास (Baroda O. L. No. 6380 b.).

आशौचनिर्णय by श्रीनिवासतर्कवागीश.

आशौचनिर्णय by सोमव्यास.

आशौचनिर्णय by हरि.

आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by रायस वेङ्कटाद्रि.

आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसंग्रह.

आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसार, a com. on some work of वेङ्कटेश.

आशौचनिर्णयसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 12600).

अशौचनिर्णयटीका by मथुरानाथ.

आशौचपरिच्छेद.

आशौचप्रकाश by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य; probably the same as that m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आशौचप्रकाश (from धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि) by पृथ्वीचन्द्र.

आशौचमञ्जरी.

आशौचमाला by गोपालसिद्धान्त.

आशौचविवेक.

आशौचव्यवस्था by राधानाथशर्मन्.

आशौचशतक.

आशौचशतक by रामेश्वर.

आशौचशतक by वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटनाथ, son of रघुनाथ of the हारीतगोत्र, with his own com. Vide अघनिर्णय above. Hultzsch R. II. No. 1499.

C. आशौचनिर्णय by रामानुजदीक्षित.

आशौचशतक by नीलकण्ठ.

आशौचशतक by वैदिकसार्वभौम (probably same as वेङ्कटाचार्य above).

आशौचषडशीति- see above आशौचनिर्णय.

आशौचसंक्षेप by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

आशौचसंग्रह by सत्याधीशशिष्य (Baroda O. I. 5862).

आशौचसंग्रह by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचसंग्रहविवृति by भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचसंग्रह by रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनारायण.

आशौचसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश; quotes आचारनवनीत, अघनिर्णय, अघविवेक, अभिनवषडशीति.

आशौचसंग्रहत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी- Vide under त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

आशौचसागर of कुल्लुक- m. in his श्राद्धसागर.

आशौचसार by बलभद्र.

आशौचसिद्धान्त.

आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव surnamed दशपुत्र, son of गदाधर; compiled for prince जयसिंह (of जयनगर). The author also wrote लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका.

आशौचादर्श quoted in सारसंग्रह.

आशौचाष्टक by वररुचि (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. anonymous. Names निर्णयकार, मस्करिन on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and सहस्रस्वामिन्.

आशौचादिनिर्णय by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशौचीयदशश्लोकीविवृति by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर; see आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी above.

आशौचेन्दुशेखर by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशौचेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series and translated in S B E, vol. 29).

C. अनाविला by हरदत्त (pr. Tri S. series).

C. by आनन्दरायवाजपेययज्वन्, minister of Tanjore king Shahji and Sarfoji I.

C. by गदाधर.

C. विमलोदयमाला by जयन्तस्वामिन्, father of अभिनन्द and son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन्. N. vol. X. p. 163. About end of 8th century.

C. by देवस्वामिन्; m. by नारायण. About 1000-1050 A. D.

C. by नारायण, son of दिवाकर of नैध्रुवगोत्र (pr. B. I. series and Nir. P.); refers to bhāṣya of देवस्वामी. Doubtful whether he is identical with नारायण, son of नरसिंह, commentator of आश्वलायनश्रौत. Vide B B R A S. cat. vol. II. p. 202.

C. by विष्णुगृहस्वामिन्. Follows देवस्वामिन्, नारायण and others.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका in 22 adhyāyas and 1296 verses.

C. विवरण by a pupil of वृध्यदेव or उपदेवभट्ट.

C. by नारायण.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका by कुमारिलस्वामिन् (? कुमारस्वामिन्). Refers to नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायनगृह्य and to जयन्तस्वामिन्. B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 203; pr. in Bombay, 1894.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका by रघुनाथदीक्षित.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली by गोपाल.

आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series at end of गृह्यसूत्र).

आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिभाषा.

आश्वलायनगृह्यप्रयोग.

आश्वलायनगृह्योक्तवास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्णभट्ट.

आश्वलायनधर्मशास्त्र in 22 अध्यायs on duties of द्विजs and on श्राद्ध, प्रायश्चित्त, जातिनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 8708).

आश्वलायनपूर्वप्रयोग (Hultzsch R. I. No. 431).

आश्वलायनप्रयोग.

C. वृत्ति by विष्णु.

आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका by तिरुमल सोमयाजिन्, son of तिरुमलयज्वन्.

आश्वलायनयाज्ञिकपद्धति.

आश्वलायनशाखश्राद्धप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

आश्वलायनसूत्रपद्धति by नारायण.

आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग by त्रैविद्यवृद्ध.

आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिका by मञ्चनाचार्यभट्ट (pr. Benares S. series).

आश्वलायनस्मृति (ms. in Bombay University Library) in eleven adhyāyas and about 2000 verses; refers to आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र and वृत्ति thereon and कारिका also. Quoted by हेमाद्रि and माधवाचार्य.

आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि (आश्वलायनीय).

आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि by भट्टनारायण, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 102.

आहिताग्नेर्दाहादिनिर्णय by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिंग.

आहिताग्न्यन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग.

आहृततीर्थकस्नानप्रयोग.

आह्निक- numerous works are so styled. Only some are noted below.

आह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्रकुल.

आह्निक by आपदेव.

आह्निक by कमलाकर son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106; same as बह्वृचाह्निक.

आह्निक by गङ्गाधर.

आह्निक by गोपालदेशिकाचार्य.

आह्निक by छलारि नृसिंह for followers of मध्वाचार्य.

आह्निक by ज्ञानभास्कर. He wrote आह्निकसंक्षेप also.

आह्निक by दिवाकरभट्ट.

आह्निक by बलभद्र.

आह्निक by भट्टोजि (from चतुर्विंशतिमतटीका).

आह्निक by रघुनाथ, son of माधवभट्ट.

आह्निक by विट्ठलाचार्य.

आह्निक (बौधायनीय) by विश्वपतिभट्ट.

आह्निक by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

आह्निक by व्रजराज (for followers of वल्लभाचार्य).

आह्निककारिका.

आह्निककृत्य of विद्याकर; m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आह्निककौतुक (from हरिवंशविलास).

आह्निककौस्तुभ by श्रीनिवास pupil of यादवाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8809). This is a com. on सदाचारस्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by कुलमणि शुक्ल (Is it चन्द्रिका or चन्द्रिकाटीका?).

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by request of गोकुलचन्द्रवर्मन्.

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by गोपीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव काल, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट; mentions भट्टोजीय (pr. at. Nir. P. with extracts from सायण on Vedic mantras). Same as संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by देवराम.

आह्निकचिन्तामणि quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व (and so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

आह्निकतत्त्व or आह्निकाचारतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन; pr. by Jivananda.
C. by मधुसूदन.

आह्निकदर्पण of रामकृष्ण (pr. with Marathi tr. in Bombay, 1876).

आह्निकदीपक.

आह्निकदीपक by अचल residing at आनन्दपुर, son of वत्सराज, son of गोविन्द, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अनन्त surnamed मढोड. About 1518 A.D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 291.

आह्निकपद्धति by शिवराम. See आह्निकसंक्षेप.

आह्निकपद्धति by रघुनाथ सम्राट्स्थपति, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; he was younger brother of विश्वनाथ and प्रभाकर.

आह्निकपद्धति by विट्ठलदीक्षित. Vide यजुर्वेदभाष्य below.

आह्निकपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

आह्निकप्रकाश— from the वीरमित्रोदय.

आह्निकप्रदीप— quoted by कमलाकर.

आह्निकप्रयोग by कमलाकर of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon on the गोदावरी). There is confusion of authorship in Baroda O. I. No. 277.

आह्निकप्रयोग by **काशीदीक्षित**, son of **सदाशिवदीक्षित** ; quoted by **अनन्त** in his **रुद्रकल्पद्रुम**.

आह्निकप्रयोग by **गोवर्धन कविमण्डन** (for **आपस्तम्बीय**s).

आह्निकप्रयोग by **मनोहरभट्ट**, son of **महादेवभट्ट** (for **हिरण्यकेशीय**s).

आह्निकप्रयोग by **रघुनाथ**, son of **माधव**, son of **रामेश्वरभट्ट** ; his younger brother **प्रभाकर** composed **रसप्रदीप** in 1583 A. D. at the age of 19.

आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला by **विश्वम्भरदीक्षित घिटे**, son of **मयूरेश्वरभट्ट** resident of **वैराज** (modern Wai in Satara District). Mentions **भट्टोजिदीक्षित**, **आचारार्क**.

आह्निकप्रायश्चित्त-- mentions **कमलाकर** (I. O. cat. III. p. 555).

आह्निकभास्कर by **इन्द्रगणिट सूर्यनारायण**.

आह्निकमञ्जरीटीका by **वीरेश्वर**, son of **हरिपण्डित**, son of **शिवपण्डित** at **पुण्यस्तम्भ** (modern Puntambe) on the Godāvarī); composed in śake **वियच्छरशरेन्दुमिते** i. e. 1598 A. D.

आह्निकरत्न (on daily duties).

आह्निकरत्न by **दाक्षिणात्य शिरोमणिभट्ट**. In three **प्रकाश**s.

आह्निकरत्नचषक by **गङ्गाधरसुत** (Baroda O. I. No. 12306-7).

आह्निकविधि by **कमलाकर**.

आह्निकविधि by **नारायणभट्ट**.

आह्निकसंक्षेप of **कौथुमिशाखा**.

आह्निकसंक्षेप of **ज्ञानभास्कर**.

आह्निकसंक्षेप by **वामदेव**, written for Lālā Thakkura.

आह्निकसंक्षेप by **शिवराम**, an abridgment of **वैद्यनाथ**'s **आह्निक**.

आह्निकसंग्रह of **अनन्तभट्ट**, son of **नागेशभट्ट**, son of **यज्ञभट्ट**, for **शुक्लयजुर्वेदि**s.

आह्निकसार by **दलपतिराज** (2nd chap. of **नृसिंहप्रसाद**).

आह्निकसार by **बालम्भट्ट** (probably same as author of **आह्निकसारमञ्जरी** below).

आह्निकसार by **सुदर्शनाचार्य**.

आह्निकसार by **हरिराम**.

आह्निकसारमञ्जरी by **बालम्भट्ट**, son of **विश्वनाथभट्ट दातार**.

आह्निकसूत्र of **गौतम** in 17 **खण्ड**s on duties of **ब्राह्मण**s ; vide BBRAS. cat. p. 204 No. 651.

आह्निकस्मृतिसंग्रह.

आह्निकाचारराज by **रामानन्द वाचस्पति**, great-great-grandson of **पुष्कराक्ष** of the family of **सर्वानन्द**; compiled under **राजा कृष्णचंद्रराय** of Nadia about 1750 A. D.

आह्निकामृत of **वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य**, son of **रङ्गनाथ**, on duties and ritual of the **वैखानस** school of **वैष्णव**s.

आह्निकोद्धार quoted by **रघुनन्दन** in **आह्निकतत्त्व**.

इन्द्रदत्तस्मृति.

इष्टिकाल by **दामोदर**.

ईशानसंहिता m. in **समयमयूख**.

ईश्वरसंहिता quoted by **रघुनन्दन** in **तिथितत्त्व**.

उज्ज्वला by **हरदत्त**, com. on **आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र**.

C. **कालामृतटीका** by **वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्य**.

उत्तरकालामृत by कालिदास (on marriage, विरुद्धसंबन्ध &c.).

उत्तरक्रियापद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

उत्तरीयकर्मन् (काण्वीय).

उत्पातशान्ति attributed to वृद्धगर्ग.

उत्सर्गकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट.

उत्सर्गकर्मन्.

उत्सर्गकौस्तुभ, part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गनिर्णय by कृष्णाराम.

उत्सर्गपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गपरिशिष्ट.

उत्सर्गप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्गमयूख by नीलकण्ठ (pr. by J. R. Gharpure in Bombay).

उत्सर्गोपाकर्मप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्जनपद्धति.

उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग by बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव.

उत्सवनिर्णय by तुळजाराम.

उत्सवनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर, composed in śake 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. (Baroda O. I. 2375).

उत्सवप्रकाश.

उत्सवप्रतान by पुरुषोत्तम.

उदकुम्भदान.

उदक्याशुद्धिप्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र.

उदयाकरपद्धति (तन्त्र) quoted in मालासंस्कार.

उदीच्यप्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8016).

उद्यानप्रतिष्ठा.

उद्यापनकालनिर्णय.

उद्वाहकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.

उद्वाहचन्द्रिका by गोवर्धन उपाध्याय.

उद्वाहतत्त्व— see विवाहतत्त्व.

C. by काशीराम-वाचस्पति-भट्टाचार्य (printed in 1877 at Calcutta in Bengali characters and in 1916).

उद्वाहनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

उद्वाहलक्षण.

उद्वाहविवेक by गणेशभट्ट.

उद्वाहव्यवस्था N. vol. II. p. 77.

उद्वाहव्यवस्था-vide संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश.

उद्वाहव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. No. 10226).

उपकाश्यपस्मृति.

उपचारषोडशरत्नमाला (महादेवपरिचर्यासूत्रव्याख्या) by सुरेश्वरस्वामिन्, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ).

उपनयनकर्मपद्धति.

उपनयनकारिका anonymous.

उपनयनचिन्तामणि by शिवानन्द.

उपनयनतन्त्र by गोभिल.

उपनयनतन्त्र by रामदत्त.

उपनयनतन्त्र by लौगाक्षि.

उपनयनपद्धति by रामदत्त (for वाजसनेयि followers).

उपनयनपद्धति by विश्वनाथदीक्षित.

उपस्थान.

उपाकर्मनिर्णय.

उपाकर्मकारिका (Stein's cat. p. 12).

उपाकर्मपद्धति (कात्यायनीय) by वैद्यनाथ.

उपाकर्मप्रमाण by बालदीक्षित.

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आश्वलायनीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग by द्वारकानाथ, son of टीकाभट्ट.

उपाकर्मविधि.

उपाकृतितत्त्व by बालम्भट्ट alias बालकृष्ण पायगुण्ड ; ms. dated संवत् 1848 (1792 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 302.

उपाकर्मविधि by दयाशङ्कर.

उपाङ्गिरःस्मृति.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम (ms. No. 3862 in Baroda O. I. is dated संवत 1764).

ऊर्ध्वमूल.

ऋग्वेदाह्निक by काशीनाथ. Also called ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

ऋग्वेदाह्निक by शिरोमणि.

ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

ऋजुप्रयोग by भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ होसिंग (following तीर्थदर्पण). Baroda O. I. No. 8515 ms. dated 1676 (śake).

ऋजुमिताक्षरा- same as मिताक्षरा.

ऋणमोक्षण.

ऋतुलक्षण.

ऋतुशान्ति.

ऋत्विग्वरणनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

ऋषितर्पण.

ऋषितर्पणकारिका.

ऋषिभट्टी ; see संस्कारभास्कर.

ऋष्यशृङ्गविधान (rite for inducing rainfall). Baroda O. I. 11047 A and C.

ऋष्यशृङ्गस्मृति- vide sec. 40.

एकदण्डिसंन्यासविधि by शौनक.

एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति by गर्ग (Baroda O. I. No. 5661).

एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1640-1680 A. D.

एकाग्निकाण्ड (यजुर्वेदीय) also known as मन्त्रपाठ, मन्त्रप्रपाठक and मन्त्रप्रश्न. (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, 1902). Vide आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ.

एकाग्निकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या by हरदत्त.

एकाग्निदानपद्धति of श्रीदत्तमिश्र ; ms. copied under देवसिंह of मिथिला in ल. सं. 299 i. e. 1418 A. D.

एकादशाहकृत्य.

एकादशिनीप्रयोग (chanting of रुद्राध्याय eleven times).

एकादशीतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. दीप by राधामोहन गोस्वामी, a friend of Colebrooke, residing at Śāntipura. He was a descendant of अद्वैत, associate of चैतन्य.

एकादशीनिर्णय (several works are so called and are ano. in the catalogues).

एकादशीनिर्णय or निर्णयसार by चक्रधर, son of मुरारि ; composed in śake 1408 (1486 A. D.); refers to महाराजाधिराज वीसलदेव ; mentions अनन्तभट्ट, बोपदेवपण्डित, विश्वरूप

(verses on varieties of शुद्धा and विद्धा एकादशी), विज्ञानेश्वर (three स्रग्धरा verses on एकादशी). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 12052 is dated संवत् 1620.

एकादशीनिर्णय of हरि, son of नरसिंह, of अष्टपुत्र family, at विराटनगर (Wai) on the Kṛṣṇā.

एकादशीनिर्णय by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ (part of सदाचारसंग्रह).

एकादशीनिर्णयव्याख्या of अच्युतानन्द (a pupil of आनन्दगिरि).

एकादशीविवेक by शूलपाणि- sec. 95.

एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय by देवकीनन्दन.

एकादशीव्रतोद्यापनपद्धति.

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 8332).

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय by रामनवरत्न (Baroda O. I. 8656).

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धपद्धति.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धप्रयोग.

एकोद्दिष्टसारिणी by रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of गंगोलीसञ्जीवेश्वर, composed for securing the favour of the king of मिथिला.

ऐन्दवमासनिर्णय by गणेशदत्त.

औदीच्यप्रकाश by वेणीदत्त.

औपासनप्रायश्चित्त (from संस्कारदीधिति of अनन्तदेव).

और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली by विश्वनाथ.

और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of ज्योतिर्विद् गोपाल (according to शुक्लयजुर्वेद माध्यन्दिनशाखा). He was गोमतीवालज्ञातीय.

और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय by वासुदेवाश्रम.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण; sec. 106.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or -प्रयोग by कृष्णदीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर (according to सामवेद).

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

और्ध्वदेहिकप्रकरण.

और्ध्वदेहिकाधिकारनिर्णय.

कठपरिशिष्ट quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषखण्ड.

कठसूत्र quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषखण्ड and संस्कारमयूख.

कण्ठभूषण by वैदिकसार्वभौम, m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका. It is a com. on गृह्यरत्न.

कण्वस्मृति- m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू., आचारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख.

कदलीव्रतोद्यापन.

कन्यागततीर्थविधि.

कन्यादानपद्धति.

कन्यादानप्रयोग.

कन्याविवाह.

कन्यासंस्कार.

कपर्दिकारिका m. by नि. सि., संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

कपालमोचनश्राद्ध.

कपिलगोदान.

कपिलसंहिता m. in संस्कारमयूख.

कपिलस्मृति in 10 अध्यायs, each with 100 verses, on degeneration of ब्राह्मणs in Kali, श्राद्ध, purifying ceremonies, adopted son, विवाह, gifts, penances.

कपिलादान.

कपिलादानपद्धति.

कर्णवेधविधान (from प्रयोगपारिजात).

कर्मकाण्डपद्धति.

कर्मकाण्डसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. 9506 dated संवत 1618, i.e. 1561-62 A. D.).

कर्मकालप्रकाश by कृष्णराम.

कर्मकौमुदी by कृष्णदत्त, son of आवसथिक ब्रह्मदत्त.

कर्मकौमुदी by मिश्रविष्णुशर्मन्.

कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (शैव) composed by सोमशम्भु in 1073 A.D.; ms. copied in 1206 A. D.; vide Hp. p. 95.

कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ, on कलिवर्ज्य, आह्निक, संस्कार, श्राद्ध; quotes माधवीय, वामनभाष्य, चन्द्रिका, जयन्त, कालादर्श, मदनपारिजात. About 1400-1550 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 304, extract).

कर्मदीप quoted in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन.

कर्मदीपिका of रघुरामतीर्थ. Incomplete ms. in B B R A S. cat. p. 211-213; a vast work; over 73 adhyāyas on वर्णाश्रमधर्म, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त. Names विज्ञानेश्वर.

कर्मदीपिका of हरिदत्त, son of भूधर (Baroda O. I. No. 6892) on कुण्ड, वेदि, मधुपर्क, कन्यादान, चतुर्थीकर्म.

कर्मनिर्णय by आनन्दतीर्थ.

C. by जयतीर्थ.

CC. by राघवेन्द्र.

कर्मपद्धति by चिद्घनानन्द.

कर्मपीयूष m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मप्रकाश by कलायखञ्ज.

कर्मप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

कर्मप्रकाशिका of पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ (on पाकयज्ञ, कूष्माण्डहोम, पुत्रस्वीकारविधि, शूलगव).

कर्मप्रदीप attributed to कात्यायन or गोभिल. Also called, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट; quoted by शूलपाणि, माधव, रघुनन्दन, कमलाकर.

C. by आशादित्य or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

C. परिशिष्टप्रकाश by नारायणोपाध्याय, son of गोण (B. I. series 1909).

C. by शिवराम, son of विश्राम.

कर्मप्रदीपिका, a पद्धति to पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, by कामदेव.

कर्मप्रायश्चित्त by वेटङ्कविजयिन्.

कर्ममञ्जरी (Ulwar cat. No. 1277).

कर्मलोचन 108 stanzas on duties of householders.

कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक by ब्रह्मदेव who is said to have instructed नारद on the fruits of कर्म in 12 अध्यायs (Ulwar cat. extract 293).

कर्मविपाक by भरत who is instructed by भृगु.

कर्मविपाक by भृगु who is instructed by वसिष्ठ.

कर्मविपाक by माधवाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by मान्धातृ- see महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक by मौद्गलिभूपति m. in कर्मविपाकसारसंग्राह and नृसिंहप्रसाद; earlier than 1380 A. D.

कर्मविपाक by रवि to अरुण (Ulwar cat. No. 1278 and extract No. 293).

कर्मविपाक by रामकृष्णाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- see महार्णवकर्मविपाक; m. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 242.

कर्मविपाक by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 575).

कर्मविपाक by the eldest son of काह्लडदेव, son of पद्मनाभ. Vide under साराग्राहकर्मविपाकः.

कर्मविपाक from the ज्ञानभास्कर.

कर्मविपाक from शातातपस्मृति (pr. Jivananda II. p. 435 ff).

कर्मविपाक from the सूर्यार्णव.

कर्मविपाकचिकित्सामृतसागर by पण्डित देवीदास.

कर्मविपाकपरिपाटी.

कर्मविपाकप्रायश्चित्त.

कर्मविपाकमहार्णव; vide महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकरत्न by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

कर्मविपाकसंहिता (pr. at Venk. P.), a part of ब्रह्मपुराण.

कर्मविपाकसंग्रह from महार्णवकर्मविपाक, quoted by शङ्कर in कर्मविपाक and in मदनरत्न.

कर्मविपाकसमुच्चय m. in महार्णव of मान्धातृ, son of मदनपाल and in नित्याचारप्रदीप. Earlier than 1350 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार quoted by शङ्कर in कर्मविपाक and in नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 140 and 207.

कर्मविपाकसार by दलपतिराज (about 1510 A. D.).

कर्मविपाकसार by दिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट (I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1696; vide cat. p. 573). About 1585-1640 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार by सूर्यराम.

कर्मविपाकसारग्राह by eldest son of कान्हड or काह्लड, son of पद्मनाभ; vide under साराग्राहकर्मविपाक and कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकार्क by शङ्कर. See कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकसारोद्धार.

कर्मसंग्रह m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मसरणि by विठ्ठल दीक्षित : vide under यजुर्वल्लभा. Said to have been born about 1519 A. D.

कर्मसिद्धिसिद्धान्त by पुरुषोत्तम (Baroda O. I. 8361) on श्राद्ध, स्वाध्याय &c.

कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेव (vide sec. 73).

C. संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of अनिरुद्ध (sec. 82); quoted by रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of हलायुध (sec. 72).

कलानिधि m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

कलिका- vide दीपकलिका; quoted by कमलाकर.

कलिधर्मनिर्णय.

कलिधर्मप्रकरण by कमलाकरभट्ट.

कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती.

कलियुगधर्मसार of विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती in two parts, first on worship of विष्णु and 2nd on शिवपूजा, गंगास्नानफल &c.

कलियुगधर्माधर्म.

कलिवर्ज्यनिर्णय by दामोदर, eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ ; quoted in आचारमयूख. About 1610 A. D. Mentions मांसमीमांसा of नारायणभट्ट, शास्त्रदीपिकाटीका of his father, रामचन्द्राचार्य, श्राद्धदीपकलिका etc. (Baroda O. I. No. 10793).

कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर : vide sec. 77.

कल्पद्रु quoted in मदनपारिजात and by देवदास.

कल्पद्रुम- see दानकल्पद्रुम, रामकल्पद्रुम and श्राद्धकल्पद्रुम : quoted by चण्डेश्वर and मदनपारिजात (who both mean कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर).

कल्पलता-vide कृत्यकल्पलता.

कल्पलता by लोल्लट (?) ; quoted by श्रीधर, श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण, by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कल्पवृक्षदान.

कवषस्मृति quoted in पराशरस्मृतिव्याख्या and मस्करिभाष्य on गौ.ध.सू.

कविरहस्य by कृष्णभट्ट.

कविराजकौतुक by कविराजगिरि.

कश्यपस्मृति quoted in हेमाद्रि, माधव, विज्ञानेश्वर and मदनपारिजात.

कश्यपोत्तरसंहिता.

कस्तूरिस्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर by कस्तूरि.

कांस्यपात्रदान.

काकचण्डेश्वरी.

काठकगृह्य quoted by हेमाद्रि, रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व, श्राद्धमयूख.

काठकगृह्यपञ्चिका.

काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि and रघुनन्दन.

काठकगृह्यसूत्र by लौगाक्षि (ed. by Dr. Caland in D. A. V. College series, Lahore 1925, with extracts from three com.).

C. (भाष्य) by देवपाल, son of हरिपालभट्ट.

C. विवरण by आदित्यदर्शन.

C पद्धति of ब्राह्मणबल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु.

काठकाह्निक by गङ्गाधर.

काण्व quoted in आप. ध. सू. I. 19. 7.

कातीयगृह्य- see पारस्करगृह्य ; m. in संस्कारमयूख.

कात्यायनगृह्यकारिका.

कात्यायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

कात्यायनस्मृति m. by याज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव. See वृद्धकात्यायन; m. by रघुनन्दन; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 603-644. This is also called कर्मप्रदीप and गोभिलस्मृति in Ānan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

कादम्बरी, a com. on the द्वैतनिर्णय by गोकुलनाथ.

कामधेनु of गोपाल ; vide sec. 71.

कामधेनु of यतीश, son of टेकचन्द्र, on धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष. Compiled under विजयपाल son of अच्युतपाल in four स्तनs (on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष) ; ms. in Stein's cat. pp. 84 and 303 contains 283 verses on धर्म and breaks off after 206 on अर्थ.

कामधेनुदीपिका by नारायण, commentator of मनुस्मृति (vide मनु V, 56, 80, 104).

कामन्दकीयनीतिसार (pr. in B. I. series and Tri. S. series) m. in महाभारत,

वामन's काव्यालंकार. In 19 सर्गs and 1087 verses. Some mss have 20 सर्गs.

C. by आत्माराम.

C. उपाध्यायनिरपेक्षा (vide Ulwar cat. extract 295 which begins work with the first verse of काव्यादर्श and derives कौटिल्य as कुटिर्घट उच्यते तं लान्ति संगृह्णन्ति ...नाधिकं...इति कुटिलाः ..., कुटिलानामपत्यं कौटिल्यः विष्णुगुप्तः).

C. by जयराम.

C. जयमङ्गला by शङ्करार्य (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. नयप्रकाश by वरदराज.

कामरूपनिबन्ध quoted by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व and by कमलाकर.

कामरूपयात्रापद्धति by हलिरामशर्मन् in ten पटलs.

काम्यकर्मकमला.

काम्यसामान्यप्रयोगरत्न.

कायस्थक्षत्रियत्वमदलनकुठार by लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित.

कायस्थतत्त्व.

कायस्थधर्मदीप or -प्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट (composed about 1674 A. D.).

कायस्थनिर्णय.

कायस्थपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर. Printed at Bombay in 1873. Same as कायस्थधर्मदीप. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 9670 is dated संवत 1727 (1670-71 A. D.).

कायस्थविचार.

कायस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर.

कारणप्रायश्चित्त.

कारिका by अनन्तदेव.

कारिकाटीका (लघु) by माधव.

कारिकामञ्जरी by कनकसभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ, of मौद्गलगोत्र.

C. प्रयोगादर्श by author himself.

कारिकासमुच्चय.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदान by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by लक्ष्मणदेशिक, son of कृष्ण.

कार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप on श्राद्ध.

कार्ष्णाजिनिस्मृति m. by हेमाद्रि, माधव, जीमूतवाहन, मिता०.

कालकौमुदी m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक.

कालकौमुदी by गोपालभट्ट, son of हरिवंशभट्ट, who was a द्राविड. M. by रघुनन्दन, रायमुकुट, कमलाकर ; earlier than 1400 A. D.

कालकौमुदी by नीलाम्बर, son of गदाधर, author of कालसार ; m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

कालगुणोत्तर m. in शान्तिमयूख.

कालचन्द्रिका by कृष्णभट्टमौनिन्.

कालचन्द्रिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वरभट्ट.

कालचिन्तामणि m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

कालतत्त्वविवेचन by रघुनाथभट्ट styled सम्राट्स्थपति, son of भट्टमाधव (and ललिता), son of भट्टरामेश्वर. His elder brother was विश्वनाथ. Composed in संवत् 1677 i.e. 1620 A.D.; deals with तिथिs, मास, अधिकमास.

कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह or -सारोद्धार (based on विवेचन) by शम्भुभट्ट, son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of मीमांसक खण्डदेव. About 1700 A.D.

कालतत्त्वार्णव.

C. रामप्रकाश by रामदेव.

कालतरङ्ग first part of स्मृत्यर्थसागर by छलारिनृसिंह.

कालदानपद्धति.

कालदिवाकर by चन्द्रचूडदीक्षित.

कालदीप m. in संस्कारमयूख and नृसिंहप्रसाद (संस्कारसार). Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

कालदीप of दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.

कालनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ.

कालनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

कालनिर्णय by तोटकाचार्य.

कालनिर्णय (लघु) by दामोदर.

कालनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट (? probably same as कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकविवरण).

कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त) by भट्टोजि (Baroda O. I. No. 5373).

कालनिर्णय by माधव (called कालमाधवीय). Pr. in B. I. series and Ch. S. series.

C. by मिश्रमोहनतर्कतिलक, son of द्वारकादास; written in संवत् 1670 (खद्विनिरसेन्दुमितेऽब्दे) i. e. 1614 A.D. (D. C. No. 264 of 1886-92).

C. कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकविवरण by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

C. कालमाधवचन्द्रिका by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

C. दीपिका-vide कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य below.

C. by धरणीधर.

C. लक्ष्मी by लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड.

कालनिर्णय from परिशेषखण्ड of हेमाद्रि.

कालनिर्णयकारिका (130 कारिकाs of माधवाचार्य taken from कालमाधव).

C. ano. (N. vol. X. pp. 239-240).

C. by वैद्यनाथ (Stein's cat. p. 85), son of रामचन्द्र.

कालनिर्णयकौतुक, a part of हरिवंशविलास of नन्दपण्डित.

कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका by दिवाकरभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed काल. About 1660. He was daughters's son of रामकृष्ण, father of कमलाकर.

(2) by सीतारामचन्द्र of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र, son of श्रीधर्मभट्ट and कामक्का and grandson of नृसिंह.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट also called शिवानन्दनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट and grandson of शिवरामभट्ट and pupil of अनन्त.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका a com. on माधवीयकालनिर्णय by रामचन्द्राचार्य, son of कृष्णाचार्य and great-grandson of अनन्ताचार्य and pupil of परमहंसश्रीगोपाल. About 1400 A. D. He wrote प्रक्रियाकौमुदी.

C. विवरण by his son नृसिंह; ms. dated 1548 A.D.; m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद. This gives a detailed pedigree of the शेष family (Baroda O. I.

Ms. No. 10410, which says it was composed in śake 1331 शशाङ्ककालानलविश्वसंमिते विरोधिवर्षे).

C. रामप्रकाश by राघवेन्द्र, composed by order of कृपारामनृपति.

C. by सूर्यपण्डित.

कालनिर्णयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र, son of विट्ठल and grandson of बालकृष्णतत्सत्. His mother was daughter of रघुनाथभट्ट, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. So about 1670 A. D. Baroda O. I. No. 8455 is dated śake 1603 माघ (February 1682 A. D.).

कालनिर्णयसंक्षेप by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर; based on हेमाद्रि's work.

कालनिर्णयसार by दलपतिराज (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद); sec. 99.

कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त in 118 verses by महादेवविद् son of काह्नजित्; based on prose materials collected by रघुराम, son of जयराम, in वेलावटपुर near modern Sihor; composed in 1709 संवत, i. e. 1652-53 A. D. in the city of Bhuja (modern Bhuj). Vide D. C. Ms. No. 275 of 1887-91.

C. by same; composed in संवत 1710.

कालनिर्णयसौख्य or समयनिर्णयसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

कालनिर्णयावबोध by अनन्तदैवज्ञ.

कालप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

कालप्रदीप by दिव्यसिंह.

कालभाष्यनिर्णय by गौरीनाथ चक्रवर्तिन् (Baroda O. I. 10260).

कालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथमिश्र (Baroda O. I. 10155).

कालभेद.

कालमयूख or समयमयूख of नीलकण्ठ; sec. 107.

कालमाधव (pr. Kashi S. series and B. I. series). Vide कालनिर्णय above.

कालमाधवकारिका or लघुमाधव.

C. by वैद्यनाथसूरि, son of रामचन्द्रतत्सत्, son of विट्ठल. Ulwar cat. No. 1293.

कालमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमिश्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक and grandson of देवीदत्तभट्ट.

कालविधान m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

कालविधान of श्रीधर.

कालविधानपद्धति of श्रीधर.

कालविवेक by जीमूतवाहन (B. I. series). Vide sec. 78; m. by नृसिंह, रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कालविवेचनसारसंग्रह by शम्भुभट्ट.

कालसर्वस्व of कृष्णमिश्र of the कौत्सगोत्र.

कालसार of गदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर and जानकी and nephew of हलधर who was guru of the queen of हरेकृष्णनृपति; pr. in B. I. series. Between 1450-1500 A. D. Mentions कालमाधवीय, कालादर्श, हलधर.

कालसिद्धान्त or सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by चन्द्रचूड, son of उमापति or उमणभट्ट, son of धर्मभट्ट, surnamed पौराणिक. Later than 1550 A. D.

कालादर्श or कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ of गर्गगोत्र, pupil of विश्वे-

श्वराचार्य ; ms. dated संवत् 1581 ; quoted by नृसिंह, अल्लाडनाथ, रघुनन्दन, कालमाधव, दुर्गोत्सवविवेक ; composed between 1200-1325 A. D., as it mentions स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमहार्णव, विश्वादर्श.

कालामृत (and C. उज्ज्वला) by वेङ्कटयज्वन्, one of whose four brothers was यल्लयज्वन्.

(1) (pr. at Madras in Telugu and Grantha characters) Hultzsch R. I. p. 72.

(2) by सुरूभट्टलक्ष्मीनरसिंह and com. by author; pr. at Madras in 1880.

कालावलि m. in अद्भुतसागर.

कालिकार्चनपद्धति.

कालिकार्चनप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कालिकार्चनसंहिता m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कालिकार्चादीपिका.

कालोत्तर m. in हेमाद्रि. मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०; seems to be the Tantric work of that name.

काल्यर्चनचन्द्रिका by नीलकमल लाहाडी ; pr. at Murshidabad, 1877-79, in Bengali characters.

काशीखण्डकथाकेलि by प्रभाकर.

काशीतत्त्व by रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती.

काशीतत्त्वदीपिका by प्रभाकर (Is it the same as ०केलि above ?).

काशीतत्त्वप्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार by रघुनाथेन्द्रशिवयोगिन् (Stein's cat. pp. 86, 303). Divided into उल्लासs. Probably the same as काशीतत्त्व above.

काशीप्रकरण (from the त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

काशीप्रकाश by नन्दपण्डित. See 105.

काशीमरणमुक्तिविचार by नारायणभट्ट.

काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी by रघुनाथदास.

काशीमुक्तिप्रकाशिका.

काशीमृतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय by सुरेश्वराचार्य.

काशीमृतिमोक्षनिर्णय by विश्वनाथाचार्य.

काशीरहस्यप्रकाश, by भट्टनारायण, son of राम, son of नारायण, composed at राजनगर by order of कामदेव.

काश्यपधर्मशास्त्र-vide sec. 19 (Vide I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 384 No. 1317).

कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय by दामोदरपण्डित under the patronage of चूहडमल्ल in the reign of Akbar (latter half of 16th century).

कीर्तितत्त्व.

कीर्तिप्रकाश of विष्णुशर्मन् ; vide under समयप्रकाश (I. O. cat. p. 538 No. 1682).

कुण्डकल्पद्रुम of माधवशुक्ल, son of कूक, son of व्यासनारायण ; composed in 1577 śake (1655-56 A. D.). BBRAS cat. p. 138. He was उदीच्यब्राह्मण of the काश्यपगोत्र, mentions कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप, कुण्डशिरोमणि, कुण्डसिद्धि, विश्वनाथ ; pr. at Benares in 1879 A. D.
C. by author.

कुण्डकल्पलता by ढुण्ढिराज, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रामकृष्ण. He was pupil of रामपण्डित, father of नन्दपण्डित. About 1600 A. D.

कुण्डकारिका by भट्टलक्ष्मीधर.

कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी in 103 verses of विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भु.

He is different from विश्वनाथ, a. of कुण्डरत्नाकर : between 1520-1600 A. D., as m. in मण्डपकुण्डसिद्धि and as he mentions मदनरत्न and रूपनारायण.

C. by author.

कुण्डकौमुदी by शिवसूरि son of त्र्यम्बक (महाजन).

C. कुण्डालोक by same. Vide Hultzsch's Report No. III. p. V. and p. 80; mentions कौस्तुभ, मयूख, कुण्डसिद्धि and रामवाजपेय. Later than 1680 A. D.

कुण्डगणपति.

कुण्डचमत्कृति.

C. by वासुदेव of the महाजन family, son of शिवसूरि, son of त्र्यम्बक.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाश or -प्रकाशिका by रामानन्दतीर्थ.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप by बलभद्रसूरि शुक्ल, son of श्यामर of वत्सगोत्र; composed at स्तम्भतीर्थ (Khambayat) in 1623 A. D. Has 164 verses.

C. by author composed in 1632 A. D. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 204 of 1884-87.

कुण्डदिक्पाल by बाबाजी पाळे.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक by रामवाजपेय, an inhabitant of नैमिषारण्य; composed in संवत् 1506 i. e. 1449-50 A. D.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकदीपिका by मणिरामदीक्षित.

कुण्डपद्धति of नागोजिभट्ट.

कुण्डपरिमाण ano. (BBRAS cat. p. 138).

कुण्डप्रकाश by रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण of तारे family (from the प्रतापनारसिंह). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 299. About 1710 A. D.

कुण्डप्रदीप in 21 verses by महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्नजिद्दादेव.

C. by same; quotes कामिक.

कुण्डप्रदीप by महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्नजित and teacher of हैबतराज (Haibatrao) in 20 fine verses in शार्दूलविक्रीडित, स्रग्धरा and अनुष्टुप्.

C. by author.

कुण्डप्रबन्ध by कालिदास, son of बलभद्र in 73 verses. Composed in śake 1544 (1632 A. D.) D. C. Ms. No. 42 of 1882-83.

कुण्डभास्कर vide कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन.

कुण्डमण्डप by वाचस्पति.

कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी vide कुण्डकौमुदी by शिवसूरि.

कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका by यज्ञसूरि, son of विश्वनाथ.

कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण by नारायण, son of अनन्त; composed in śake 1500 1578 A. D.; in 49 श्लोकs written at टापरग्राम, while his प्रपितामह dwelt at मणोरग्राम.

C. मनोरमा by गङ्गाधर, son of author.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय from परशुरामपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट (Stein p. 86).

कुण्डमण्डपपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपमण्डनप्रकाशिका by **नरहरिभट्ट** surnamed **सप्तर्षि**. Peterson (Ulwar cat. extract No. 300) wrongly says that the work is called **सप्तर्षि**.

C. by author.

कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण (same as **कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक** above) of **रामवाजपेयी**, son of **सूर्यदास** ; composed in **संवत** 1506 (1449-50 A. D.) at the order of the king of **रत्नपुर**. In 74 **श्लोक**s. C. by same.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by **अनन्तभट्ट**.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by **नीलकण्ठ**.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by **केशवभट्ट**, son of **गोपालदीक्षित**.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by **बाबूदीक्षित जडे**.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by **रामवाजपेयी** (probably same as **कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण** above).

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by **लक्ष्मण देशिकेन्द्र**.

कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह by **रामकृष्ण**.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि by **नीलकण्ठ**.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or **कुण्डसिद्धि** by **विट्ठल दीक्षित**, son of **बुधशर्मन्** of Sangamner (in Ahmednagar District) of the **कृष्णात्रिगोत्र** ; composed in Śake 1541 (**शशियुगतिथिगण्ये**) i. e. 1619-20 A. D. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 141.

C. by same; pr. at Bombay in 1892.

C. by **राम**.

कुण्डमण्डपहोमविधि.

कुण्डमरीचिमाला by **विष्णु**. Based on the **कुण्डाकृति** of **राम**.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of **गोविन्ददैवज्ञ**, son of **गदाधर** of **माध्यन्दिनशाखा** and **गौतमगोत्र** ; composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A. D. in 71 verses.

C. **प्रभा** by **अनन्त**, son of **सिद्धेश्वर** residing at **पल्लीपत्तन** (Pāli in Bhor State). D. C. Ms. No. 43 of A 1882-83. Composed in 1693 A. D.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of **रामवाजपेयी**. Probably same as **कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण**.

कुण्डस्वरूप by **गोपाल** (Ulwar cat. No. 1303 and extract 301).

कुण्डरचना.

C.

कुण्डरचनारीति by **बालसूरि** son of **शेषभट्ट**.

कुण्डरत्नाकर of **विश्वनाथ द्विवेदिन्**, son of **श्रीपति**, son of **जगन्नाथ** ; quotes **कुण्डाकृति** of **रामवाजपेयी** and is quoted in **कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि** of **विट्ठल**; flourished between 1450-1615 A. D. In 84 verses.

C. by **विश्वनाथ** (the author).

कुण्डरत्नावलि by **रामचन्द्र जडे**, son of **कृष्ण** alias Bābū ; composed in Śake 1790. Pr. at Nir. P.

कुण्डलक्षण by **राम नैमिषारण्यवासिन्**. Probably same as **कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक** above.

कुण्डलक्ष्मविवृति of **राम**, son of **सूर्यदास** (**रघुदेव** in Stein's cat. p. 186); same as **कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकटीका** and **कुण्डमण्डपलक्षणटीका** above; m. in **आचारमयूख**. About 1449 A. D.

कुण्डविचार from तत्त्वसार.

कुण्डविधान by विश्वनाथ

कुण्डशिरोमणि m. in कुण्डकल्पद्रुम. Earlier than 1640 A. D.

कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका of रामचन्द्र; m. in प्रतापनारसिंह (पूर्तप्रकाश).

कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका by रामचरण.

कुण्डसाधनविधि.

कुण्डसिद्धि vide कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि above.

कुण्डसिद्धि by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

कुण्डसिद्धि by रामभट्ट.

कुण्डाकृति by रामवाजपेयिन नैमिषस्थ, son of सूर्यदास; in 1449 A. D. (at bidding of prince रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर). Probably same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकविवृति above.

C. by author.

कुण्डार्क by कृष्णाचार्य.

कुण्डार्क by शङ्करभट्ट son of नीलकण्ठ of the चतुर्धर family; pr. at Ratnagiri in 1873.

C. मरीचिमाला by रघुवीर, son of विठ्ठल who was author of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि; pr. at Bombay in 1902. He wrote मुहूर्तसर्वस्व in 1635-36 A. D.

कुण्डार्कमणिदीपिका by बलभद्रसूरि.

C. by author.

कुण्डार्णव by श्रीधर अग्निहोत्रिन, son of श्रीसूर्य, son of नागेश; ms. copied in Śake 1661 (1739 A. D.).

कुण्डोदधि in 9 स्रग्धरा verses by रामचन्द्र.

कुण्डोद्द्योत by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट.

C. कुण्डभास्कर by शङ्कर, son of the author.

कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन by अनन्तदेव.

कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन alias कुण्डभास्कर of शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ; same as com. on कुण्डोद्द्योत, composed in 1671 A. D.

कुथुमिस्मृति m. in अपरार्क, कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि.

कुमारतन्त्र, of the son of रावण; m. in मदनरत्न (शान्त्युद्द्योत).

कुमारस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व.

कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by वनमालिमिश्र, alias कृष्णदत्तमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and disciple of भट्टोजिदीक्षित; about 1650 A. D.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or क्षेत्रमाहात्म्य by माधवाचार्य.

कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर by शङ्कर.

कुरुक्षेत्रानुक्रमणिका of हरिगिरि.

कुशकण्डिका by वंशीधर.

कूपप्रतिष्ठा.

कूष्माण्डहोम.

कूष्माण्डहोमप्रयोग.

कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणलक्षण.

कृच्छ्रलक्षण.

कृच्छ्रादिव्रतप्रबोधिनीपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णु (Baroda O. I. 10629).

कृतिवत्सर by मणिरामदीक्षित.

कृतिसारसमुच्चय by अमृतनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकल्पतरु alias कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर; vide sec. 77.

कृत्यकल्पद्रुम by गदाधर; m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृत्यकल्पलता of वाचस्पति; m. by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; vide under कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.

कृत्यकौमुदी vide sec. 101 on गोविन्दानन्द. It is this that is m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु°.

कृत्यकौमुदी by गोपीनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकौमुदी by जगदानन्द. He mentions शुद्धिदीपिका.

कृत्यकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 10152 on एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध portion of it).

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रामचन्द्र चक्रवर्तिन्.

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, pupil of चण्डेश्वर (a calendar of fasts and feasts enjoined in the स्मृतिs and the rites appropriate to them). About 1360-1400 A. D.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि by चण्डेश्वर; m. in his गृहस्थरत्नाकर; vide sec. 90. Deals with ताराविशुद्धि, गोचर, वेधशुद्धि, संवत्सर, करण, नक्षत्र, मुहूर्त, अधिमास, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, मूलशान्ति, षष्ठिकापूजा, शनैश्चरचार, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहणफल.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति; sec. 98.

कृत्यचिन्तामणि by शिवराम शुक्ल, son of विश्राम. In five प्रकाशs for सामवेद followers. Based on गोभिलगृह्य, deals with परिभाषा, वृद्धिश्राद्ध, गणेशपूजा, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, अष्टका, संस्कारs. Stein's cat. (Intro. p. XV and p. 86) gives the date of composition as śake 1562 (1640-41 A. D.), but B. O. cat. vol. I. No. 72 and JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. IX give 1500 śake (1578-79 A. D.) as the date.

कृत्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

कृत्यतत्त्व alias प्रयोगसार of कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश.

कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव alias कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व, नि. सि., रामप्रकाश and quotes महार्णव. About 1475-1525 A. D.

कृत्यदर्पण of आनन्दशर्मा, son of रामशर्मा; m. in his व्यवस्थादर्पण.

कृत्यदीप m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी by रामचन्द्र (pr. at Bombay in 1855).

कृत्यप्रदीप of कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.

कृत्यप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट (this is probably the कृत्यप्रदीप quoted in शुद्धितत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, and other तत्त्वs).

कृत्यमञ्जरी by बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव केळकर; composed in śake 1640 पौषमास on नित्य, नैमित्तिक, काम्य rites and observances in the 12 months of the year, on संक्रान्ति, eclipses &c. at सप्तर्षि (modern Satara). N. vol. X. pp. 217-219.

कृत्यमहार्णव of वाचस्पतिमिश्र under हरिनारायणदेव of मिथिला. Deals with feasts and fasts on important days of the twelve months of the year; m. in आचारमयूख; vide sec. 98.

कृत्यमुक्तावली vide सत्कृत्यमुक्तावली.

कृत्यरत्न m. in नि. सि., आचारमयूख.

कृत्यरत्न of खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट who was honoured by the king of विदर्भ. In 8 प्रकाशs. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधवीय and his own संस्काररत्न. Baroda O. I. No. 1953.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर ; vide sec. 90 (pr. B. I. series, 1921).

कृत्यरत्नाकर of मुद्राकरसूरि.

कृत्यरत्नावली of रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल and grandson of बालकृष्ण तत्सत्. He was daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Composed in संवत् 1705 (1648-49 A. D.). Deals with religious observances of तिथिs from प्रतिपद् and of months from चैत्र to फाल्गुन ; quotes हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, नारायणभट्ट.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लक्ष्मीधर.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लोकनाथ.

कृत्यराज a manual of ceremonial observances for different months of the year compiled under prince कृष्णचन्द्र of नवद्वीप about 1750 A. D.

कृत्यविलासमञ्जरी.

कृत्यसमुच्चय of भूपाल m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 499.

कृत्यसागर m. in वर्धमान and स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

कृत्यसार by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of अमृतनाथ ओझा (pr. at Bombay).

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of वाचस्पति.

कृत्यापल्लवदीपिका; vide शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप.

कृत्यार्णव m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृष्णपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली alias भक्तिमञ्जरी or हरिभक्तिमञ्जरी-- a work on कृष्ण worship in four parts (मञ्जरीs).

कृष्णभट्टीय the same as कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका ; m. in प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and in आह्निकचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका of रत्नपाणि, son of सर्वेश्वर.

कृष्णामृतमहार्णव by आनन्दतीर्थ. N. (new series) vol. III. preface VI.

केशवार्णव by केशव.

कोटचक्र on eight kinds of forts.

कोटिहोमप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

कौतुकचिन्तामणि by प्रतापरुद्रदेव. In three दीधितिs on magic charms and expedients for protecting the king's person and for various other purposes, and on various startling, interesting experiments on women, plants, food. N. IX. pp. 189-190 and D. C. Ms. No. 981 of 1887-91 and 1031 of 1884-87. About 1520 A. D.

कौमुदीनिर्णय.

कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र in 14 अध्यायs (ed. by Bloomfield, 1889).

C. by भट्टारिभट्ट.

C. by दारिल.

C. by वासुदेव.

कौशिकगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति of **केशव**, son of **सोमेश्वर**, son of **अनन्त**; composed at **भोजपुर** (Stein's cat. p. 248).

कौशिकसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

कौशिकस्मृति m. in **निर्णयदीपक**, **मस्करिभाष्य** on **गौतम**, **हेमाद्रि**, **माधव**.

कौषीतकिगृह्यकारिका.

कौषीतकिगृह्यसूत्र (pr. in Ben. S. series). Vide under **शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र**.

क्रतुस्मृति m. by the **मिताक्षरा**.

क्रमदीपिका m. in **वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी** (p. 121) and **देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व**; before 1500 A. D.

क्रमदीपिका (on worship of **कृष्ण**) by **केशवाचार्य** in 8 **पटल**s. About 1500 A. D.

C. by **केशवभट्टगोस्वामी**.

C. by **गोविन्दभट्ट** (pr. in Ch. S. series).

क्रमदीपिका by **नित्यानन्द**.

क्रियाकाण्डशेखर m. in **हेमाद्रि**.

क्रियाकैरवचन्द्रिका.

क्रियाकौमुदी of **गोविन्दानन्द** (pr. in B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

क्रियाकौमुदी of **मथुरानाथ**.

क्रियानिबन्ध m. in **शूद्रकमलाकर**.

क्रियापद्धति by **विश्वनाथ**. Describes rites from the day of death to **सपिण्डीकरण** for **माध्यन्दिनीय**s. D. C. Ms. No. 207 of 1884-87.

क्रियापद्धति or **बह्वृचप्रायश्चित्तादिपद्धति** N. X. p. 237.

क्रियाप्रदीप.

क्रियाश्रय (astrological work in relation to dharma) m. by **अपरार्क**.

क्रियासार m. in **नि. सि.** and **कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि**; earlier than 1600 A.D.

क्षत्रियसंख्या.

क्षयमासकृत्यनिर्णय.

क्षयमासनिर्णय.

क्षयमाससंसर्पकार्याकार्यनिर्णय by **परशुराम** (Stein's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमाससंसर्पकार्याकार्यनिर्णयखण्डन by **परशुराम** (Steins's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमासादिविवेक of **रत्नपाणिशर्मा**, son of **गंगोलीसंजीवेश्वर**; composed during the reign of **छत्रसिंह** of **मिथिला**. Gives a long list of authorities, such as **वाचस्पति**, **वर्धमान**, **अनन्तपण्डित**, **महेश**, **स्मृतिविवेक** &c. Vide N. vol. VI p. 44.

क्षयाधिकमासविवृति by **गणेशदत्त**.

क्षेमप्रकाश by **क्षेमवर्मन**; composed in Vikrama 1568 (1512 A. D.) at **वीरसिंहपुर**, where he was governor. On **आचार**, **विष्णुपुजा**, **शिवपुजा**, **दान**, **उत्सर्ग**, **व्रत**: ms. copied in **संवत** 1582 (1526 A. D.) when **वीरसिंहदेव** was ruler (Stein's cat. p. 305, extract).

क्षौरनिर्णय or **-दर्पण** by son of **गङ्गाधर**.

खड्गविवाह (Baroda O. I. 1142.)

खादिरगृह्य (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29). Agrees closely with **गोभिलगृह्य**.

C. of **रुद्रस्कन्द**, son of **नारायण** residing at **मखवाट** (pr. in above.).

खादिरगृह्यकारिका by **वामन**.

खेटपीठमाला by आपदेव.

गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक by वर्धमान for king रामभद्रदेव of मिथिला. 1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधरपद्धति by गङ्गाधर (Stein's cat. p. 87) m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम (vide BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 226).

गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी by गणपति, son of धारेश्वर, in 3 chapters. He says that king नान्य of मिथिला gave वृत्ति to his grandfather. N. vol. V. p. 183; ms. dated 1766 संवत (1710 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी by चतुर्भुजाचार्य.

गङ्गाभक्तिप्रकाश by हरिनन्दन; composed in संवत 1852 (1795-96 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय by शिवदत्तशर्मा.

गङ्गामृत m. in रघुनन्दन and वर्धमान in गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक.

गङ्गावाक्यावलि by विद्यापति, under the patronage of महादेवी विश्वासदेवी, wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला, son of शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह, son of भवसिंह; m. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन (in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व). About 1400-1450 A. D. Speaks of the advantage of visiting and worshipping the Ganges and bathing therein.

गणपतितत्त्वविवेक.

गणेशपद्धति by सोमेश्वरपुत्र (Ulwar cat. No. 1309).

गणेशविमर्शिनी m. in कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

गणेशशान्ति.

गदाधरपद्धति (आचारसार) pr. in B. I. series.

गयदेवल m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

गयविष्णु m. in नि. सि.

गयव्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

गन्धर्वप्रयोग (Stein's cat. p. 87).

गभस्तिस्मृति m. by अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०, हेमाद्रि.

गयादासनिबन्ध m. by भट्टोजि. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

गयानुष्ठानपद्धति- part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट.

गयानुष्ठानपद्धति alias गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ. Vide गयापद्धति.

गयापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; flourished between 1550-1625 A. D.

गयापद्धतिदीपिका by प्रभाकर.

गयाप्रकरण from the त्रिस्थलीसेतु by नारायण.

गयाप्रकाश N. (new series) vol. I. p. 84.

गयाप्रयोग by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

गयायात्राप्रयोग by मणिरामदीक्षित.

गयावाराणसीपद्धति.

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति.

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन (for वाजसनेयवेद).

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनन्दन. Vide p. 417 above.

गयाश्राद्धप्रकरण m. in मलमासतत्त्व.

गयाश्राद्धविधि by गोकुलदेव (Baroda O. I. 8688).

गयाश्राद्धादिपद्धति of वाचस्पति. The first verse specially mentions

वायुपुराण, गरुडपुराण and कल्पवृक्ष (i. e. कल्पतरु) as its authorities.

गर्भपद्धति or गृह्यपद्धति, manual of domestic rites (for पारस्करगृह्य) by स्थपतिगर्ग on स्थालीपाकहोम, बलिदान, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, श्रवणाकर्म, शूलगव, वैश्वदेव, मासश्राद्ध, चूडाकरण, उपनयन, ब्रह्मचारिव्रतानि, सीतायज्ञ, शालाकर्म; expressly states that it follows भर्तृयज्ञमत; m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य and in श्राद्धतत्त्व. I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1575 i. e. 1519 A. D. (Vide I. O. cat. p. 515 No. 1633).

गर्गस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, नित्याचारप्रदीप.

गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति by रामदत्त, son of गणेश्वर; completed by स्वामिठाकुर. About first half of 14th century.

गर्भाधानादिविवाहषोडशकर्मपद्धति attributed to शौनक; mentions जयन्त.

गागाभट्टपद्धति by गागाभट्ट.

गायत्रीपद्धति of भूषणभट्ट.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरण or -पद्धति by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळ, surnamed घारे. He wrote व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी in शके 1675 (1753 A. D.).

गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by शिवराम.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by साम्बभट्ट.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by काशिनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट and वाराणसी, surnamed भट्ट. His guru was अनन्त. Ulwar cat. extract 618.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट; composed in 1757 A. D.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by अनन्तदेव.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by गीर्वाणेन्द्रसरस्वती.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from the गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका (vide Ulwar cat. extract 302).

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from शारदातिलक.

गायत्रीभाष्यनिर्णय (Ulwar cat. No. 1312 and extract 304).

गार्गीयपद्धति m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 213).

गार्ग्यस्मृति m. by विश्वरूप, मिता०, अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०.

गार्हस्थ्यदीपिका by त्र्यम्बक, pupil of यज्ञेश.

गालवस्मृति m. in स्मृतिच०, कालमाधव.

गुणमञ्जरी by त्रिपाठिबालकृष्ण, son of काशीराम of the महारङ्ग family. On प्रायश्चित्त.

गुणिसर्वस्व m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर and in तिथितत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

गूढदीपिका of श्रीनाथ आचार्य m. in his कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.

गूढार्थदीपिका by वामदेव. Vide स्मृतिदीपिका; on doubtful points of rites and ceremonies.

गृहपतिधर्म by विश्वेश्वर.

गृहप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.

गृहवास्तु by चन्द्रचूड (portion of संस्कारनिर्णय).

गृहस्थमुक्ताफल.

गृहस्थरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर a large work in 589 pages (pr. in B. I. series, 1928); sec. 90.

गृह्यकल्पतरु.

गृह्यकारिका.

(1) आश्वलायनीय by जयन्त.

(2) बौधायनीय by कनकसभापति.

(3) सामवेदीय by भूवाक, son of विशाखभट्ट.

गृह्यकारिका by कर्क.

गृह्यकारिका by रेणुक, composed in 1266 A. D.

गृह्यकौमुदी m. in गोविन्दार्णव.

गृह्यतात्पर्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र by सुदर्शनाचार्य.

गृह्यपदार्थानुक्रम, summary of matters connected with domestic rites, according to मैत्रायणीयगृह्यसूत्र.

गृह्यपद्धति.

गृह्यपद्धति (यजुःशाखीय) by भास्करदीक्षित. Ulwar cat. extract 54.

गृह्यपद्धति by रामेश्वर.

गृह्यपद्धति by वासुदेवदीक्षित, in three kāṇḍas on संस्कारs, अष्टका &c.; ms. copied in शके 1720.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट- vide under बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, छन्दोगगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट by अनन्तभट्ट.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट by वैकुण्ठनाथाचार्य.

गृह्यप्रदीपकभाष्य, a com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र, by नारायण.

गृह्यप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ. He quotes सुदर्शनाचार्य. Ulwar cat. extract 14.

गृह्यप्रयोग

बौधायनीय.

वाजसनेय.

गृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र (Hultzsch R. I. No. 637).

गृह्यभाष्यसंग्रह or गृह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि.

गृह्यरत्न by वैदिकसार्वभौम (i. e. probably वेङ्कटेश) in 21 khaṇḍas; deals with ब्राह्मसंस्कारs like गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, नामकरण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, उपनयन, चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि and दैवसंस्कारs like पाकयज्ञ.

C. विबुधकण्ठभूषण or कण्ठभूषा by वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ of हारीतगोत्र. Hultzsch R. I. No. 603 and extract, p. 88. Refers to his पितृमेधसार and its टीका and आशौचशतक and its व्याख्या.

गृह्यसंग्रह m. by जयराम in his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य III. 1. 1.

गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

गृह्यसूत्रप्रकाशिका (on पारस्करगृह्य) by विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह. About 1600 A. D.

गृह्याग्निसागर alias प्रयोगसार by नारायणभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, surnamed आरड (आरडे); quotes रामाण्डारव्याख्या on धूर्तस्वामी's भाष्य on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोगरत्न, निर्णयसिन्धु, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, परशुरामप्रताप and रामवाजपेयी and his own श्राद्धसागर. Later than 1650 A. D.

गृह्यासंग्रह by गोभिलपुत्र (pr. in B. I. series as appendix to गोभिलगृह्य); m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि of शिवराम and in the छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व and मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.

C. by रामकृष्ण, son of दामोदर.

गृह्यासंग्रहपरिशिष्ट m. in छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व and edited by Bloomfield in Z D M G. vol. 35 pp. 537-548 in 209 verses and two प्रपाठकs. Begins अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं पद्मयोनिना । ब्राह्मणानां हितार्थाय संस्कारार्थं तु भाषितम् ॥. Text same as in B. I. series.

गृह्योक्तकर्मपद्धति.

गोत्रनिर्णय by केशवदैवज्ञ of नन्दिपुर in 27 श्लोकs.

C. वाक्पुष्पमाला by प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ; mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी of श्रीधर.

गोत्रनिर्णय by बालम्भट्ट.

गोत्रनिर्णय by महादेव दैवज्ञ.

गोत्रप्रवर (Bik. cat. p. 391).

C. भास्कर.

गोत्रप्रवर by प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ (probably same as वाक्पुष्पमाला, a com. on गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय of केशव).

गोत्रप्रवरकारिका.

गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड (taken from आपस्तम्बसूत्र).

गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड (taken from धर्मसिन्धु).

गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण.

गोत्रप्रवरदीप by विष्णुपण्डित.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव (in संस्कारकौस्तुभ, which is taken from his brother's work).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by आपदेव (probably a mistake, as जीवदेव was a son of आपदेव). Vide Baroda O. I. No. 1870.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by कमलाकर son of रामकृष्ण (also styled गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण) (pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900). First half of 17 century.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by केशवदैवज्ञ of नन्दिग्राम (ms. in Baroda O. I. 8131 dated शके 1600). Each verse ends with the words कुर्वन्तु वो मङ्गलम्.

C. वाक्पुष्पमाला by प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ (Baroda O.I. 11041).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by जीवदेव, son of आपदेव and younger brother of अनन्तदेव, author of संस्कारकौस्तुभ; quotes प्रवरमञ्जरी, आश्वलायनसूत्रवृत्तिकार, नारायणवृत्ति. About 1660-1680; says मातृगोत्र is to be avoided in marriage by माध्यन्दिनीयs alone as सत्याषाढ says and as the शिष्टाचार is to the same effect.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by नागेशभट्ट.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट m. in गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by पद्मनाभ (Baroda O. I. 8789).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजिदीक्षित; first half of 17th century (also styled गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by (अभिनव) माधवाचार्य.

C. by नारायणार्य, son of मण्डूरिरघुनाथार्य (pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore, 1900).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर. 1550-1625 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथदेव or विश्वेश्वर, son of शम्भुदेव and younger brother of रामदेव; finished at

Benares (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 580). Composed in Śake 1506 (Baroda O. I. 11055). In verse and prose.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by सदाराम.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयवाक्यसुधार्णव by विश्वनाथदेव (Baroda O. I. 9375). Different from गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर by भट्टोजि ; same as गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by केशव, who also wrote मुहूर्ततत्त्व.

C. by राम ; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसार, प्रयोगपारिजात.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी alias प्रवरमञ्जरी by पुरुषोत्तमपण्डित (standard work on this subject). Pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore, 1900. Under each of the eight original gotras quotes passages from आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, कात्यायन, बौधायन, मत्स्यपुराण, लौगाक्षि, सत्याषाढ ; mentions धूर्तस्वामी, कपर्दिस्वामी, and ग्रहदेवस्वामी as भाष्यकारs on आपस्तम्बसूत्र; m. in नि. सि., नृसिंहप्रसाद, दत्तकमीमांसा. Earlier than 1450 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by शङ्करतान्त्रिक ; gives exhaustive enumeration of divisions and sub-divisions of gotras ; mentions ज्योतिर्निबन्ध, प्रवरदीपिका, व्याख्याकार of बौधायन. (Baroda O. I. No. 7657).

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार by शङ्करदैवज्ञ, son of शिव.

गोत्रप्रवररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट and younger brother of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1585-1630 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरविवेक (from the धर्मप्रदीप by धनञ्जय).

गोत्रप्रवराध्याय vide प्रवराध्याय.

गोत्रप्रवरोच्चार (from the औदीच्यप्रकाश).

गोत्रामृत by नृसिंहपण्डित.

गोदानविधिसंग्रह by मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन्, son of व्रजराज.

गोपालकारिका (बौधायनीय) 420 verses on various matters connected with religious observances, such as the measurement and construction of altars.

गोपालपद्धति He is m. even by नारायण. Earlier than 1000 A. D. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 183.

गोपालपूजापद्धति by दिनकर, son of नृसिंह belonging to दशार्ण country (on worship of कृष्ण). I. O. ms. (cat. p. 587) dated संवत 1664.

गोपालरत्नाकर by गोपाल.

गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न.

गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका by लक्ष्मीनाथ.

गोभिलगृह्यसूत्र (pr. in B. I. series and by Dr. Knauer and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30.).

C. (भाष्य) by भट्टनारायण son of महाबल; m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन; ms. copied in ल. सं. 431 (1549-50 A. D.).

C. (भाष्य) by यशोधर, m. in दानक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and in श्राद्धतत्त्व. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. सरला m. in तिथितत्त्व and श्राद्धतत्त्व. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. by सायण.

C. सुबोधिनीपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (different from the author's कारिकार्थबोधिनी). About 1640 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 86).

C. पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिविष्णु, of मथुरा.

C. कारिकार्थबोधिनी by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (Stein's cat. p. 15 and p. 250).

गोभिलपरिशिष्ट (pr. in B. I. series with com.) on सन्ध्यासूत्र, स्नानसूत्र and श्राद्धकल्प.

C. प्रकाश by नारायण; m. by रघुनन्दन.

गोभिलश्राद्धसूत्रभाष्य m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व and श्राद्धतत्त्व. Probably same as भाष्य of महायशस्.

गोभिलसंध्यासूत्र.

गोभिलस्मृति-same as कर्मप्रदीप of कात्यायन. Ānan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

गोभिलीपरिशिष्ट (on rites for propitiating the planets in their evil positions, on ग्रहयाग etc.) N. vol. X. pp. 201-202.

गोभिलीयश्राद्धकल्प.

C. (भाष्य) by महायशस्, m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. महायशस् is probably same as यशोधर above.

C. by समुद्रकर m. in श्राद्धकला of भवदेव's स्मृतिचन्द्र.

गोवधप्रायश्चित्त.

गोविन्दमानसोल्लास m. in एकादशीतत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. So earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दार्चनचन्द्रिका (pr. at Bombay).

गोविन्दार्णव alias स्मृतिसागर or धर्मतत्त्वावलोक by शेषनृसिंह son of रामचन्द्र; compiled under the orders of महाराजाधिराज गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kāśī, divided into six वीचिs (waves) on संस्कार, आह्निक, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि, काल and प्रायश्चित्त; quotes कल्पतरु, अपरार्क, माधवाचार्य, विश्वेश्वरभट्ट and is quoted in the निर्णयसिन्धु, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; compiled between 1400 and 1450 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract, 304 for a long description of a town ताण्डेतिका near Benares, which is said to have surpassed Delhi and Kalpi and of the श्रीवास्तक family of kings, of which गोविन्दचन्द्र was a scion and of the शेष family. The Ulwar ms. (verse 85) speaks of only five वीचिs (omitting प्रायश्चित्त). It appears that शेषकृष्ण in his शूद्राचारशिरोमणि claims the गोविन्दार्णव as his work. Vide Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 248.

गौडनिबन्ध m. in the पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

गौडनिबन्धसागर m. in नि. सि. (probably the श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट).

गौडश्राद्धकौमुदी m. in निर्णयसिन्धु (probably the श्राद्धकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द).

गौडसंवत्सरप्रदीप m. in the कालसार of गदाधर.

गौडीयाचिन्तामणि m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

गौतमधर्मसूत्र- vide sec. 5; pr. in B. S. series and Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 403-434.

C. by कुलमणि शुक्ल.

C. (भाष्य) by मस्करिन् (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series).

C. मिताक्षरा by हरदत्त (pr. in Ānan. P.)

गौतमस्मृति.

ग्रन्थराज or स्मृतिग्रन्थराज.

ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुसुम by शङ्करशर्मन्.

ग्रहणक्रियाक्रम.

ग्रहणनिर्णय (from the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

ग्रहणश्राद्धनिर्णय.

ग्रहदानप्रयोग; refers to माधव.

ग्रहमखतिलक by माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य, of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Peterson's 5th Report p. 176.

ग्रहमखप्रयोग (N. X. p. 200).

ग्रहयज्ञकारिका.

ग्रहयज्ञतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Mentions दीपिका.

ग्रहयज्ञदीपिका by सदाशिव दीक्षित.

ग्रहयज्ञनिरूपण from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

ग्रहयज्ञपद्धति.

ग्रहयज्ञप्रयोग.

ग्रहयज्ञविधान by अनन्तदेवभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट.

ग्रहयागकौमुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य.

ग्रहयागप्रयोगतत्त्व or ग्रहयागतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन, son of हरिभट्ट; pr. in Bengali type by Sanskrit Sahitya-parishad, Calcutta (No. 10). This is over and above his 28 तत्त्वs.

ग्रहयोगशान्ति.

ग्रहशान्ति according to शाङ्खायन and गोभिल.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति or वासिष्ठीशान्ति by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्कर. About 1686 A. D.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by योङ्कराज.

ग्रहस्थापनपद्धति (Peterson's 5th Report p. 98).

ग्रामनिर्णय or पातित्यग्रामनिर्णय (from the सह्याद्रिखण्ड of the स्कन्दपुराण).

घृतप्रदानरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.

चक्रनारायणीय m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि. So earlier than 1400.

चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध or स्मृतिसारोद्धार by विश्वम्भरत्रिवेदिन् in 12 उद्धारs on सामान्यनिर्णय, एकभक्तादिनिर्णय, तिथिसामान्यनिर्णय, प्रतिपदादितिथिनिर्णय, व्रत, संक्रान्ति, श्राद्ध, आशौच, गर्भाधानादिकालनिर्णय, आह्निक, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, under orders of prince नारायणमल्ल, son of भीममल्ल; mentions प्रतापमार्तण्ड, होरिलस्मृति, रूपनारायणीय, अनन्तभट्टीय. First half of 17th century; pr. in Ch. S. series.

चण्डिकार्चनदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट, son of शिवरामभट्ट, of the भट्ट family. (Ulwar cat. extract 620).

चण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

चण्डीप्रयोग by **नागोजिभट्ट**.

चण्डूकानिबन्ध or **स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानक्रमविवरण** by **महामात्य श्रीसम्राट् चण्डूक**. On daily duties, **श्राद्ध**, **मलमास**, **त्रयोदशीनिर्णय** &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 296 dated **संवत्** 1593).

चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रशस्ति by **सदाशिव**.

चतुर्थीकर्मन् (on the ceremonies to be performed on the fourth night after marriage).

चतुर्दशश्लोकी by **भट्टोजि** (Baroda O. I. 1488). In fourteen verses on **श्राद्ध**.

C. by **महेश्वर**.

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of **हेमाद्रि**. Vide sec. 87 (pr. in B. I. series). Hultzsch R. I. No. 658 contains **प्रायश्चित्त** and **व्यवहार**, but they are most probably by a different author.

चतुर्विंशतिमत or **-स्मृति**. Vide sec. 42.

C. by **भट्टोजि** (Ben. S. series publishes on **संस्कार** and **श्राद्ध**). The I. O. cat. ms. p. 475 (on **संस्कारकाण्ड** only) ascribes it in the colophons to **रामचन्द्र**, son of **नारायणभट्ट**. Mss. of **आह्निक**, **आचार** and **प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड** are known.

C. by **रामचन्द्र**, son of **नारायण**.

चतुर्विंशतिमुनिमतसार (Baroda O. I. 2247 and 10540).

चतुर्विंशतिस्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्संस्काराः

चन्दनधेनुदानप्रमाण or **-तत्त्व** by **वाचस्पति**. Rites on the occasion of the first śrāddha of a woman dying before her husband and son. Based on **रत्नाकर**. N. (new series) I. p. 100.

चन्दनधेनूत्सर्गपद्धति by **रत्ननाथ भट्टाचार्य** of **नवद्वीप**. N. (new series) I. p. 101 ; ms. dated 1765 A. D.

चन्द्रकमलाकर.

चन्द्रकालिका.

चन्द्रनिबन्ध quoted in **निर्णयदीपक**.

चन्द्रप्रकाश m. by **नि. सि.**, **नन्दपण्डित**'s **श्राद्धकल्पलता**, **भट्टोजि**. Earlier than 1570 A. D.

चन्द्रस्मृति m. in **निर्णयदीपक**.

चन्द्रोदय m. in **नि. सि.** (probably **पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय** or **आचारचन्द्रोदय**).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by **नारायणभट्ट** (pr. at Benares, 1870); m. in **आचारमयूख**, **समयमयूख**.

C. **मिताक्षरा**.

C. **अन्वयार्थदीपिका** by **धर्मेश्वर** (pr. at Benares, 1870).

C. by **नारायण**.

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by **राजर्षिभट्ट** ; (is probably the work so m. by **नि. सि.**). It is on astrology. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. (ms. dated **संवत्** 1657 i. e. 1600-1601 A. D.).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by **वैद्यनाथ**. On **संस्कार**s of two kinds, **ब्राह्म** (**गर्भाधान** and others) and **दैव** (such as **पाकयज्ञ**), on **मुहूर्त**s for **गर्भाधान** and other **संस्कार**s and on **मलमासकृत्याकृत्य** ; D. C. No. 112 of 1895-1902 copied in **संवत्** 1719.

चलाचलमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा.

चलार्चा (acc. to बौधायन); vide B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

चलार्चापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

चलार्चापद्धति of नारायण based on गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, त्रिविक्रमपद्धति, कालादर्श, पुरुषार्थप्रबोध, शारदातिलक and बोपदेव. Later than 1450 A. D.

चाणक्यनीति (ed. by Kressler).

चाणक्यनीति or चाणक्यराजनीति or चाणक्यशतक. There is a वृद्धचाणक्य in 660 verses. There is a लघुचाणक्य also.

चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण of गजानन.

चाणक्यनीतिसारसंग्रह in 108 stanzas. It begins 'मूलसूत्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाणक्येन यथोदितम् ।'.

चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्र (pr. in Calcutta O. series No. 2, 1921).

चाणक्यसप्तति.

चाणक्यसारसंग्रह.

चाणक्यसूत्र (pr. at end of the कौटिलीय in Dr. Sham Sastri's edition).

चातुराश्रम्यधर्म by श्रीकण्ठायन.

चातुर्मास्यकारिका by गोपाल.

चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्मसंग्रह.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार by गङ्गादत्त.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवरण by गङ्गाधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन by धरणीधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था by धरणीधर.

चारायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

चारुचर्या by क्षेमेन्द्र (pr. in Kāvyamālā series).

चारुचर्या by भोजराज.

चूडाकरणकेशान्तौ.

चूडाकर्म by दत्तपण्डित.

चूडाकर्मप्रयोग.

चौलोपनयन from the विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.

चौलोपनयनप्रयोग.

छन्दोगकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide छन्दोगपद्धति.

छन्दोगगृह्य. Vide गोभिलगृह्य.

C. (भाष्य) m. by हरदत्त in his अनाविला.

छन्दोगपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट; vide sec. 73.

C. संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य of रामनाथ, composed in Śake 1544 (1622 A. D.).

छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट- same as कर्मप्रदीप. (It is in verse).

छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

C. m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर.

C. प्रकाश by महामहोपाध्याय नारायण, son of गोण and grandson of उमापति, who was a great प्राभाकर and patronised by king जयपाल. Vide under कर्मप्रदीप.

CC. सारमञ्जरी by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य.

CC. by हरिराम.

CC. by हरिहर.

C. by आशाधर or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

छन्दोगप्रायश्चित्त.

छन्दोगश्राद्ध.

छन्दोगश्राद्धतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम, son of राधावल्लभ' son of रामकृष्ण.

छन्दोगश्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर.

छन्दोगाचारकृत्य m. by रघुनन्दन.

छन्दोगानीयाह्निक by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. (I. O. cat. I. p. 95 ms. dated संवत् 1810 i. e. 1753-4 A. D.). Composed about 1640.

छन्दोगाह्निक by गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास (Baroda O. I. No. 1026). Ms. dated संवत् 1860.

छन्दोगाह्निक by श्रीदत्त, m. by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

छन्दोगाह्निक by सदानन्द.

छन्दोगाह्निकपद्धति by रामकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन्.

छन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार of शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथमिश्र. Vide under प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप.

छन्दोपहारावलि.

छागलेयस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, हेमाद्रि, माधवाचार्य.

जगद्वल्लभा by श्रीवल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र (in more than 24 प्रकरणs).

जगन्नाथकारिका m. in गदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य.

जगन्नाथप्रकाश by सूरमिश्र, composed under orders of जगन्नाथ, of Kāmboja family. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 109 for contents (the ms. was copied in संवत् 1838 i. e. 1782-3 A. D.); in ten प्रभाs.

जटमल्लविलास by श्रीधर compiled under the patronage of prince (महाठक्कुर) जटमल्ल, younger brother of चायमल्ल, who was son of वालचन्द्र, son of डौल who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. The family was Mandīra from Kosala country and their capital was स्वर्णपुरी. Deals with आचार, काल, श्राद्ध, संक्रान्ति, मलमास, संस्कार, आशौच and शुद्धि. The date in the I. O. ms. is corrupt 'वानाम्नबाणक्षिति' (? रत्नाक्षबाणक्षिति 1559) of the विक्रम era. About 1500 A. D. Names कालनिर्णय, कालादर्श, प्रासाददीपिका.

जनिदोषप्रतिकार-ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 2365) dated 1565 संवत् (1508-9 A. D.).

जन्मदिनकृत्यपद्धति.

जन्मदिवसपूजापद्धति.

जन्ममरणविवेक by वाचस्पति (Baroda O. I. No. 12774). On अशौच and श्राद्ध.

जन्माष्टमीतत्त्व or जन्माष्टमीव्रततत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय by विठ्ठलेश्वर.

जयतुङ्ग m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयन्तकारिका.

जयन्तीनिर्णय (on कृष्णजन्माष्टमी) by आनन्दतीर्थ.

जयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक, pupil of रामानुजयोगीन्द्र and son of आत्रेय कृष्णार्य.

जयमाधवमानसोल्लास by जयसिंहदेव of गोरक्षपुर (modern Gorakhpur). He was a devotee of नारायण; deals with all religious acts

(nitya, naimittika, and kāmya) about वासुदेव. The प्रशस्ति at the end of D. C. ms. No. 241 of A 1881-82 is by हरिदास राजपण्डित; ms. copied संवत् 1827 (1771 A. D.).

जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम by रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, son of पण्डितश्रीदेवभट्ट of Benares (extensive work in 900 pages pr. by Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara Press at Kalyan in 1925). A digest in 19 स्तबकs on काल, व्रत, श्राद्ध, दान etc. the first being on काल, compiled under the patronage of जयसिंह who performed ज्योतिष्टोम in उज्जयिनी and also पौण्डरीक. His city अम्बिका (Amber) is also referred to. Composed in Vikrama 1770 (1713 A. D.). Gives genealogy as जयसिंह (who brought Shivaji to Delhi) - रामसिंह-कृष्णसिंह-विष्णुसिंह-जयसिंह. Sometimes called धर्मोद्योत (Ulwar cat. extract 305); pr. in Bombay, 1903.

जयानिबन्ध (निबन्ध ?) m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (p. 166).

जयाभिषेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ.

जयार्णव m. by नि. सि. and by गदाधर in पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य. Vide युद्धजयार्णव.

जलयात्रा.

जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

जलाशयारामोत्सर्गविधि or -पद्धति.
(1) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर; quotes रूपनारायण; 1513-1575 A. D.; sec. 103.
(2) by कमलाकर; sec. 106.

जलाशयोत्सर्गप्रकाश pr. at Ratnagarh (1893 A. D.).

जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (pr. by Jivananda). Sec. 102.

जातकर्मन् from the संस्कारभास्कर.

जातकर्मपद्धति by केशवभट्ट.

जातकर्मपद्धति by रामेश्वर.

जातकर्मादिबालाशकर्मान्त by वामनभट्ट.

जातरिष्टयादिनिर्णय by विद्यार्णव; N (new series) II p. 55-56.

जातिनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No. 11003) on कायस्थs etc.

जातिमाला (part of रुद्रयामलतन्त्र).

जातिमाला (vide N. vol. II. p. 151) on the origin of different Hindu castes.

जातिमाला by सोमनाथ, son of मुकुन्द and श्रीपार्श्विका, surnamed सकलकल and inhabitant of जलग्राम. Divided into three parts in verse on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति; but contains nothing on धर्म or जातिs. D. C. Ms. No. 302 of 1884-86.

जातिमाला (from पराशरपद्धति); Stein's cat. p. 94.

जातिविवेक m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण and in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

जातिविवेक by कृष्णगोविन्द पण्डित. Part of a larger work callen वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका.

जातिविवेक by त्र्यम्बक.

जातिविवेक by नारायणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 11147).

जातिविवेक by **पराशर**.

जातिविवेक by **रघुनाथ**.

जातिविवेक by **विश्वनाथ** (N. vol. IX p. 179). Stein's cat. calls it **°विवेकसंग्रह** (p. 89).

जातिविवेक by **विश्वेश्वरभट्ट** (probably same as first part of **कायस्थधर्मदीप**).

जातिविवेक by **व्यासगोपीनाथकवि** of **वासिष्ठगोत्र**, son of **शार्ङ्गधर**, grandson of **विश्वनाथ**, of **प्रत्यग्रपुर** (Parāṇḍā in Mahārāṣṭra ?). In three **उल्लास**s ; ms. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 519 No. 1639) is dated śake 1564 (1642 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat. No. 1323) says that it is part of **विश्वम्भरवास्तुशास्त्र**, which is quoted by **हेमाद्रि** and he gives the father's name as **व्यासराज** previously called **विश्वनाथ** and grandfather as ' Samaraja '.

जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न attributed to **सायण**.

जातिविवेकसंग्रह by **विश्वनाथ**.

जातिसाङ्कर्य by **शिवलाल शुकुल**.

जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद by **अनन्ताल्वार**.

जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद by **वेणीराम शाकद्वीपिन्**.

जिकनीयनिबन्ध m. in **दुर्गोत्सवविवेक** of **शूलपाणि** and by **कुल्लूक**.

जीर्णोद्धारविधि (according to **त्रिविक्रम**) on repairing temples, images of gods &c. N. vol. X. p. 271.

जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग by **नारायणभट्ट**, son of **रामेश्वरभट्ट**.

जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग by **शौनक**.

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय by **बालकृष्णभट्ट**, son of **रङ्गोजिभट्ट**. N. (new series) vol. III p. 64 (ms. dated **संवत्** 1785).

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय by **बालकृष्ण पायगुण्डे** (Baroda O. I. Nos. 358 and 5549).

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय or-**कर्मनिर्णय** by **रामकृष्णभट्ट**, son of **नारायणभट्ट**, son of **रामेश्वर**. About 1570-1590 A. D.

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यसंचय by **कृष्णभट्ट**.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था by **मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन्**, son of **व्रजराज**.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्थासार by **मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन्**, son of **व्रजराज**.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था -सारसंग्रह- abridgment of the above ms. (Ulwar cat. No. 1324) copied in **संवत्** 1812 (1755-6 A. D.).

जीवश्राद्ध Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 611.

जैमिनिगृह्य (ed. by Dr. Caland, Panjab Oriental Series 1922).

C. **सुबोधिनी** by **श्रीनिवास** (extracts printed in above).

जैमिनिगृह्यमन्त्रवृत्ति.

ज्ञातिभेदविवेक.

ज्ञानभास्कर (in the form of a dialogue between **सूर्य** and **अरुण**). Divided into **प्रकाश**s on **प्रायश्चित्त**, **कर्म** &c.; vide Bik. cat. p. 398. Burnell (Tanjore ms. cat. p. 136 b) says that the author's name appears to be **दिङ्मणि**. Baroda O. I. 1136 is a part of it (**कर्मप्रकाश** on **रोगाधिकार**) and ex-

tends over 10000 ग्रंथ and No. 10546 is another in 14000 ग्रंथ.

ज्ञानमाला by भट्टोत्पल m. in the धर्मप्रदीप of भोज and in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and in आचारमयूख.

ज्ञानरत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि, नृसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार), कुण्डकौमुदी. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

ज्ञानाङ्कुर by चूडामणि, son of राघवेन्द्रभट्ट, in four स्तबकs.

ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी by कृष्णानन्द on संस्कारs.

ज्येष्ठाविधान.

ज्योतिःकालकौमुदी m. by रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिःसागर m. in कालसार of गदाधर, नि. सि.

ज्योतिःसागरसार by मधुरेश.

ज्योतिःसागरसार by विद्यानिधि; N. (new series) vol. I p. 134, ms. dated śake 1670 (1748 A. D.).

ज्योतिःसार m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति and गोविन्दार्णव.

ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मदनपारिजात.

ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह by हृदयानन्द विद्यालङ्कार.

ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय m. by रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय by नन्द, son of देवशर्मन.

ज्योतिरर्णव m. in गोविन्दार्णव, सं. कौ.

ज्योतिर्निबन्ध m. in शूद्रकमलाकर and संस्कारमयूख and शुद्धिमयूख.

ज्योतिर्नृसिंह m. in गोविन्दार्णव and चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान of भट्टोजि.

ज्योतिषरत्न m. in संस्कारभास्कर of सिद्धेश्वर.

ज्योतिषरत्न by केशवतर्कपञ्चानन N. (new series) II. p. 58.

ज्योतिषार्णव m. by दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि, by रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिष्प्रकाश m by प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट, नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव.

ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

टोडरप्रकाश by रघुनन्दनमिश्र, under Raja Ṭoḍaramalla.

टोडरानन्द vide sec. 104.

ढुण्ढिप्रताप by विश्वनाथ under the patronage of Mahārāja ढुण्ढि. On the rites for every day of the year; ms. written in śake 1589 i. e. 1667-68 A. D. (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 136b.).

तण्डुलपद्धति m. in the अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट, by रघुनन्दन in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I p. 213) and in शूद्रकमलाकर; earlier than 1525 A. D.

तडागप्रतिष्ठा.

तडागादिपद्धति of टोडरमल्ल (part of टोडरानन्द).

तडागादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by धर्मकर उपाध्याय.

तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

तडागोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

तत्त्वकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्दकविकङ्कणाचार्य. It is a com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

तत्त्वकौस्तुभ by भट्टोजिदीक्षित (Baroda O. I. No. 376). Written at the bidding of केलदी वेङ्कटेश. Dilates

on the question as to who should observes तन्त्र rites, discourses on the inadvisability of तप्तमुद्राधारण and लिङ्गधारण.

तत्त्वदीप by त्र्यम्बक.

तत्त्वनिर्णय by पक्षधरमिश्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय वटेश्वर. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 155 for contents; ms. copied in śake 1661.

तत्त्वप्रकाश-vide शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

तत्त्वमुक्तावली vide BBRAS cat. p. 217 No. 687, probably same as the next.

C. vide BBRAS cat. p. 217 No. 687.

तत्त्वमुक्तावली of नन्दपण्डित vide sec. 105. Gives summary of his स्मृतिसिन्धु.

C. बालभूषा by बालकृष्ण.

C. बालभूषा by वेणीदत्त.

तत्त्वसंग्रह by कोनेरिभट्ट.

तत्त्वसागर m. by हेमाद्रि and रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व and in आचारमयूख.

तत्त्वसार m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

तत्त्वसारसंहिता m. by हेमाद्रि.

तत्त्वामृतधर्मशास्त्र- vide स्मृतितत्त्वामृत.

तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार by वर्धमान. An abridgment of his स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक or तत्त्वामृत divided into four कोशs on आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. Composed when king राम of मिथिला was reigning. Latter half of 15th century; mentions his दण्डविवेक in व्यवहारकोश.

तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्दकविकङ्कणाचार्य, a com. on प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि (pr. by Jivananda).

तत्त्वार्थदीप.

तन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

तन्त्रसारपश्चरत्न.

C. तन्त्रसारप्रकाशिका.

तप्तमुद्राखण्डन by अप्पय्यदीक्षित (against the practice of branding the body with marks, as वैष्णवs do).

तप्तमुद्राधारण or चक्रमीमांसा from स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

तप्तमुद्राविद्रावण by भास्करदीक्षित.

तप्तमुद्राविवेक by हरिरायगोस्वामिन् (Baroda O. I. 11575).

तर्पणचन्द्रिका by रामचरण.

तारकोपदेशव्यवस्था by अमृतानन्दतीर्थ.

तिथिकल्पद्रुम by कल्याण.

तिथिकौस्तुभ or तिथिदीधितिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव.

तिथिचक्र by विश्वनाथ ; Baroda O. I, 8336).

तिथिचन्द्रिका by पक्षधरमिश्र; (B. O. mss. cat. vol.I No. 145; ms. copied in ल. सं. 345 i. e. 1464 A. D.

तिथिचन्द्रिका by हरिदत्तमिश्र.

तिथिचन्द्रोदय m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

तिथितत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार. N. (new series) I. p. 155

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति. N. (new series) II p. 71.

C. by रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति ; N. (new series) II, p. 72.

तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि by महेशठक्कुर (pr. at Benares in 1887 A. D.).

तिथितत्त्वसार by आपदेव.

तिथिदर्पण.

तिथिदीधिति (part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

तिथिदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10724).

तिथिद्वैतनिर्णय (or तिथिविवेक) by शूलपाणि. Same as above.

तिथिद्वैधप्रकरण alias तिथिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Names संवत्सरप्रदीप, स्मृतिसमुच्चय.

C. by श्रीनाथशर्मन्, son of श्रीकर.

तिथिनिर्णय from the कालमाधव.

तिथिनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10611 is dated संवत् 1583 i. e. 1526-27 A. D.).

तिथिनिर्णय by कमलाकर.

तिथिनिर्णय by गङ्गाधर..

तिथिनिर्णय by गोपाल.

तिथिनिर्णय by गोविन्दभट्टसुखिल (Ulwar cat. No. 1326). Peterson is wrong in saying that he praises one कालरघूत्तम. रघूत्तम is here राम the incarnation of विष्णु, identified with काल(Time) and ब्रह्म.

तिथिनिर्णय by दयाशङ्कर.

तिथिनिर्णय by देवदासमिश्र.

तिथिनिर्णय by नागदेव, son of शिव; based upon निर्णयसिन्धु.

तिथिनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णय by पक्षधरमिश्र.

तिथिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज. Relies on हेमाद्रि.

तिथिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (pr. at Benares and Bombay).

तिथिनिर्णय by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

तिथिनिर्णय by महादेव.

तिथिनिर्णय by माधव (part of कालनिर्णय).

तिथिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ (probably same as राघवभट्ट). W. and K. cat. II p. 282 notes that रघुनाथ is written on title page of राघव's तिथिनिर्णय.

तिथिनिर्णय by रमापति सिद्धान्त; N. (new series) I. p. 156 ; composed in śake 1633.

तिथिनिर्णय by राघवभट्ट ; names निर्णयसिन्धु and नीलकण्ठ. So later than 1640 A. D. ; ms. copied in śake 1681 (1766 A. D.) ; pr. at Bombay in 1864.

तिथिनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र, pupil of गोपाल, Baroda O. I. No. 1524. About 1400 A. D.

C by हरिसिंह, son of the author. Ms. dated संवत् 1638 (1582 A.D.).

तिथिनिर्णय by रामप्रसाद.

तिथिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति.

तिथिनिर्णय by विश्वेश्वर ; names हेमाद्रि, माधव, चमत्कारचिन्तामणि, पुराणसमुच्चय.

तिथिनिर्णय by वैद्यनाथ (from चमत्कारचिन्तामणि).

तिथिनिर्णय by शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामी (Ulwar cat. No. 1329).

तिथिनिर्णय by शुभङ्कर.

तिथिनिर्णय by सिद्धलक्ष्मण.

तिथिनिर्णय by सुदर्शन.

तिथिनिर्णय from the लघुमाधवीय of माधवाचार्य.

तिथिनिर्णय from the स्मृत्यर्थसार.

तिथिनिर्णयकारिका by श्रीनिवासार्य, son of गोविन्दार्य of the कौशिकगोत्र.

तिथिनिर्णयचक्र by विश्वनाथ (Baroda O. I. No. 8336).

तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व by शिवनन्दननाग.

तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका by रामदेव, son of शम्भु.

तिथिनिर्णयमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.

तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप or तिथिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर.

तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह by रामचन्द्र. A summary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्तभट्ट.
C. by नृसिंह (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 1524 is dated संवत 1683). Later than 1400 A. D.

तिथिनिर्णयसर्वसमुच्चय.

तिथिनिर्णयसार by मदनपाल. Vide sec. 93.

तिथिनिर्णयेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार or लघुतिथिनिर्णय or निर्णयोद्धार by राघवभट्ट. Vide तिथिनिर्णय above. Also called तिथिसारसंग्रह.

तिथिप्रकाश by मधुसूदन द्विवेदिन.

तिथिप्रकाशप्रकाशिका.

तिथिप्रदीपक by भट्टोजि.

तिथिप्रदीपिका by नृसिंह. Refers to विद्यारण्य.

तिथिप्रदीपिका by रामसेवक.

तिथिमञ्जरी of गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर, son of महादेव, son of लालभट्ट.

तिथिरत्न by महादेव.

तिथिरत्नमाला by नीलकण्ठ, son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि.

तिथिवाक्यनिर्णय--Vide तिथिनिर्णय of नारायणभट्ट.

तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि m. in रघुनन्दन's तिथितत्त्व.

C. तात्पर्यदीपिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर; about 1475-1525 A.D. N. (new series) vol. II. pp. 73-74 ms. copied in 1512-13 A. D.

तिथिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

तिथिसंग्रह or तिथिनिर्णय by राघव. Vide above (pr. in Bombay 1864).

तिथिसंग्रह ano. N. (new series) II. p. 75.

तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथिस्वरूप by सुरेश्वर.

तिथीन्दुशेखर by नागेशभट्ट.

तिथ्यर्क by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण of भारद्वाजगोत्र; author of आचारार्क (both being parts of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि). About 1683 A. D.

अनुक्रमणिका by his son वैद्यनाथ.

तिथ्यर्कपर्वनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No. 5947). The author says that नारायणभट्ट author of प्रयोगरत्न was

the great-grand-father (प्रपितामह) of his mother. So author flourished about 1650 A. D.

तिथ्यर्कप्रकाश by दिवाकर (same as तिथ्यर्क above ?).

तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 5772 is dated 1605 संवत् i. e. 1548-9 A. D.). Mentions दीपिका, कालादर्श, माधव and निर्णयामृत. So later than 1400 A. D.

तिथ्यादिनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ.

तिथ्यादिनिर्णय of पद्मनाभ (part of योगीश्वरसंग्रह; ms. copied in 1707 A. D.).

तिथ्यादिविधिसंग्रह by रघूत्तम तर्कशिरोमणि. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 75.

तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली by हरिलालमिश्र.

तीर्थकमलाकर alias सर्वतीर्थविधि of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Vide sec. 106.

तीर्थकल्पलता by गोकुलदेव, son of अनन्तदेव.

तीर्थकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Sec. 105.

तीर्थकल्पलता by वाचस्पति.

तीर्थकाशिका m. by गङ्गाधर.

तीर्थकौमुदी of शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल; mentions तीर्थचिन्तामणि. Same as तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी.

तीर्थकौमुदी of सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

तीर्थचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, in five प्रकाशs (pr. in B. I. series); m. in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and in नि. सि. Vide sec. 98.

तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व of रघु०. This is over and above his स्मृतितत्त्व in 28 तत्त्वs.

तीर्थदर्पण (vide under कच्छुप्रयोग) of भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed होमिङ्ग.

तीर्थनिर्णय or कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र.

तीर्थपरिभाषा by व्यास.

तीर्थमञ्जरी by मुकुन्दलाल.

तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Same as तीर्थतत्त्व; sec. 102.

तीर्थयात्रानिर्णय.

तीर्थरत्नाकर by अनन्तभट्ट, son of यदुभट्ट, at the request of अनूपसिंह.

तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद of रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, of पराशरगोत्र; ms. dated संवत् 1690 (1634-5 A. D.). He composed the युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी, com. on शास्त्रदीपिका, at Benares in संवत् 1600. He is author of प्रतापमार्तण्ड; flourished between 1500-1545 A. D.

तीर्थसंग्रह m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर.

तीर्थसंग्रह by साहेबराम.

तीर्थसार (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

तीर्थसेतु by वृन्दावन शुक्ल.

तीर्थसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

तीर्थेन्दुशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.

तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसूरि. Vide under व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी. About 1753 A. D.

तुलसीकाष्ठमालाधारणनिषेध by नवासिंह (Baroda O. I. No. 3894).

तुलसीचन्द्रिका by राजनारायण मुखोपाध्याय.

तुलसीविवाह (taken from प्रतापमार्तण्ड) Ulwar cat. No. 1334 and extract 313.

तुलादान.

तुलादानपद्धति.

तुलादानपुरुषप्रयोग.

तुलादानप्रकरण by सिद्धनाथ.

तुलादानप्रयोग (माध्यन्दिनीय).

तुलादानप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

तुलादानविधि.

तुलापद्धति by कमलाकर.

तुलापुरुषदानपद्धति.

तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग by विट्ठल.

तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति by गोपीनाथ.

तुलापुरुषमहादानप्रयोग or तुलादानविधि by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर: sec. 103.

त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी or आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी by बोपदेव. Is it the same as the next ?

त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी or आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी or सूतककारिका (pr. at Benares in 1876 with com.) in 30 स्रग्धरा verses on आशौच. Ulwar cat. No. 1339 ascribes it to बोपदेव. Vide BBRAS cat vol. II pp. 209-210 where it is ascribed to हेमाद्रि.

C. विवरण by रघुनाथभट्ट, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; flourished 1560-1625 A. D.

CC. विवरणसारोद्धार by शम्भुभट्ट कविमण्डन, son of बालकृष्ण. Names नि. सि., मयूख, भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Between 1660-1710 A. D. He says he follows com. of रघुनाथ on the त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

C. आशौचसंग्रह.

C. ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर (wrongly). Vide under दशश्लोकी.

C. by अनन्तभट्ट (Ulwar cat. No. 1340).

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Ulwar cat. No. 1341); ms. in Baroda O.I. 3883 is dated संवत 1579 (1522-23 A. D).

C. सुबोधिनी by अनन्त, son of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. About 1610-1660 A. D.

C. by कृष्णमित्र.

C. by राघव.

C. by रामभट्ट.

C. by विश्वनाथ.

C. (vide I. O. cat. III p. 566, No. 1750-51).

C. by रामेश्वरभारती.

C. by author.

त्रिकाण्डमण्डन alias आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका by भास्करमिश्रसोमयाजिन्, son of कुमारस्वामिन् (pr. in B. I. series). Printed text and mss. differ. Divided into four sections in 575 verses on अधिकारिनिरूपण, प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधेय, निमित्त and प्रकीर्णक. He names कपर्दिस्वामिन्?, कर्क, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामोदर, नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र, भवनाग, भरद्वाजसूत्रभाष्यकार, लौगाक्षिकारिका, भर्तृयज्ञ, शालीकिनाथ (on पूर्वमीमांसा), यज्ञपार्श्व, कर्मदीप, विधिरत्न; many

of his कारिकाs, though primarily concerned with śrauta rites, are quoted largely in धर्मशास्त्र works. He incidentally deals with many topics of धर्म, such as proper actions in मलमास (I. 165-177), what is गौणकाल for an act etc. He is named by हेमाद्रि and the मदनपारिजात. So he flourished after 1000 and before 1200 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 30-31 for date.

C. विवरण.

C. पद्मप्रकाशिका.

त्रिकालसन्ध्या.

त्रिपिण्डीश्राद्धप्रयोग (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 591).

त्रिपुष्करशान्तितत्त्व of रघु०; vide p. 417 above.

त्रिविक्रमपद्धति m. in नि. सि.

त्रिविक्रमी (rules for the consecration of images when transferred from one place to anothor through fear of mlecchas or otherwise). N. vol. IX p. 295.

त्रिवेणीपद्धति by दिवाकरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 5840).

त्रिस्थलीविधि by हेमाद्रि.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट (pr. at Ānandāśrama Poona). The first part deals with rites common to all sacred places and then the special features of the pilgrimage to प्रयाग, काशी and गया. Composed about 1550-60 A. D.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुप्रघट्टक by नागेश.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुसार or -सारसंग्रह or तीर्थयात्राविधि by भट्टोजि.

त्रैलोक्यसागर m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र in his द्वैतनिर्णय. So earlier than 1400 A. D.

त्रैलोक्यसार m. by हेमाद्रि, रघुनन्दन, and in दानमयूख.

त्रैवार्षिकसंन्यास by कैलासपति.

त्रैविक्रमी- vide त्रिविक्रमपद्धति.

दक्षस्मृति see sec. 43; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II, pp. 383-402, Ānan. sm. pp. 72-84.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by तकनलाल.

दक्षिणाचारनिर्णय by नारायण (Baroda O. I. 9175).

दण्डकशान्ति.

दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (extracted from the नीतिमञ्जरी of शम्भुराज).

दण्डविवेक of वर्धमान of बिल्वपञ्चग्राम, son of भवेश and younger brother of गण्डकमिश्र; in seven परिच्छेदs; latter half of 15th century; on penal offences, the propriety of inflicting punishments and the different forms of punishments to be inflicted. N. vol. V p. 225 No. 1910; composed for the king of मिथिला; mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हलायुध, धर्मकोश, स्मृतिसार, कल्पसागर, रत्नाकर, पारिजात, व्यवहारतिलक, प्रदीपिका and प्रदीप as among his authorities. It is a part of his स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक,

दत्तककुठार.

दत्तककौमुदी by रामजय तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta in 1827 in Bengali characters). Summarised in दत्तकशिरोमणि pr. under the patronage of P. C. Tagore.

दत्तककौस्तुभ by केदारनाथदत्त (pr. at Calcutta).

दत्तकचन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित (pr. Calcutta 1857, text with Marathi translation pr. at Baroda, 1899). The last verse is interpreted as giving रघुमणि as the name of the author. Said to be fabricated by a pandit of Colebrooke's. The author says he wrote a स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

C. by रामेश्वरशुक्ल.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by कोलप्पाचार्य.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by तोळप्पार, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 6572 B.)

दत्तकचन्द्रिकाटीका by तकनलाल.

दत्तकतत्त्वविनिर्णय or-निर्णय by हरिनाथमिश्र. N. vol. XI. Intro. p. 5.

दत्तकतिलक of भवदेव (a part of his व्यवहारतिलक). Summarised in the दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकदर्पण by द्वैपायन (N. X. p. 71).

दत्तकदीधिति by महामहोपाध्याय अनन्तभट्ट (pr. at Calcutta and also at Bhavnagar). Summarised in दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकनिर्णय by तान्याशास्त्रिन्.

दत्तकनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय.

दत्तकनिर्णय by शूलपाणि (part of his digest called स्मृतिविवेक). Nearly the whole is pr. in Bharatachandra Siromani's दत्तकशिरोमणि. Also styled दत्तकविवेक.

दत्तकनिर्णय by श्रीनाथभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by अनन्तदेव (probably same as दत्तकदीधिति above).

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by नृसिंहभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधि by शूलपाणि; same as दत्तकनिर्णय above.

दत्तकमीमांसा or दत्तपुत्रनिर्णयमीमांसा of नन्दपण्डित alias विनायकपण्डित (pr. by भरतचन्द्र शिरोमणि at Calcutta). Vide sec. 105.

C. by वृन्दावनशुक्ल.

दत्तकमीमांसा by माधवाचार्य.

दत्तकविधि (an extract from the व्यवहारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ).

दत्तकविधि by वाचस्पति ; vide N. (New Series) vol. III. preface pp. VII-VIII.

दत्तकविवेक by शूलपाणि (vide दत्तकनिर्णय above).

दत्तकसपिण्डनिर्णय.

दत्तकोज्ज्वल by वर्धमान, who performs an obeisance to काली. N. (new series) vol. I p. 166.

दत्ताचिन्तामणि by यज्ञेश्वर, son of नरसिंह.

दत्तदायप्रकाश by व्रजनाथ विद्यारत्न (pr. at Calcutta 1875).

दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक by वासुदेवभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 307).

दत्तपुत्राधिकार by गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10701 b).

दत्तपुत्रविधि.

दत्तमञ्जरी.

दत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

दत्तरत्नाकर by धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र ; names विज्ञानेश्वर, कालामृत, वरदराजीय, दत्तसंग्रह, कालनिर्णय, दत्तमीमांसा; later than 1650 A. D.

दत्तरत्नार्णव by सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (Baroda O. I. No. 7204).

दत्तविधि by वैद्यनाथ.

दत्तसंग्रह by भीमसेनकवि.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by बालकृष्ण, son of देवभट्टदीक्षित of the Phalnitkar family. His guru was अद्वैतानन्द.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by भट्टभास्करपण्डित.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमन्दारमञ्जरी.

दत्तस्मृतिसार.

दत्तहोमानुक्रमणिका.

दत्तादर्श by माधवपण्डित.

दत्तार्क by दादा करञ्जगि, son of माधव, son of नृसिंह. He was pupil of कृष्णाचार्य at Nasik on the Godāvari and composed the work in Śake 1691 (1769 A. D.). Names निर्णयसिन्धुकार and मयूखकार.

दत्तार्चनकौमुदी or दत्तात्रेयपद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका by रामानन्दयति.

दत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाद by रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of रामशङ्कर; flourished towards end of 18th century.

दन्तधावनविधि.

दर्शनिर्णय by वैकुण्ठनाथ, called वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रघुनाथ, son of सरस्वतीवल्लभ. On such topics as जयन्तीनिर्णय, एकादशीनिर्णय &c. Probably a part of his स्मृतिरत्नाकर (N. vol. VIII p. 14). Mentions स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णय, अखण्डादर्श.

दर्शश्राद्ध by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिङ्ग.

दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ. Based on हेमाद्रि's work.

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by भट्टगोविन्द (Baroda O. I. ms. 1677 dated Śake 1680).

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by शिवराम.

दर्शसञ्चिका.

दशकर्मदीपिका or-पद्धति of पशुपति for Yajurvedins (Kāṇva). He was elder brother of हलायुध and Pandit of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal and so flourished about 1168-1200 A. D.

दशकर्मपद्धति by महामहोपाध्याय कालेसि for Ṛgvedins (about गर्भाधान etc.). N. vol. II. p. 61.

दशकर्मपद्धति by गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

दशकर्मपद्धति by पृथ्वीधर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट ; (the work is also called दशकर्मदीपिका or कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति). According to छन्दोग school. Vide sec. 73.

दशकर्मपद्धति by रामदत्तमैथिल for Vājasaneyins; same as गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति.

दशकर्मव्याख्या of हलायुध (part of ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व).

दशाकालनिर्णय.

दशधेनुदानपद्धति or-विधि (part of हेमाद्रि's दानखण्ड).

दशानिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ.

दशानिर्णय (on fasts and festivals) m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

दशपुत्राह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्र family.

दशलक्षकोटिहोमप्रयोग by देवभद्रपाठक (Baroda O. I. 10963).

दशविधविप्रपद्धति.

दशश्लोकी (ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर) on आशौच. Same as आशौचदशक above.

C. by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर. In Hultzsch's Report III p. 101 we find that भट्टोजि says 'विज्ञानेश्वर-मदनपारिजातकारत्रिंशच्छ्लोकीकारप्रभृतयस्तु ब्राह्मणस्य वैश्यानुगमने पक्षिणीत्याहु:,' which shows that he regarded the author of त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी as different from विज्ञानेश्वर.

दशसंस्कारपद्धति. Same as गर्भाधानादि-दशसंस्कारपद्धति.

दशसंस्कारप्रकरण.

दशाविकालनिर्णय.

दशाहकर्मन्.

दशाहविवाह by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

दानकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट; sec. 106.

दानकल्प quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

दानकल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर-part of कल्पतरु; sec. 77.

दानकाण्डपर्व by साम्बाजी प्रतापराज (from परशुरामप्रताप.)

दानकाण्डसंक्षेप.

दानकौतुक (extracted from the हरिवंशविलास of नन्दपण्डित).

दानकौमुदी by रामजयतर्कालङ्कार.

दानकौमुदी or दानक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (about 1500-1540 A. D.); mentioned in his श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. Vide sec. 107; pr. in B. I. series.

दानकौस्तुभ (from the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

दानचन्द्रिका by गौतम.

दानचन्द्रिका by जयराम (abstract of हेमाद्रि).

दानचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव and grandson of रामेश्वर surnamed काल; names दानोद्योत, दानरत्न, दानमयूख, and व्रतार्क; also called दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका. Later than 1660 A. D.; pr. at Benares in 1864 and at Bombay in 1880 and 1884.

दानचन्द्रिका by नीलकण्ठ.

दानचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. About 1475-1525 A. D.

दानचन्द्रिकावली by श्रीधरपति.

दानतत्त्व.

दानदर्पण m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 250) and तिथितत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

दानदिनकर by कमलाकर.

दानदिनकर by दिवाकर, son of दिनकर.

दानदीधिति by नीलकण्ठ, son of भास्कर.

दानदीपवाक्यसमुच्चय.

दानधर्मप्रक्रिया by भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवसम्मिश्र मैथिल. Names भूपाल. In four काण्डs; ms. (Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 144) dated śake 1558, i.e. 1636-7 A.D.

दानपञ्जी or -पञ्जिका by नवराज, son of देवसिंह of द्रोण family. N. vol. V. p. 150. Peterson (5th Report p. 177) reads नरराज and shows that सूर्यकर compiled it at the bidding of नरराज.

दानपञ्जी by रत्नाकर ठक्कुर -summarises दानसागर, as he expressly says.

दानपञ्जी by सूर्यकरशर्मन्- vide above under नवराज also.

दानपद्धति-षोडशमहादानपद्धति by रामदत्त minister of कर्णाट king हरिसिंह of मिथिला. He was first cousin (paternal) of चण्डेश्वर. First half of 14th century (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 550 No. 1714). The colophon describes it as the work of भवशर्मन्, who is in the 4th introductory verse referred to as born of the सोपालवंश and as an अग्निहोत्रिन् and appointed (to compose the work?).

दानपरिभाषा by नीलकण्ठ.

दानपरीक्षा by श्रीधरमिश्र.

दानपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेश or नागदेव, son of जह्नु of काण्वकुल.

दानपारिजात by क्षेमेन्द्र.

दानप्रकरण.

दानप्रकार.

दानप्रकाश of मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय). Vide sec. 108.

दानप्रदीप by दयाराम.

दानप्रदीप by दयाशङ्कर.

दानप्रदीप by महामहोपाध्याय माधव, son of विष्णुशर्मन् from Gurjaradeśa.

दानफलविवेक.

दानफलव्रत- description of ceremonies to be performed by wives estranged from husbands or by women afraid of being separated from their sons. (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 577).

दानभागवत by वर्णिकुबेरानन्द ; composed during the reign of संग्रामसिंह. It is a huge work and is very valuable for the history of the text of the Purāṇas and for Purāṇic rites, as it deals principally with topics of धर्म relying upon the पुराणs. Vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 which contains 392 folios. D. C. ms. No. 496 of 1886-92 is a fragment of it, on grammatical points arising out of पुराणs. It gives various derivations of the word नागरी as applied to the alphabet. It mentions बोपदेव and so is later than 1300 A.D.

दानमञ्जरी by भजराज.

दानमनोहर by सदाशिव, son of शिवाठिपरमानन्द ; composed in संवत् 1735 (1678-79 A. D.) by command of चौहान महाराज मनोहरदास.

दानमयूख by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. First half of the 17th century (pr. in Kashi S. series and by Mr. Gharpure, Bombay).

दानमहिमन्.

दानमुक्तावली.

दानरत्न m. in दानचन्द्रिका.

दानरत्न part of अनूपविलास.

दानरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

दानरत्नाकर by मणिराम, son of मुद्गल, of the होसिंग family; compiled under the direction of अनूपसिंह, king of जोधापुर in मरुविषय. Gives genealogy of अनूपसिंह, whose ancestor बीक founded Bikaner. मणिराम says he composed at the king's bidding five other works अनूपविवेक (on शालग्रामपरीक्षण), सन्तानकल्पलतिका, अनूपकृतार्णव, अमृतमञ्जरी (on antidotes against poisons) and चिकित्सामालतीमाला. About 1675 A. D.

दानवाक्य.

दानवाक्यसमुच्चय by योगीश्वर (Baroda O. I. ms. 10513 dated संवत 1687 i. e. 1630-1 A. D.). D. C. ms. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत 1594.

दानवाक्यसमुच्चय by योगीश्वर, mentioned in भोजदेवसंग्रह, a ms. of which was copied in śake 1297 (1375 A. D.).

दानवाक्यावलि by नरराज.

दानवाक्यावलि by विद्यापति; composed at the direction of महादेवी धीरमति, queen of नरसिंहदेव दर्पनारायण of मिथिला; ms. dated संवत 1539 (1483 A. D.). First half of 15th century. Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 352 for extract.

दानवाक्यावलि Anonymons (D. C. ms. No. 367 of 1891-95).

दानविजय.

दानविवेक m. by हेमाद्रि, दानचन्द्रिका, दानमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

दानविवेक by भानुदीक्षित, son of भट्टोजिदीक्षित. About 1650. A. D.

दानविवेकोद्द्योत or दानोद्द्योत (from मदनरत्न).

दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर son of महादेव. Vide दानचन्द्रिका above.

दानसागर by अनन्तभट्ट.

दानसागर by कामदेवमहाराज, in imitation of बल्लालसेन's work.

दानसागर by बल्लालसेन. Vide sec. 83.

दानसार, portion of नृसिंहप्रसाद. Vide sec. 99.

दानसारसंग्रह (only section on वास्तुपूजा). Ulwar cat. No. 1355 and extract 319.

दानसारावली (vide Bik. cat. p. 375).

दानसौख्य m. in दानचन्द्रिका and दानमयूख (part of टोडरानन्द).

दानहीरावलिप्रकाश by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव. He was daughter's son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट. A versified summary of contents was added to this work by his younger son वैद्यनाथ. He wrote आचारार्क in 1686 A. D. The work is part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि. Vide under आचारार्क (I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 547-48).

अनुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथ, son of the author.

दानहेमाद्रि— part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, q. v.

दानार्णव composed by order of queen धीरमति, wife of धीरनारायण नरसिंहदेव (कामेश्वरराजपण्डित) of मिथिला. First half of 15th century.

दानोद्योत-same as दानविवेकोद्योत (a part of मदनरत्नप्रदीप).

दानोद्योत by कृष्णराम.

दामोदरीय m. in निर्णयदीपक and शुद्धिमयूख and समयमयूख ; earlier than 1500 A. D.

दायकौमुदी by पीताम्बर सिद्धान्तवागीश. About 1604 A D.; pr. at Calcutta 1904.

दायक्रमसंग्रह of श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta, 1828 and translated by Wynch); mentions आचार्यचूडामणि.

दायतत्त्व or दायभागतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (pr. by Jivananda). Vide sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. by राधामोहन.

C. by वृन्दावन शुक्ल.

C. Ano. N. (new series) vol. II p. 80.

दायदशश्लोकी in ten शार्दूलविक्रीडित verses on inheritance (pr. by Burnell at Mangalore).

C. by दुर्गय, son of वासुदेव.

दायदीप, com. on दायभाग. Vide under दायभाग.

दायनिर्णय by गोपालपञ्चानन. Summary of रघुनन्दन's दायतत्त्व.

दायनिर्णय by विद्याकर.

दायनिर्णय by श्रीकरशर्मा ; quotes मदनपारिजात, दायभाग and वाचस्पति. Vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 462 No. 1523 ; p. 463 No. 1524 shows that there is some confusion between गोपाल and श्रीकरशर्मा.

दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन. Vide sec. 78 ; (pr. with seven com. by Bharatachandra for Prasanna Kumar Tagore, 1863-66).

C. by दायभागप्रबोधिनी (pr. at Calcutta 1893, 1898).

C. दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुदचन्द्रिका by अच्युत चक्रवर्ती, son of हरिदास तर्काचार्य ; criticizes श्रीनाथ's टीका and he is quoted by महेश्वर and श्रीकृष्ण. 1500-1550 A. D.

C. by उमाशङ्कर.

C. by कृष्णकान्तशर्मा.

C. by गङ्गाधर.

C. by मङ्गराम.

C. दायदीप by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार, whose daughter's son was living in 1790 A. D. (pr. in 1863).

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by भवेश्वर (vide I. L. R. 48 Cal. 702).

C. by महेश्वर ; quotes अच्युतचक्रवर्ती (pr. in 1863).

C. by रघुनन्दन (pr. in 1863), son of हरिहर.

C. by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति.

C. विवृति or दीपिका by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्य चूडामणि ; quoted in अच्युत's टीका (pr. in 1863).

C. by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य ; criticized by अच्युत (pr. in 1863). 1475-1525 A. D.

G. by सदाशिव.

C. by हरिदीक्षित.

दायभाग—a portion of व्यवहारनिर्णय of वरदराज.

दायभाग—a portion of the विवादभङ्गार्णव of जगन्नाथ.

दायभाग by वैद्यनाथ.

दायभागकारिका by मोहनचन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति. N. (new series) I. 172.

दायभागनिर्णय or -विनिर्णय by कामदेव (I. O. cat. p. 463).

दायभागनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (Peterson's 6th Report No. 84).

दायभागनिर्णय by व्यासदेव.

दायभागनिर्णय of श्रीकर-vide दायनिर्णय above.

दायभागविवेक alias दायरहस्य by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति ; a com. on दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन composed in 1657 A.D. Part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि. N. vol. V. p. 154.

दायभागव्यवस्था of सार्वभौम in 8 स्तबकs. Composed in (शाकेक्षिमङ्गलहरास्यकलानिधाने) śake 1583 i. e. 1661-2 A. D. ; composed for राघव.

दायभागव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट (part of व्यवस्थासंक्षेप).

दायभागसिद्धान्त of बलभद्र तर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य (I. O. cat. p. 465).

दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुदचन्द्रिका, com. on दायभाग. Vide above.

दायभागार्थदीपिकापद्यावली by रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि. N. (new series) vol. I p. 174 ; towards end of 18th century.

दायमुक्तावली by टीकाराम.

दायरहस्य-vide दायभागविवेक of रामनाथ.

दायविभाग by कमलाकर.

दायसंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशकव्याख्या by दुर्गय, son of वासुदेव. Vide दायदशश्लोकी.

दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार.

दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by कृष्ण or जयकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार. Ulwar cat. No. 1356. Seems to be same as the preceding.

दायाधिकारिक्रम by लक्ष्मीनारायण.

दाल्भ्यकृतधर्मशास्त्र (on श्राद्ध) D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 contains prose passages about प्रयोग.

दाल्भ्यस्मृति (Baroda O. I. No. 8156). On rites of death and after death.

दासीदान.

दाहाग्निकर्मकर्तृनिर्णय by याज्ञिकदेव सम्राट्स्थपति.

दाहादिकर्मपद्धति.

दिनकरोद्योत or शिवद्युमणिदीपिका begun by दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and finished by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट; contains sections on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, पूर्त, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, शुद्ध, श्राद्ध, and संस्कार.

दिनत्रयनिर्णय of विद्याधीशमुनि.

दिनत्रयमीमांसा of नारायण (for माध्व followers).

दिनदीपिका.

दिनभास्कर of शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश. Manual of daily religious duties

of householders. About 1715 A. D.

दिवस्पतिसंग्रह m. by जीमूतवाहन's कालविवेक.

दिवोदासप्रकाश m. by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर.

दिवोदासीय m. by नि. सि., विधानपारिजात, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D. Probably the same as दिवोदासप्रकाश.

दिव्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102. C. लघुटीका by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकौमुदी m. by देवनाथ; mentions only Vaishnavite rites. (Mitra's Notices vol. VI p. 32, ms. copied in 1551 Sake i. e. 1629-30 A. D.).

दिव्यदीपिका of दामोदरठक्कुर, compiled under Muhamad Shah (N. vol. V. p. 282).

दिव्यनिर्णय of दामोदरठक्कुर, compiled under संग्रामशाह (N. vol. VI. p. 40). Earlier than 1575 A.D. Vide under विवेकदीपक of दामोदर

दिव्यसंग्रह by सदानन्द.

दिव्यसिंहकारिका by दिव्यसिंह. An abridgment in verse of his कालदीप and श्राद्धदीप.

दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec.103. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 92.

दीक्षातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide see. 102.

दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका of रामकिशोर (C. P. cat. No. 2202).

दीक्षानिर्णय.

दीपकलिका of शूलपाणि, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. Vide sec. 95.

दीपदान.

दीपदानविधि or-कारिका.

दीपमालिका.

दीपश्राद्ध.

दीपावलिप्रयोग.

दीपिका-Occurs in the name of several works such as कालनिर्णयदीपिका, श्राद्धदीपिका &c.

दीपोत्सवनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 10625 dated 1757 संवत).

दुर्गभञ्जन (alias स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन) by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा, a वारेन्द्रब्राह्मण of नवद्वीप. Four chapters on तिथि, मास, persons qualified to perform religious ceremonies such as दुर्गापूजा, fasts and penances ; solves doubts on points of dharma.

दुर्गातत्त्व-Vide दुर्गोत्सवतत्त्व.

दुर्गातत्त्व by राघवभट्ट

दुर्गापुरश्चरणपद्धति.

दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी or दुर्गोत्सवपद्धति ascribed to नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला, composed by विद्यापति. This was his last work. Praises धीरसिंह, son of नरसिंह, and his brother भैरवेन्द्र who is here styled रूपनारायण, though elsewhere he is called हरिनारायण (vide Ind. Ant. vol. 14 p. 193). About 1438 A.D.; pr. in Calcutta, 1909. Mentions रत्नाकर.

दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी of माधव.

दुर्गाभक्तिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in दुर्गोत्सवतत्त्व.

दुर्गाभक्तिलहरी by रघुनाथतीर्थ.

दुर्गार्चनकल्पतरु.

दुर्गार्चनामृतरहस्य by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

दुर्गार्चाकालनिष्कर्ष by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति. N. (new series), vol. I. p. 81.

दुर्गार्चाकौमुदी by परमानन्दशर्मन्.

दुर्गार्चामुकुर by कालीचरण in two खण्डs, first describing जगद्धात्रीपूजा and the 2nd कालिकापूजा. It speaks of the दुर्गापूजा on कार्तिकशुक्लनवमी while the well-known दुर्गापूजा is in आश्विन.

दुर्गार्णव m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

दुर्गावतीप्रकाश alias समयालोक by पद्मनाभ, son of बलभद्र. In seven आलोकs. Composed under patronage of दुर्गावती queen of दलपति, king on the नर्मदा and father of वीरसाहि; vide Bik. cat. p. 450 and I. O. cat. p. 536 No. 1680. M. by शङ्करभट्ट in द्वैतनिर्णय and names निर्णयामृत, मदनपारिजात, मदनरत्न. Between 1460-1550 A.D. Deals with निर्णयs on तिथिs, संक्रान्ति, मलमास etc. Is this दलपति the same as the author of नृसिंहप्रसाद? The seven sections are on समय, व्रत, आचार, व्यवहार, दान, शुद्धि, ईश्वराराधन (or पूजा?).

दुर्गोत्सवकृत्यकौमुदी by शम्भुनाथसिद्धान्तवागीश. Mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप, वर्षकृत्य. He was a pandit at the court of the king of कामरूप. About 1715 A. D.

दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका by भारतीभूषण वर्धमान महापात्र at the instance of prince रामचन्द्रदेव गजपति of Orissa.

दुर्गोत्सवतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय by गोपाल (N. vol. VI p. 210).

दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय by न्यायपञ्चानन (name not given). Mitra appears to regard this as different from above, while Aufrecht holds them identical. N. vol. VII p. 7.

दुर्गोत्सवपद्धति- vide दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी.

दुर्गोत्सवप्रमाण by रघुनन्दन. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II pp. 310-311 No. 336.

दुर्गोत्सवविवेक by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

दुर्गोत्सवविवेक by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि

दुष्टरजोदर्शनशान्ति (from प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट)

दूतयोगलक्षण.

दूतलक्षण

दूलालीय by दूलाल

देवजानीय m. in नि. सि., विधानपारिजात, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

देवतापरिपूजा

देवतिलकपद्धति (marriage of an idol of विष्णु with लक्ष्मी). N. (new series II. p. 179.

देवदासप्रकाश or मद्ग्रन्थचूडामणि by देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son of अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र. Extensive digest of leading rites with particular reference to lunations, and on श्राद्ध, आशौच, मलमास Based as the author says

on कल्पतरु, कर्क, कृत्यदीप, स्मृतिसार, मिताक्षरा, कृत्यार्णव. Between 1350-1500 A. D. Baroda O. I. No. 5581.

देवदासीय m. by नि. सि., विधानपारिजात, श्राद्धमयूख. (Probably same as above).

देवपद्धति m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम of अनन्तदेव. Probably the महारुद्रपद्धति of अनन्तदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व or प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

देवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

देवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by श्यामसुन्दर, son of गङ्गाधरदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठाविधि (Bik. cat. p. 380).

देवयाज्ञिकपद्धति (यजुर्वेदीय) of देवयाज्ञिक (pr. in Kashi S. series).

देवलस्मृति- vide sec. 23 , pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 85-89.

देवस्थापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल, surnamed घारे (Baroda O. I. 1464).

देवालयप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रमापति.

देवीपरिचर्या m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

देवीपूजनभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश (N. vol. VII p. 154 gives date of completion as खयुगोर्मिशिवे शाके निशाचरतिथौ शुभे).

देवीपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

देशान्तरमृतक्रियानिरूपण.

देहशुद्धिप्रायश्चित्त (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 673).

दैवज्ञचिन्तामणि m. in टोडरानन्द.

दैवज्ञमनोहर by लक्ष्मीधर- m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व and in टोडरानन्द and by नि. सि.; (probably a purely astrological work). Earlier than 1500 A. D.

दैवज्ञवल्लभ by नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति ; m. by नि. सि. (probably a purely astrological work).

दोलयात्रा.

दोलयात्रातत्त्व or दोलयात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन ; vide sec. 102. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 191.

दोलयात्राविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

दोलायात्रामृत by नारायणतर्काचार्य.

दोलारोहणपद्धति of विद्यानिवास.

द्रव्यशुद्धि by रघुनाथ.

द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर. Author describes himself as श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्यचरणाब्जदासदास ; quotes नि. सि., शुद्धिमयूख, दिनकरोद्द्योत ; he was born in संवत 1724 (1668 A. D.) and died about संवत 1781 : pr. in 1906

द्राह्यायणगृह्यपरिशिष्ट

द्राह्यायणगृह्यपूर्वापरप्रयोग.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्र vide खादिरगृह्यसूत्र ; pr. at Ānandāśrama Press, Poona with com.

C. by रुद्रस्कन्द.

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्रकारिका by बालाग्निहोत्रिन्.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्रप्रयोग by चित्तानन्दन.

द्रोणचिन्तामणि.

द्वात्रिंशत्कर्मपद्धति.

द्वात्रिंशदपराध (Baroda O. I. No. 12225).

द्वादशमाससदेयदानरत्नाकर.

द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व or **द्वादशयात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व** of **रघुनन्दन**. On the twelve great festivals of Viṣṇu at Jagannāthapurī.

द्वादशयात्राप्रयोग by **विद्यानिवास** (about **जगन्नाथ**). N. (new series) I. p. 194.

द्वादशविधपुत्रमीमांसा.

द्वादशाहकर्मविधि.

द्विजकल्पलता by **परशुराम** in 6 **उल्लास**s. Hultzsch's Report III p. 60.

द्विजराजोदय.

द्विजाह्निकपद्धति of **ईशान**, the elder brother of **हलायुध**. About 1170 1200 A. D.

द्विभार्याग्नि.

द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्गप्रमाणदर्शन by **बुद्धिकरशुक्ल**.

द्विसप्ततिश्राद्ध.

द्वैततत्त्व of **सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन**.

द्वैतनिर्णय by **चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति**, son of **विद्याभूषण**. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II. 79.

द्वैतनिर्णय by **नरहरि** ; quoted by **रत्नपाणि** in **क्षयमासादिविवेक**; mentions **रत्नाकर**.

द्वैतनिर्णय of **वाचस्पतिमिश्र**. Vide sec. 98.

C. **प्रकाश** or **जीर्णोद्धार** by **मधुसूदन मिश्र**.

C. **प्रदीप** or **कादम्बरी** by **गोकुलनाथ** (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 488).

द्वैतनिर्णय by **शङ्करभट्ट**. About 1580-1600; on doubtful points of **धर्म**. Vide Annals of Bhandarkar Institute vol. III part 2 pp. 67-72.

द्वैतनिर्णय m. in **व्रतराज** by **विश्वनाथ** as composed by his grandfather. Latter half of 17th century.

द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट or **द्वैतपरिशिष्ट** by **केशवमिश्र**; m. by **रत्नपाणि**; in two **परिच्छेद**s ; dwells at great length on **श्राद्ध**s. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 186.

द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट by **दामोदर**, son of **शङ्करभट्ट**. About 1600-1640 A. D.

द्वैतनिर्णयफक्किका m. in **द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट**.

द्वैतनिर्णयसंग्रह by **चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति**, son of **विद्याभूषण**.

द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by **भानुभट्ट**, son of **नीलकण्ठ**, son of **शङ्करभट्ट** (whose **द्वैतनिर्णय** is summarised herein). About 1640-1670 A.D.

द्वैतविषयविवेक by **वर्धमान**, son of **भवेश**. About 1500 A. D.

द्वैतनिर्णयामृत m. in **दायभागतत्त्व** of **रघु०**.

द्व्यामुष्यायणनिर्णय or -**र्णयेन्दु** by **विश्वनाथ** son of **कृष्णगुर्जर** of **नैध्रुवगोत्र** (Baroda O. I. No. 12708). Mentions **दिनकरोद्द्योत**, **कौस्तुभ**. Later than 1680 A. D.

धनञ्जयसंग्रह m. by **रघु०** in **तिथितत्त्व**.

धनभागविवेक- vide **भागविवेक**.

धनिष्ठापञ्चक.

धनुर्विद्यादीपिका m. by **कमलाकर** in **नि. सि.**

धनुर्वेदचिन्तामणि by **नरसिंहभट्ट**.

धनुर्वेदसंग्रह alias वीरचिन्तामणि by शार्ङ्गधर.

धनुर्वेदसंहिता by वसिष्ठ; pr. at Calcutta in महाराजा कुमुदचन्द्र series.

धर्मकारिका (author not known). 508 कारिकाs compiled from various authors. Mentions नि. सि., कौस्तुभ, कालतत्त्वविवेचन and मयूख, and so later than 1680 A. D. (vide BBRAS. cat. p. 219, No. 691.

धर्मकोश- by त्रिलोचनमिश्र m. by वर्धमान and in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु. The work deals with व्यवहारपदs, दायभाग, कन्यादान etc.

धर्मचन्द्र by केशवराय son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Based on आश्वलायनगृह्य and its परिशिष्ट. Divided into किरणs on आचार &c. Baroda O. I. No. 5860 is dated संवत् 1810.

धर्मतत्त्वकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Divided into ten परिच्छेदs on व्रत, दान, कर्मविपाक, शान्ति, पूर्त, आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, शूद्रधर्म, and तीर्थ. Bik. cat. p. 99.

धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि by पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son of नागमल्ल. His बिरुदs are कलिकालकर्णप्रताप, परमवैष्णव. Divided into ten प्रकाशs, 7th being on आशौच. Baroda O. I. No. 4006

धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश by शिवचतुर्धर, son of गोविन्ददीक्षित of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon on the गोदावरी). Composed in śake 1698 (नागाङ्कर्तसम्) i. e. 1776 A. D. at प्रतिष्ठान on the Ganges (Allahabad) Hultzsch (Report No. III p. V.) wrongly says that he composed it in 1746 A. D., though in his extract at p. 84, he gives नागाङ्करसभूशाके as the date).

धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह by महादेव.

धर्मतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणि.

धर्मतत्त्वावलोक-vide गोविन्दार्णव alias स्मृतिसागर.

धर्मदीप m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर.

धर्मदीपिका or स्मृतिप्रदीपिका by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति. Reconciles discordant opinions on points of धर्म.

धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय-vide द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट.

धर्मनिबन्ध by रामकृष्णपण्डित.

धर्मनिबन्धन.

धर्मनिर्णय by कृष्णताताचार्य.

धर्मपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट.

धर्मपरीक्षा by मथुरादास.

धर्मप्रकाश by माधव. D. C. ms. No 221 of 1886-92 deals with मासालोक i. e. व्रतs in चैत्र and the other months; mentions माधवीय, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, पुराणसमुच्चय. Later than 1500 A. D.

धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and पार्वती. Latter half 16th century. Says that he follows the works of मेधातिथि, अपरार्क, विज्ञानेश्वर स्मृत्यर्थसार, कालादर्श, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, नृसिंह, त्रिस्थलीसेतु. Refers to his own शास्त्रदीपिकाप्रकाश. For a part of it on संस्कार vide I. O. cat. vol III p. 482 No. 1564.

धर्मप्रदीप or -**दीप** m. by **स्मृतिचन्द्रिका** (**आशौचकाण्ड** p. 63), **प्रायश्चित्तविवेक** of **शूलपाणि**, **शुद्धितत्त्व** of **रघु०**, **कालादर्श** etc.

धर्मप्रदीप by **गङ्गाभट्ट**.

धर्मप्रदीप by **धनञ्जय**; N. (new series) II. p. 46 (on **गोत्र** only).

धर्मप्रदीप by **वर्धमान**.

धर्मप्रदीप of **भोज**-vide p. 279 of the text. Composed between 1400 and 1600 A. D.

धर्मप्रदीपिका com. on **अभिनवषडशीति** (q. v.) by **सुब्रह्मण्य** son of **वेङ्कटेश**.

धर्मप्रवृत्ति by **नारायणभट्ट**; m. by **शङ्करभट्ट** in **द्वैतनिर्णय**, by **शुद्धिचन्द्रिका** of **नन्दपण्डित** and in **व्यवहारमयूख**. Treats of daily duties (āhnika), śauca, **गर्भाधान** and other **संस्कार**s, **गोत्रनिर्णय**, **श्राद्ध**, **आशौच**, **दान**, **प्रायश्चित्त**, **तिथिनिर्णय**, **स्थालीपाक**. Mentions **माधवीयकालनिर्णय**, **मदनपारिजात**, **प्रयोगपारिजात**, **महार्णव**, **अनन्ताचार्य**, **कालादर्श**, **नारायणवृत्ति** on **आश्वलायन**; m. by **नन्दपण्डित** in **श्राद्धकल्पलता**. I. O. ms. (vide cat. p. 480 No. 1560) is dated **संवत** 1659 (1602-3 A. D.). So between 1400-1600 A. D. Vide p. 420 above.

धर्मप्रश्न (**आपस्तम्बीय**)- part of **आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र**.

धर्मबिन्दु.

धर्मबोधन.

धर्मभाष्य m. in **स्मृतिचन्द्रिका** and **हेमाद्रि** (III. 2. 747).

धर्ममार्गनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 11821).

धर्मरत्न-a digest by **जीमूतवाहन** of which the **कालविवेक** and **दायभाग** are parts.

धर्मरत्न by **भैय्याभट्ट**, son of **भट्टारकभट्ट**. Divided into **दीधिति**s on **आह्निक** and other subjects.

धर्मरत्नाकर by **रामेश्वरभट्ट**; on **धर्मस्वरूप**, **तिथिमासलक्षण**, **प्रतिपदादिषु विहितकृत्यविधान**, **उपवास**, **युगादिनिरूपण**, **संक्रान्ति**, **अद्भुत**, **आशौच**, **श्राद्ध**, **वेदाध्ययन**, **अनध्याय** etc.

धर्मविवृति m. in **मद. पा.** (p. 772) on the constitution of **परिषद्**, **संस्कारमयूख** and **प्रायश्चित्तमयूख**. **मद. पा.** 753 quotes a **धर्मवृत्ति** (on **प्रायश्चित्त**). It seems probable that both are identical and are the same as **धर्मभाष्य** above.

धर्मविवेक by **चन्द्रशेखर**; explains and illustrates **मीमांसान्याय**s.

धर्मविवेक by **विश्वकर्मन्**, son of **दामोदर** and **हीरा** and grandson of **भीम**. Deals with fasts and festivals in 8 **काण्ड**s; quotes **कालमाधव**, **मदनरत्न**, **हेमाद्रि**, **सिद्धान्तसंग्रह**. Between 1450-1525 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 320 for detailed contents where the ms. is dated **संवत** 1583.

धर्मविवेचन by **रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्**, son of **रामशङ्कर**.

धर्मशास्त्रकारिका.

धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध by **फकीरचन्द्र**.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह-collection of **स्मृति** texts on **श्राद्ध**; BBRAS. cat. p. 219 No. 692.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह by बालशर्मपायगुण्ड, son of वैद्यनाथ and लक्ष्मी. I. O. cat. p. 458. Vide sec. 111. About 1800 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसर्वस्व by भट्टोजि. About 1600-1650 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of दिवाकर. Composed in 1686 A. D. Vide आचारार्क above.

धर्मसंहिता or धर्मस्मृति-m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत०.

धर्मसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मन्.

धर्मसंग्रह by हरिश्चन्द्र.

धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका by आनन्द.

धर्मसार by पुरुषोत्तम (ms. copied in śake 1607, vide Hp. cat. p. XV).

धर्मसार by प्रभाकर-m. in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

धर्मसारसमुच्चय- same as चतुर्विंशतिस्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

धर्मसारसुधानिधि m. in आह्निक निर्णय of दिवाकर काल and m. com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत by भट्टोजि (vide BBRAS cat. p. 216).

धर्मसिन्धु or धर्मसिन्धुसार by काशीनाथ alias बाबा पाध्ये. Vide sec. 112.

धर्मसिन्धु by मणिराम.

धर्मसुबोधिनी by नारायण. Compiled from विज्ञानेश्वर, माधव and मदनरत्न.

धर्मसेतु by तिमल of पराशर gotra on व्यवहार. Refers to विज्ञानेश्वर.

धर्मसेतु by रघुनाथ. A vast work.

धर्मानमानुबन्धिश्लोक by कृष्णपण्डित.

C. by रामपण्डित.

धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी of प्रेमनिधि ठक्कुर, son of इन्द्रपति ठक्कुर. He hailed from माहिष्मती in the territory of निजामसाह but compiled the digest in Mithilā in संवत 1410 (1353-54 A. D.). Contains twelve chapters on आह्निक, पूजा, श्राद्ध, आशौच, शुद्धि, विवाह, religious benefactions, आपद्धर्म, optional feasts, pilgrimages, प्रायश्चित्त, कर्मविपाक and duties common to all classes. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 18-20. M. M. Chakravarti (JASB. for 1915 pp. 392-393) says that संवत 1410 must be taken to be śake, since विक्रम era was not in use in मिथिला. But this is not very convincing.

धर्माधर्मव्यवस्था.

धर्मान्वबोध by रामचन्द्र.

धर्मामृत m. by वर्धमान in तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार. Probably धर्मामृत may not be a work at all, but may refer in general to works on धर्म.

धर्मामृतमहोदधि by रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव.

धर्माम्भोधि- same as अनूपविलास

धर्मार्णव of पीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. Vide Bik. cat. p. 383 (on तिथिनिर्णय), which ms. is dated 1681 A. D.

धवलनिबन्ध m. in अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण, by रघु० and in निर्णयामृत.

धवलसंग्रह m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, कालसार of गदाधर (धवलनिबन्ध and धवलसंग्रह are probably the same).

धान्याचलादिदानतत्त्व (on gifts of heaps of corn). N. (new series) II. p. 88.

ध्वजोच्छ्राय -from पूर्तकमलाकर.

नक्तकालनिर्णय.

नक्षत्रयोगदान.

नक्षत्रविधान.

नक्षत्रशान्ति by बौधायन (D. C. No. 97 of A 1882-83).

नयमणिमालिका.

नवकण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र or श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र- 6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन Vide under श्राद्धकल्प

C. by कर्क.

C. श्राद्धकाशिका by कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र; composed in 1448-9 A. D.

C. श्राद्धकल्पसूत्रपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

नवग्रहदान.

नवग्रहमख- attributed to वसिष्ठ.

नवग्रहयज्ञ (Baroda O. I. 2279).

नवग्रहयज्ञामृत (Baroda O. I. 6887).

नवग्रहयागविधि.

नवग्रहशान्ति- vide under वासिष्ठी.

नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम for सामवेद followers. I. O. ms. (cat. p. 570) copied in संवत् 1806 (1749 A. D.).

नवग्रहस्थापना BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

नवग्रहहोम.

नवनीतनिबन्ध by रामजी. Is it same as निबन्धनवनीत?

नवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

नवरत्नदान.

नवरत्नमाला by प्रह्लादभट्ट.

नवरात्रकृत्य.

नवरात्रनिर्णय by गोपालव्यास.

नवरात्रप्रदीप by नन्दपण्डित (pr. in सरस्वतीभवन series No. 23).

नवविवेकदीपिका by वरदराज.

नवान्नभाक्ष्यानिर्णय by गौरीनाथचक्रवर्तिन् (Baroda O. I. 10219).

नवान्नविधि.

नव्यधर्मप्रदीप by कृपाराम, pupil of जयराम and patronised by त्रिलोकचन्द्र and कृष्णचन्द्र, Zamindars of Bengal in the 2nd half of 18th century. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 92.

नागदेवाह्निक m. in शूद्रकमलाकर. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

नागदेवीय-m. in आचारमयूख; seems to be the same as नागदेवाह्निक.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by बौधायन.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by शौनक.

नागबलि by शौनक.

नागबलिसंस्कार.

नागार्जुनीयधर्मशास्त्र on आचार, especially स्त्रीधर्म.

नानाशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by वर्धमान, son of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.

नान्दीमुखनिरूपण by हृदयनाथ.

नान्दीमुखश्राद्धप्रयोग.

नान्दीश्राद्धपद्धति by रामदत्त मन्त्रिन्, son of गणेश्वर. First half of 14th century.

नारदस्मृति (ed. by Dr. Jolly).
C. by **असहाय**, as amended by **कल्याणभट्ट**.
C. by **रमानाथ**.

नारदीय- m. in the **समयमयूख** and other **मयूख**s. Probably the **नारदपुराण**.

नारायणधर्मसारसंग्रह.

नारायणपद्धति m. in **ज्योतिस्तत्त्व** and **मलमासतत्त्व** of **रघु०**.

नारायणप्रबोधोत्सव.

नारायणबलिपद्धति by **दाल्भ्य** (Baroda O. I. 11497).

नारायणबलिप्रयोग by **कमलाकर**, son of **रामकृष्ण**.

नारायणभट्टी. The same as **प्रयोगरत्न** and **अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति** by **नारायणभट्ट**.

नारायणमिश्रीय.

नारायणवृत्ति-m. in **आचारमयूख**. Probably the com. on **आश्वलायनगृह्य** by **नारायण**.

नारायणस्मृति m. by **अपरार्क**.

नित्यकर्मपद्धति (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 603 dated **संवत** 1547 i. e. 1490-1 A. D.).

नित्यकर्मपद्धति by **श्रीधर**, son of **प्रभाकरनायक** for **माध्यन्दिनशाखा**, based on **कात्यायन**. Also called **श्रीधरपद्धति**. D. C. ms. No. 228 of 1886-92. D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-85 is dated **संवत** 1434 i. e. 1377-8 A. D.

नित्यकर्मप्रकाशिका by **कुलनिधि**.

नित्यकर्मलता of **धीरेन्द्रपङ्क्तिभूषण**, son of **धर्मेश्वर**.

नित्यदानादिपद्धति by **शामजित् त्रिपाठिन्**. Quotes **महार्णव**.

नित्यस्नानपद्धति by **कान्हदेव** (Baroda O. I. 4011).

नित्याचारपद्धति by **गोपालानन्द**.

नित्याचारपद्धति of **विद्याकर वाजपेयिन्**, son of **शम्भुकर** (pr. in B. I. series). For **वाजसनेयशाखा**. Between 1350-1500 A. D.

नित्याचारप्रदीप by **नरसिंह वाजपेयिन्** of **कौत्सवंश**, son of **मुरारि** and grandson of **गदाधर** and pupil of **विद्येश्वर**; migrated to **काशी**. Family came from **उत्कल**; quotes **कल्पतरु**, **प्रपञ्चसार**, **माधवीय**. A very large work. Later than 1400 A. D. (pr. in B. I. series, 2 parts pp. 1-725). Ulwar cat. extract 322.

नित्यादर्श m. by **कालादर्श** of **आदित्यभट्ट**.

नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by **बलभद्र**.

निबन्धचूडामणि by **यशोधर** (Bik. cat. p. 322). Contained at least 62 **प्रकाश**s and dealt with **शान्ति**s.

निबन्धन m. by **सच्चरितविलास**

निबन्धनवनीत by **रामजित्**. Divided into four **आस्वाद**s on **सामान्यतिथिनिर्णय**, **व्रतविशेषनिर्णय**, **उपाकर्मकाल** and **श्राद्धकाल**. Mentions **अनन्तभट्ट**, **हेमाद्रि**, **माधव** and **निर्णयामृत** as his authorities. D. C. Ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 was copied in **संवत** 1673. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

निबन्धराज Vide under **समयप्रकाश**.

निबन्धशिरोमणि by **नृसिंह** (Baroda O. I. 4012 and 9212). A huge work on **संस्कार**s, astrological

information about वार, नक्षत्र etc., अनुपनीतधर्म, कर्मविपाक.

निबन्धसर्वस्व by महादेव, son of श्रीपति. Vide under प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय. A निबन्धसर्वस्व is m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

निबन्धसार by वञ्चिय, son of श्रीनाथ. A huge work in three अध्यायs on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त. D.C. Ms. 123 of 1884-86 is dated संवत 1632; m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध by गङ्गाराम.

निर्णयकौस्तुभ by विश्वेश्वर m. by रघुनन्दन and शङ्कर in संस्कारभास्कर.

निर्णयचन्द्रिका by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

निर्णयचिन्तामणि by विष्णुशर्मन महायाज्ञिक at the instance of श्रीराजजाल्लमदास, son of विट्ठल, a वैद्य of the गोभिलगोत्र (Stein's cat. p. 308 contains the portion on मलमास).

निर्णयतत्त्व by नागदेवज्ञ, son of शिव (C. P. cat. No. 2598); he is author of आचारप्रदीप, which is quoted in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1450 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1256).

निर्णयतरणि.

निर्णयदर्पण by गणेशाचार्य (C. P. cat. No. 2599).

निर्णयदर्पण by शिवानन्द, son of तारापति ठक्कुर. On श्राद्ध and other rites.

निर्णयदीप m. in नि. सि., आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण.

निर्णयदीपक by अचल द्विवेद, one of the three sons of वत्सराज and pupil of भट्टविनायक. He was from वृद्धपुर and of मड़ोड subsection of नागरब्राह्मणs and was also styled भागवदेव. He wrote also ऋग्वेदोक्तमहारुद्रविधान before this work. The work deals with श्राद्ध, आशौच, eclipses, तिथिनिर्णय, उपनयन, विवाह, प्रतिष्ठा. The work was finished in संवत 1575 ज्येष्ठकृष्णद्वादशी (i. e. in 1518 A. D.); quotes विश्वरूपनिबन्ध, दीपिकाविवरण, निर्णयामृत, कल्पतरु, पुराणसमुच्चय, आचारतिलक. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 323. He has the verse ये नाम केचिदिह (मालतीमाधव I) in his introductory verses; pr. at Nadiad, 1897. C. देवजानीय m. in निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानपारिजात. Between 1520-1600 A. D.

निर्णयदीपिका by वत्सराज m. in नि. सि and श्राद्धमयूख. Probably same as निर्णयदीपक by अचल.

निर्णयपीयूष m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

निर्णयप्रकाश.

निर्णयप्रदीपिका m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

निर्णयबिन्दु by अनन्तदेव son of महादेव, on तिथिs.

निर्णयबिन्दु by बुक्कण.

निर्णयभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ (C. P. cat. No. 2600).

निर्णयभास्कर ms. dated संवत् 1725 माघ (1669 A. D.) in Peterson's 6th Report p. 10.

निर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर.

निर्णयरत्नाकर by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

निर्णयशिरोमणि m. by निर्णयदीपक and by अनन्त in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

निर्णयशैली m. by नि. सि.

निर्णयसंग्रह by प्रतापरुद्र.

निर्णयसंग्रह by मधुसूदन.

निर्णयसमुदाय.

निर्णयसार by क्षेमंकर.

निर्णयसार by गोस्वामी (C. P. cat. No. 2602).

निर्णयसार by नन्दराममिश्र son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र. In 6 परिच्छेदs on तिथि, श्राद्ध etc. Composed in विक्रम 1836 (1780 A. D.).

निर्णयसार by भट्टराघव (Baroda O. I. 8670). Later than 1612 A. D. and earlier than 1700 A. D.

निर्णयसार by रामभट्टाचार्य.

निर्णयसार by लालमणि.

निर्णयसारसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. 4015).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by महादेव (probably the same as author of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by रघुराम (This work is probably the same as कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट, composed in संवत 1668 (1612 A. D.). Vide sec. 106; pr. in Ch. S. series and at Nir. P.

C. रत्नमाला or दीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे

निर्णयानन्द m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयामृत by अल्लाड (or -ड) नाथसूरि, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण, at the direction of prince सूर्यसेन who ruled एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna. Gives a genealogy of the चाहुवाण (चाहुवाण ?) kings of एकचक्रपुर. The introductory verses (which vary to some extent in different mss.) enumerate authorities on which he relies viz. मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क, अर्णव, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, धवल, पुराणसमुच्चय, अनन्तभट्टीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, रामकौतुक, संवत्सरप्रदीप, देवदासीय, कृष्णनारायणीय, विद्याभट्टपद्धति, विश्वरूपनिबन्ध. One verse occurring in some mss. mentions हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श, चिन्तामणि. But हेमाद्रि's कालनिर्णय p. 34 mentions a निर्णयामृत. The work is mentioned in निर्णयदीपक, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. So the work is earlier than 1500 A. D. and certainly later than 1250. There are four sections on व्रततिथिनिर्णय, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि and आशौच (pr. by Ven. P.).

निर्णयामृत of गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण, under सूर्यसेन (Calcutta Sanskrit Col. mss. vol. II, p. 78). Seems to be the same as निर्णयामृत of अल्लाड, though गोपीनारायण causes some misgiving. The Bik. cat. p. 426 also refers to गोपीनारायण and सूर्यसेन.

निर्णयामृत by रामचन्द्र. N. vol XI preface p. 4.

निर्णयामृत (पाश्चात्य) m. in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

निर्णयार्णव by **बालकृष्णदीक्षित**.

निर्णयार्थप्रदीप m. in **अहल्याकामधेनु**.

निर्णयोद्धार (also styled **तिथिनिर्णयो°**) by **राघवभट्ट**. Mentions **निर्णयसिन्धु** and **स्मृतिदर्पण**. So later than 1650 A. D. (Ulwar cat. extract 326). Vide **तिथिनिर्णय** of **राघवभट्ट**.

निर्णयोद्धारखण्डनमण्डन by **यज्ञेश** (Baroda O. I. 5247) Dilates upon certain doubts raised about the **निर्णयोद्धार** of **राघवभट्ट**.

नीतिकमलाकर by **कमलाकर**.

नीतिकल्पतरु by **क्षेमेन्द्र**.

नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र by **लक्ष्मीपति**.

नीतिचिन्तामणि by **वाचस्पतिमिश्र**.

नीतिदीपिका.

नीतिप्रकाश by **कुलमुनि**.

नीतिप्रकाश by **वैशम्पायन** (ed. at Madras by Dr. Oppert, 1882). Also called **नीतिप्रकाशिका**. **जनमेजय** was instructed by **वैशम्पायन** at **तक्षशिला** in eight chapters on **राजधर्मोपदेश**, **धनुर्वेदविवेक**, **खड्गोत्पत्ति**, **मुक्तायुधनिरूपण**, **सेनानयन**, **सैन्यप्रयोग** and **राजव्यापार**. Enumerates the founders of **राजशास्त्र**.

C. **तत्त्वविवृति** by **सीताराम**, son of **नञ्जुण्ड** of **कौण्डिन्यगोत्र**.

नीतिप्रदीप ascribed to **वेतालभट्ट**.

नीतिभाजनभाजन-dedicated to **भोजराज** (Mitra's Notices vol. II. p. 33).

नीतिमञ्जरी by **द्याद्विवेदिन्**, son of **लक्ष्मीधर**, son of **अग्नि**, son of **मुकुन्द द्विवेदिन्** of **आनन्दपुर**. In **अष्टक**s (chapters) corresponding to the eight aṣṭakas of the **Ṛgveda**) and 200 verses, illustrating moral maxims by Vedic examples. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 116. Composed in **संवत** 1550 (1494 A. D.). He was a young man when he composed the work and could repeat the Veda in eleven ways.

C. **शुभदीपिका** by author.

C. **वेदार्थप्रकाश** by author.

C. by **देवराज**.

नीतिमञ्जरी by **शम्भुराज**. A fragment called **दण्डनीतिप्रकरण** (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

नीतिमयूख by **नीलकण्ठ** (pr. at Benares and by J. R. Gharpure and by Gujarati P. Bombay).

नीतिमाला by **नारायण**.

नीतिरत्न attributed to **वररुचि**.

नीतिरत्नाकर of **कृष्णबहत्पण्डितमहापात्र**, grandfather of **गदाधर**, author of **कालसार**. About 1450 A. D.

नीतिरत्नाकर or **राजनीतिरत्नाकर** of **चण्डेश्वर**. Vide sec. 90; pr. by Mr. K. P. Jayasval.

नीतिलता by **क्षेमेन्द्र** m. in **औचित्यविचारचर्चा** of the author. 2nd and 3rd quarters of 11th century.

नीतिवाक्यामृत of **सोमदेवसूरि**, pupil of **नेमिदेव** and younger brother of **महेन्द्रदेव**. Printed with com. in Bombay in the Maneckchand Digambar Jaina granthamālā. In 32 sections on **धर्म**, **अर्थ**, **काम**, **अरिषड्वर्ग**, **विद्यावृद्ध**, **आन्वीक्षिकी**,

त्रयी, वार्ता, दण्डनीति, मन्त्रिन, पुरोहित, सेनापति, दूत, चार, विचार, व्यसन, सप्ताङ्गराज्य (स्वामि &c.), राजरक्षा, दिवसानुष्ठान, सदाचार, व्यवहार, विवाद, षाड्गुण्य, युद्ध, विवाह, प्रकीर्ण. Aufrecht notes that he is quoted by मल्लिनाथ on किराता-र्जुनीय.

C. (anonymous). Very valuable as regards quotations from numerous स्मृतिs and works on politics.

नीतिविलास by व्रजराजशुक्ल.

नीतिविवेक by करुणाशङ्कर.

नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चय.

नीतिसमुच्चय.

नीतिसार attributed to घटकर्पर.

नीतिसार attributed to शुक्राचार्य (pr. by Jivananda).

नीतिसारसंग्रह by मधुसूदन.

नीतिसुम्न by अप्पा वाजपेयिन.

नीराजनप्रकाश by जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चानन.

नीलवृषोत्सर्ग by अनन्तभट्ट.

नीलोत्सर्गपद्धति.

नीलोद्वाहपद्धति on the ceremony of वृषोत्सर्ग in श्राद्ध. I. O. ms. (cat. p. 578) is dated संवत 1648 (1591-92 A. D.).

नूतनप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

नूतनवर्तिप्रतिष्ठा by नारायणभट्ट (based on आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट). Baroda O. I. 8876 A.

नृसिंहजयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.

नृसिंहपरिचर्या m. in नि. सि. and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्त.

नृसिंहपरिचर्या by कृष्णदेव son of रामाचार्य. Stein's cat. p. 222.

नृसिंहपूजापद्धति by वृन्दावन.

नृसिंहप्रसाद of दलपतिराज son of वल्लभ. Vide sec. 99.

नृसिंहाब्धिमहोदधि m. in आचाररत्न.

नृसिंहार्चनपद्धति by ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ.

नैमित्तिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर by प्रेमनिधि.

नौकादान.

न्यायदीपिका of अभिनवधर्मभूषणाचार्य.

न्यायरत्नमालिका or न्यायमातृका. Vide व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.

न्यासपद्धति by त्रिविक्रम.

पञ्चककर्मविधान.

पञ्चकविधि (rites performed for persons who died when the moon was in any नक्षत्र from धनिष्ठा to रेवती).

पञ्चकशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदनगोस्वामी.

पञ्चकालक्रियादीप on वैष्णव daily duties.

पञ्चकोशसंन्यासाचार.

पञ्चक्रोशयात्रा by शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ.

पञ्चगव्यमेलनप्रकार

पञ्चगौडब्राह्मणजाति.

पञ्चत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी (श्राद्धपद्धति).

पञ्चदशकर्म (according to शौनककारिका) on fifteen of the principal संस्कारs.

पञ्चद्राविडजाति.

पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रयोग.

पञ्चमाश्रमविधि-attributed to शङ्कराचार्य; treats of fifth stage called परमहंस where a संन्यासी gives up even his दण्ड and कमण्डलु and wanders about alone like a child or lunatic. N. vol. X. p. 329.

पञ्चमीव्रतोद्यापन.

पञ्चलक्षणविधि.

पञ्चविधान (i. e. संस्कार, अधिवास, उद्वासन, पञ्चाग्निसाधन, जलवासविधि).

पञ्चसंस्कार in 8 अध्यायs. (Baroda O. I. 12355).

पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका by विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a manual of वैष्णव rites in accordance with the doctrines of मध्वाचार्य (तापः पुण्ड्रं तथा नाम मन्त्रो यागश्च पञ्चमः। अमी हि पञ्च संस्काराः परमैकान्त्यहेतवः॥).

पञ्चसंस्कारविधि for all श्रीवैष्णवs.

पञ्चसूत्रीविधान from जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

पञ्चाग्निकारिका m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

पञ्चायतनपद्धति by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव (on पञ्चायतन of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु); vide सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

पञ्चायतनपूजा.

पञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by दिवाकर, son of महादेव. Probably same as पञ्चायतनपद्धति.

पञ्चायतनसार m. in पूर्तदिनकरोद्योत.

पण्डितपरितोष m. by हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि as refuting गोविन्दराज (III. 2. 481). Vide p. 314 above.

पण्डितसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व and in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (Jivananda, vol. I. p. 531).

पतितत्यागविधि by दिवाकर.

पतितसंसर्गप्रायश्चित्त by an assembly of pandits under king Sarfoji of Tanjore (Hultzsch's Report III. pp. XII and 120).

पतिसहगमननिषेधनिरासप्रकाश.

पदचन्द्रिका by दयाराम.

पदार्थादर्श of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि. and शूद्रकमलाकर.

पद्धतिरत्न by रूपनारायण (Baroda O. I. 2393).

पद्मनाभनिबन्ध.

पयन्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत°.

परभूजातिनिर्णय.

परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि.

परभूप्रकरण by बाबदेव आठले.

परभूप्रकरण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's Notices X p. 296). About 1740-49 A. D. during reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji, when Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय was राजलेखक and a favourite of Shahu; refers to बाबदेव आठले as a hypocrite and a Karhāḍā Brāhmaṇa.

परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती-same as यतिधर्मसंग्रह (pr. by आनन्दाश्रम Press).

परमहंससंन्यासपद्धति.

परमहंससंध्योपासन by शङ्कराचार्य; BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.

परमहंससंन्यासविधि.

परमेश्वरीदासाब्धि or स्मृतिसंग्रह by होरिलमिश्र (Bik. cat. p. 431).

परशुरामकारिका m. in कृत्यकल्पद्रुम of अनन्तदेव.

परशुरामप्रकाश or-निबन्ध by खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित, who was धर्माधिकारी at वाराणसी. This is a digest in two उल्लास on आचार and श्राद्ध compiled at यमुनापुरी on the गोमती by order of परशुराममिश्र (प्रभु), son of होरिलमिश्र (or होलिलमिश्र), who is styled शाकद्वीपीयकुलावतंस. The work is mentioned in आचारार्क and स्मृत्यर्थसागर, and mention माधवीय and मदनपाल. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

परशुरामप्रताप by साबाजी or साम्बाजी प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र and pupil of भट्ट कूर्म and a protegee of निजामसाह. Seems to have contained at least आह्निक, जातिविवेक, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, संस्कार, राजनीति and श्राद्ध. Vide Viśrāmbāg collection (in Deccan College) II. No. 243-246 and Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 131 a. A huge work. Baroda O. I. 5887 is राजवल्लभकाण्ड which is like मानसोल्लास in subject matter.

C. श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपकलिका of बोपदेवपण्डित. Quotes हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श.

पराशरपद्धति by आमेवराम (vide वर्णजातिसङ्करमाला).

पराशरस्मृति-Vide sec. 35 (printed several times; B. S. series ed. the best; pr. also in Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 1-52).

C. by माधवाचार्य vide. sec. 92 (pr. B. S. series).

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु० (p. 787 of Jivananda). Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. विद्वन्मनोहरा by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105. (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 377 No. 1301 gives a summary); pr. in Benares in 'The Pandit', New series, vol. 29-32.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड, son of महादेव and वेणी and pupil of नागोजि.

C. हितधर्म by कामेश्वरयज्वन् ; mentions माधवीय ; Palmleaf ms. No. 6956 in Baroda O. I.

परिभाषाविवेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश, of बिल्वपञ्चक family. About 1460-1500 A. D. On नित्य, नैमित्तिक, and काम्य कर्म, कर्माधिकारी, प्रवृत्त and निवृत्त कर्म, आचमन, स्नान, पूजा, श्राद्ध, मधुपर्क, दान, युग, &c.

परिशिष्टदीपकलिका of शूलपाणि m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. This is probably a commentary on a गृह्यपरिशिष्ट (such as छन्दोग०).

परिशिष्टप्रकाश m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and एकादशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Probably the same as छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश q. v.

C. by हरिराम.

परिशिष्टसंग्रह.

परिशेषखण्ड-part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

परीक्षातत्त्व-same as दिव्यतत्त्व of रघु०.

परीक्षापद्धति by **वासुदेव**. On ordeals. Names **विश्वरूप, यज्ञपार्श्व, मिताक्षरा शूलपाणि**. Later than 1450 A. D.

पर्णपुरुष or **पर्णपुरुषविधि** (cremation of effigies of persons who died abroad).

पर्यङ्कशौचविधि (about resorting to the order of **संन्यास**).

पर्वकालनिर्णय.

पर्वतदानपद्धति.

पर्वनिर्णय by **गणपति रावल**, son of **हरिशङ्कर** and grandson of **रामदास**, who was **औदीच्य गुर्जर** and honoured by **गौडाधीश मनोहर**. Discourses on the proper time for new and full moon sacrifices and corresponding obsequial offerings. Names **कालविवेचन, निर्णयसिन्धु, निर्णयभास्कर, मदन** ; composed in **संवत** 1742 (**नेत्राम्भोधिधराधरक्षितिमिते श्रीविक्रमार्के शके**) i. e. 1685-86 A. D.

पर्वनिर्णय by **मुरारि**.

पर्वनिर्णय by **रघुनाथ वाजपेयिन्**, son of **माधव**. Between 1550-1625 A. D.

पर्वनिर्णय a portion of **धर्मसिन्धु**.

पर्वसंग्रह.

पलपीयूषलता by **मदनमनोहर**, son of **मधुसूदन** ; in 7 chapters on the canonical use of various kinds of flesh.

पल्लव--a work on politics m. in the **राजनीतिरत्नाकर** of **चण्डेश्वर**. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

पल्लीपतन prognostications derived from the falling of a house lizard.

पल्लीपतनफल.

पल्लीपतनविचार.

पल्लीपतनशान्ति.

पल्लीशरटकाकमासादिशकुन.

पल्लीशरटयोः फलाफलविचार.

पल्लीशरटयोः शान्ति.

पल्लीशरटविधान.

पवित्ररोगपरिहारप्रयोग.

पवित्रारोपणविधान- rite in **श्रावण** of casting new threads around an image and hence taking them to wear.

पशुपतिदीपिका m. in **शुद्धिकौमुदी** (pp. 206, 210). Probably same as **पशुपति**'s **दशकर्मदीपिका**.

पशुपतिनिबन्ध m. in **श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी** (p. 503). Probably the same as the **श्राद्धपद्धति** of **पशुपति**, brother of **हलायुध**. About 1170-1200 A. D.

पाकयज्ञनिर्णय or **-पद्धति** by **चन्द्रशेखर** alias **चन्द्रचूड**, son of **उमापति** alias **उमाशङ्कर** or **उमणभट्ट**, son of **धर्मेश्वर** alias **धर्माभट्ट**. Between 1575-1650 A. D.

पाकयज्ञपद्धति by **अनन्तमिश्र**.

पाकयज्ञपद्धति by **पशुपति**.

पाकयज्ञप्रयोग by **शम्भुभट्ट**, son of **बालकृष्ण**. Follows **आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र**. I. O. cat. pp. 99-100 (ms. dated **संवत** 1749 i. e. 1692-93 A. D.). Flourished between 1660-1710 A. D.

पाश्चालजातिविवेक.

पाणिग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक by **मथुरानाथतर्कवागीश**. (N. vol. IX p. 244 says that author is **रघुनाथ** while the

colophon extracted has मथुरानाथ).

पारस्करगृह्यकारिका alias कातीयगृह्यसूत्रप्रयोगविवृति by रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेशसूरि and grandson of सोमेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र. Composed in śake 1188 i. e. 1266 A. D. (I. O. cat. vol. I p. 67).

पारस्करगृह्यपरिशिष्टपद्धति by कामदेवदीक्षित on वाप्यादिप्रतिष्ठा (pr. in Gujarati P.).

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र (also called कातीयगृह्यसूत्र) in 3 काण्डs (pr. by Stenzler in 1876 at Leipzig and in Kashi S. series with several commentaries and by the Gujarati Press, Bombay, with several commentaries and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. अमृतव्याख्या m. by नन्दपण्डित in his शुद्धिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. अर्थभास्कर by भास्कर, pupil of राघवेन्द्रारण्य.

C. प्रकाश by वेदमिश्र, son of विश्वरूप दीक्षित; used by his son मुरारिमिश्र.

C. संस्कारगणपति by रामकृष्ण, son of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट (4 खण्डs pr. in Ch. S. series). He was of भारद्वाजगोत्र and was patronised by विजयसिंह; he compiled it in चित्रमण्डलपत्तन on the वशिष्ठा river; mentions कर्क, हरिहर, गदाधर, हलायुध, काशिका and दीपिका. He wrote श्राद्धगणपति also. Vide I. O. cat. p. 562 for his श्राद्धसंग्रह. About 1750 A. D.

C. सज्जनवल्लभा by जयराम, son of बलभद्र of भारद्वाजगोत्र, residing in Mewad. Names उवट, कर्क, and स्मृत्यर्थसार and is m. by गदाधर. Ulwar cat. extract 39 gives संवत् 1611 (1554-5 A. D.) as the date (probably of copying). Between 1200-1400 A. D.; pr. at Gujarati Press and in Kashi S. series.

C. (भाष्य) by कर्क. m. by त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, हेमाद्रि and हरिहर. Earlier than 1100 A. D. (pr. in Gujarati P. ed.).

C. (भाष्य) by कामदेव (on परिशिष्टकण्डिका). Pr. at Gujarati P

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन. Names कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, भर्तृयज्ञ, मदनपारिजात, हरिहर. About 1500 A. D.; pr. in Kashi S. series and in Gujarati P. edtiion.

C. by भर्तृयज्ञ m. by जयराम in his भाष्य

C. (on पारस्करगृह्यमन्त्रs) by मुरारिमिश्र, son of वेदमिश्र; ms. (in Stein's cat. p. 252) dated संवत 1430 (1373 A. D.).

C. by वागीश्वरीदत्त.

C. by वासुदेवदीक्षित; m. by हरिहर and रघुनन्दन in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व. Contains पद्धति of all rites. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

C. by विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह, a नागरब्राह्मण of the कश्यपगोत्र; compiled at Benares by लक्ष्मीधर, great-grandson of अनन्त, who was uncle of विश्वनाथ, in संवत् 1692 माघ (i. e. 1635 A. D.).

Names कर्क, हरिहर, कालनिर्णयदीपिका. Therefore विश्वनाथ flourished about 1550 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 42 (pr. in Gujarati P. ed.).

C. by हरिशर्मन् m. in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I. p. 531.)

C. (भाष्य and पद्धति) by हरिहर (pr. in Gujarati P. and Kashi S. series). Names कर्क, कल्पतरुकार, रेणु, वासुदेव, विज्ञानेश्वर and is m. in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (p. 418). Between 1275-1400 A. D. Vide sec. 84. रघुनन्दन in his यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II. p. 488) mentions both हरिशर्मन् and हरिहर in the same sentence as explaining a passage of कात्यायनगृह्य.

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by कामदेव.

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by भास्कर. Vide above.

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by वासुदेव. Vide above.

पारस्करमन्त्रभाष्य by मुरारि. Vide above under पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

पारस्करश्राद्धसूत्रकृत्यपर्यसंग्रह by उदयंकर (Stein's cat. p. 17).

पारिजात-numerous works on dharma have this ending, e. g. मदनपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, विधानपारिजात.

पारिजात-vide sec. 75.

पारिजात of बाहुदत्त. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 257 and JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII.

पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजा- founded on बौधायनसूत्र, बृहद्वासिष्ठ, लिङ्गपुराण. (I. O. cat. p. 585).

पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजाविधि (two different works in Stein's cat. p. 95).

पार्वणषट्श्राद्धप्रयोग by देवभद्र.

पार्वणचन्द्रिका by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोली सञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा. On various kinds of श्राद्ध and particularly पार्वणश्राद्ध, according to the छन्दोग school.

पार्वणत्रयश्राद्धविधि (Stein's cat. p.95).

पार्वणप्रयोग- part of श्राद्धनृसिंह.

पार्वणश्राद्ध (आश्वलायनीय)

C. प्रदीपभाष्य by नारायण.

पार्वणश्राद्धपद्धति.

पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग for छन्दोगs.

पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग for वाजसनेयिन्s by देवभद्र.

पार्वणस्थालीपाकप्रयोग (part of प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

पार्वणादिश्राद्धतत्त्व-vide श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०.

पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशीय) by चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमापति.

पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट ; vide Bik. cat. 136.

पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न of हरिहर.

पितामहस्मृति vide sec. 44.

पितृदयिता of अनिरुद्ध. Vide sec. 82 (pr. in संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषद् series, Calcutta).

पितृपद्धति of गोपालाचार्य. Mentions शूलपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.

पितृभक्ति by **श्रीदत्त**. Vide sec. 89, p. 364; for students of **यजुर्वेद**.
C. by **मुरारि**. About end of 15th century.

पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी alias **श्राद्धकल्प** by **वाचस्पतिमिश्र**. Vide sec. 98 p. 399.

पितृमेधप्रयोग--by a follower of **कपर्दिकारिका** (N. vol. X. p. 271).

पितृमेधभाष्य (**आपस्तम्बीय**) by **गार्ग्यगोपाल**.

पितृमेधविवरण by **रङ्गनाथ**.

पितृमेधसार by **गोपालयज्वन्**.

पितृमेधसार by **वेङ्कटनाथ**, son of **रङ्गनाथ**.

पितृमेधसारसुधीविलोचन (a com.) by a **वैदिकसार्वभौम**. Probably the same as **वेङ्कटनाथ** above.

पितृमेधसूत्र.
by **गौतम**.
C. by **अनन्तयज्वन्**, son of **कृष्ण**.
by **भरद्वाज**.
by **हिरण्यकेशिन्**.
आपस्तम्बीय (**प्रश्न** 31-32 of **कल्प**).
C. by **कपर्दिस्वामिन्** (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1905).

पितृसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धप्रयोग.

पितृहितकरणी m. in **पितृभक्ति** of **श्रीदत्त**. About 1300 A.D.

पिष्टपशुखण्डन by **टीकाकारशर्मन्** N. (new series) vol. III. p. 116.

पिष्टपशुखण्डनमीमांसा or **पिष्टपशुमीमांसा** by **नारायणपण्डित**, son of **विश्वनाथ** and pupil of **नीलकण्ठ**. N.vol.X.p. 312. Recommends **पिष्टपशु** in sacrifices instead of a goat; ms. dated **संवत्** 1785 i.e. 1728 A.D.

पिष्टपशुमण्डन by **टीकाकारशर्मन्** of **गार्ग्यगोत्र** (Baroda O. I. No. 2436). This is probably the same as **पिष्टपशुखण्डन** above.
C (contained in Baroda Ms.).

पिष्टपशुमण्डनव्याख्यार्थदीपिका by **रत्नपाल**.

पिष्टपशुमीमांसाकारिका by **नारायण**, son of **विश्वनाथ**.

पुंसवनादिकालनिर्णय.

पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग by **पुरुषोत्तम**.

पुत्रक्रमदीपिका by **रामभद्र** on the rights of partition and inheritance of the twelve kinds of sons.

पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग-ascribed to **शौनक** (Peterson's 6th Report No. 122).

पुत्रपरिग्रहसंशयोच्छेदपरिच्छेद (Stein's cat. p. 95).

पुत्रस्वीकारनिरूपण.

पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय of **रामपण्डित**, son of **विश्वेश्वर**, of the **वत्सगोत्र**. Mentions **विज्ञानेश्वर**, **चन्द्रिका**, **कालादर्श**, **वरदराज**. Later than 1400 A.D.

पुत्रीकरणमीमांसा of **नन्दपण्डित**. Same as **दत्तकमीमांसा** above. Vide sec. 105.

पुत्रोत्पत्तिपद्धति.

पुनःसन्धान (on rekindling of the householder's fire).

पुनरुपनयन Second initiation of a brāhmaṇa, when first vitiated by partaking of forbidden food.

पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग by **दिवाकर**, son of **महादेव**.

पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा by **बालकृष्ण** (Baroda O. I. No. 9026).

पुनर्विवाहविधि.

पुरश्चरणकौमुदी by **मुकुन्द**, son of **माधवाचार्य बज्र.**

पुरश्चरणकौस्तुभ of **अहोबल**, disciple of **ईशानेन्द्र** and **नृसिंहेन्द्र**. Composed in Benares.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका m. in **वर्षकृत्यकौमुदी** of **गोविन्दानन्द** and by **रघु०** in **तिथितत्त्व** and **आह्निकतत्त्व**.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by **परमहंस देवेन्द्राश्रम**, disciple of **विबुधेन्द्राश्रम**. (N. vol. VII p. 163). D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated **संवत** 1753.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by **माधव पाठक**.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by **विबुधेन्द्राश्रम**.

पुरश्चरणदीपिका by **काशीनाथ**, son of **जयरामभट्ट**.

पुरश्चरणदीपिका by **चन्द्रशेखर**.

पुरश्चरणदीपिका by **रामचन्द्र**

पुरश्क्रियाचर्या m. in **तिथितत्त्व** by **रघु०**.

पुराणसमुच्चय m. by **हेमाद्रि**, **निर्णयामृत**, **नि. सि.**, **द्वैतनिर्णय**. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

पुराणसर्वस्व by **गोवर्धनपाठक**, compiled under Bengal Zamindar **श्रीसत्य** in śake 1396 (1474-5 A. D.).

पुराणसर्वस्व by **पुरुषोत्तम**. (Mitra's Notices vol. I. p. 188).

पुराणसर्वस्व by **हलायुध**, son of **पुरुषोत्तम**. On 730 interesting points; composed in 1474 A. D. (Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. pp. 84-87).

पुराणसार m. in **पराशरमाधवीय**, **नृसिंहप्रसाद**, **आह्निकतत्त्व**. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

पुराणसार by prince **रुद्रशर्मन्**, son of **राघवराय**, of **नवद्वीप**. N. vol. X. pp. 62-65.

पुराणसारसंग्रह.

पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि of **विष्णुभट्ट आठवले**, son of **रामकृष्ण**. A very large work on **काल**, **संस्कार** etc. Relies upon **हेमाद्रि** and **माधव** principally; pr. by Nir. P. and by Ānan. P.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1666) dated śake 1706 (1784-5 A. D.).

पुरुषार्थप्रबोध by **ब्रह्मानन्दभारती**, pupil of **रामराजसरस्वती**. Very large work in three parts, each having 4, 5 and 6 chapters respectively on religious efficacy of **भस्म**, **रुद्राक्ष** devotion to **रुद्र** &c.; composed in 1476 (probably śake) at Malavli village on the river Asanasi. Names **विद्यारण्य** and is m. in **व्रतकमलाकर**. Vide BBRAS. cat. pp. 220-222 No. 699. Pr. at Chidambaram, 1907.

पुरुषार्थप्रबोधिनी.

पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर by **रङ्गनाथसूरि**, pupil of **कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती**; in 15 **तरङ्ग**s on **पुराणप्रामाण्यविवेक**, **त्रिवर्गतत्त्वविवेक**, **मोक्षतत्त्वविवेक**, **वर्णादिधर्मविवेक**, **नामकीर्तनादि**, **प्रायश्चित्त**, **अधिकारि**, **तत्त्वंपदार्थविवेक**, **मुक्तगतविवेक**.

पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि by **सायणाचार्य** (according to some mss. such as Baroda O. I. No. 7101 and by **विद्यारण्य** according to others). On **धर्म**, **अर्थ**, **काम** and **मोक्ष**.

पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रतत्त्व of **रघु०**. On the famous shrine of **जगन्नाथ** in Orissa. Vide sec. 102.

पुरुषोत्तमप्रतिष्ठाप्रकार Vide Peterson's 6th Report, No. 95.

पुलस्त्यस्मृति Vide sec. 45 p. 228.

पुलहस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and माधवाचार्य.

पुष्टिमार्गीयाह्निक by व्रजराज (for वल्लभाचार्य sect).

पुष्पचिन्तामणि.

पुष्पमाला by रुद्रधर. On the flowers and leaves appropriate to the worship of deities.

पुष्पसारसुधानिधि m. in the अहल्याकामधेनु.

पूजनमालिका by भवानीप्रसाद.

पूजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दन.

पूजापद्धति or पद्यमाला by जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8685).

पूजापद्धति by रामचन्द्रभट्ट, son of विष्णुभट्ट उजवलकर; Baroda O. I. No. 10471 copied in śake 1735 i. e. 1813-4 A. D.

पूजापाल m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

पूजाप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय) Vide sec. 108.

पूजाप्रदीप by गोविन्द m. in दीक्षातत्त्व by रघु०.

पूजारत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

पूर्णचन्द्र by रिपुंजय. On प्रायश्चित्त.

पूर्तकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

पूर्तप्रकाश-a section of the प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्रदेव.

पूर्तमाला by रघुनाथ.

पूर्तोद्योत by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- part of दिनकरोद्योत q. v.

पूर्वाह्णलीला-(daily duties from स्नान to पूजा) for वैष्णवs.

पृथग्विवाह.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र-probably same as पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय; m. in विधानपारिजात.

पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय m. by हेमाद्रि (चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 182), द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट, विधानपारिजात, नि. सि. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय by प्रेमनिधिशर्मन्, son of उमापति of भारद्वाजगोत्र and surnamed पन्त. D. C. Ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 was composed in नन्दपञ्चनृपसंमितशाके (1659 i. e. 1737-38). It deals with श्रवणाकर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c.

पृथ्वीरहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

पैठीनसिस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 18).

पैठीनसिस्मृति-vide sec. 24.

पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय by चक्रधर.

पैतृमेधिक by यल्लाजि, son of यल्लुभट्ट of the भरद्वाजगोत्र. According to भारद्वाजीयसूत्र and कपर्दिन्. Hultzsch R. I. No. 58.

पैतृमेधिकसूत्र by भारद्वाज in two प्रश्नs (each in 12 कण्डिकाs).

प्रकाश-several works end in प्रकाश e. g. सर्वधर्मप्रकाश of शङ्करभट्ट, परशुरामप्रकाश, परिशिष्टप्रकाश.

प्रकाश-vide sec. 74.

प्रक्रियाञ्जनटीका by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रचेतःस्मृति- vide sec. 46.

प्रजापतिस्मृति-vide sec. 47; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 90-98.

प्रजापद्धति on राजनीति.

प्रजापालन.

प्रणवकल्प ascribed to **शौनक**. On the nature and mystic import of **ओङ्कार**.

C. by **हेमाद्रि**.

प्रणवकल्प by **आनन्दतीर्थ**.

प्रणवकल्प (from **स्कन्दपुराण**).

C. **प्रकाश** by **गङ्गाधरसरस्वती**, pupil of **रामचन्द्रसरस्वती**.

प्रणवदर्पण by **शङ्कराचार्य**.

प्रणवदर्पण by **श्रीनिवासाचार्य**.

प्रणवपरिशिष्ट m. by **रघु॰** in **आह्निकतत्त्व**.

प्रणवार्चनचन्द्रिका by **मुकुन्दलाल**.

प्रणवोपासनविधि by **गोपीनाथपाठक**, son of **अग्निहोत्रिपाठक** and grandson of **काशीपाठक**.

प्रतापनारसिंह of **रुद्रदेव**, son of **तोरो नारायण**, of **भारद्वाज गोत्र**; composed at **प्रतिष्ठान** (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī) in śake 1632 i. e. 1710-11 A. D. An extensive digest divided into **प्रकाश**s on **संस्कार, पूर्त, अन्त्येष्टि, संन्यास, यति, वास्तुशान्ति, पाकयज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त, कुण्ड, उत्सर्ग, जातिविवेक**. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 222 Nos. 700-703.

प्रतापमार्तण्ड or **प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड** attributed to **प्रतापरुद्र गजपति**, king of **उत्कल**, son of **पुरुषोत्तम**, son of **कपिलेश्वर** of the solar race. In 5 **प्रकाश**s. Vide sec. 100 and N. vol. X. pp. 222-225; m. in **समयमयूख** and **श्राद्धमयूख**.

प्रतापमार्तण्ड by **रामकृष्ण**, son of **माधव**; composed at the bidding of king **प्रतापरुद्रगजपति** (Stein's cat. p. 96). Probably the same as above.

प्रतापरुद्रनिबन्ध m. in **द्वैतनिर्णय** by **शङ्करभट्ट** (probably the same as **प्रतापमार्तण्ड**).

प्रतापार्क by **विश्वेश्वर** of the **शाण्डिल्यगोत्र** and surnamed **महाशब्द**, son of **रामेश्वर**, son of **गङ्गाराम**, son of **रत्नाकर**; based on his ancestor's **जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम** and composed by order of king **प्रताप**, grandson of **जयसिंह** (Ulwar cat. extract 328).

प्रतिग्रहप्रायश्चित्तप्रकार.

प्रतिमादान.

प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा by **नीलकण्ठ**.

प्रतिमासंग्रह m. in **दानरत्नाकर** of **चण्डेश्वर**.

प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता by **वृन्दावन शुक्ल**.

प्रतिष्ठाकौमुदी by **शङ्कर**.

प्रतिष्ठाकौस्तुभ.

प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि by **गङ्गाधर**.

प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व or **देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व** by **रघुनन्दन**; vide sec. 102.

प्रतिष्ठादर्पण by **पद्मनाभ**, son of **गोपाल**, son of **नारायण** (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated śake 1706 i. e. 1784-5 A. D.).

प्रतिष्ठादीधिति from the **स्मृतिकौस्तुभ** of **अनन्तदेव**.

प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय of **गङ्गाधर**.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by **अनन्तभट्ट** alias **बापुभट्ट**.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by त्रिविक्रमभट्ट, son of रघुसूरि; N. vol. V. p. 157, ms. copied in संवत् 1785).

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट हर्षे.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by राधाकृष्ण.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by शङ्करभट्ट.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश by हरिप्रसादशर्मन्.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग of कमलाकर.

प्रतिष्ठामयूख by नीलकण्ठ; vide sec. 107; (pr. by J. R. Gharpure). Styled प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग also (vide Ulwar cat. extract 330).

प्रतिष्ठारत्न.

प्रतिष्ठार्कपद्धति by दिवाकर.

प्रतिष्ठाविवेक of उमापति.

प्रतिष्ठाविवेक of शूलपाणि (sec. 95).

प्रतिष्ठासंग्रह.

प्रतिष्ठासमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

प्रतिष्ठासागर of बल्लालसेन m. in his दानसागर. Vide sec. 83.

प्रतिष्ठासार by रामचन्द्र m. in शान्तिमयूख.

प्रतिष्ठासारदीपिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग टकले, son of चिन्तामणि, in पञ्चवटी; composed in śake 1702 (1780-81 A. D.); Baroda O. I. No. 333.

प्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 134), कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि and दानमयूख.

प्रतिष्ठेन्दु by त्र्यम्बक, son of नारायण माटे. (Baroda O. I. 11089 b).

प्रतिष्ठोद्द्योत (part of दिनकरोद्द्योत) by दिनकर and his son, विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट.

प्रतिसरबन्धप्रयोग (rules for tying of a string as a charm on the wrist at weddings and other festive occasions).

प्रतीताक्षरा com. of नन्दपण्डित on the मिताक्षरा; sec. 105.

प्रत्यवरोहणप्रयोग, part of प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट.

प्रथिततिथिनिर्णय by नागदैवज्ञ.

प्रदीप occurs as the last part of the names of several works such as आचारप्रदीप, कृत्यप्रदीप, समयप्रदीप, संवत्सरप्रदीप.

प्रदीप vide sec. 80.

प्रदीपदानपद्धति vide महाप्रदीप०.

प्रदीपिका m. in गणेश's दण्डविवेक and in सरस्वतीविलास. Earlier than 1450 A. D.

प्रदोषनिर्णय by विष्णुभट्ट (from पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि).

प्रदोषपूजापद्धति by बल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of वासुदेवेन्द्र.

प्रपञ्चसार m. by वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, आह्निकतत्त्व of रघु०. Seems to be a work of the तन्त्र class, earlier than 1450 A. D.

C. व्याख्यान, quoted by देवनाथ in तन्त्रकौमुदी. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र.

C. by ज्ञानस्वरूप.

प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक by गङ्गाधर महाडकर, son of सदाशिव. In 8 उल्लासs; ms. dated संवत् 1840 (1783-4 A. D.); vide N. vol. X. 162. On आह्निक, भगवत्पूजा, भागवतधर्म, moral maxims.

प्रपञ्चामृतसार by एकराज (or Ekoji) of Tanjore, who reigned from 1676 to 1684 A. D. Some fragments on नीति and पूजा are recovered (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

प्रपन्नगतिदीपिका by ताताचार्य; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, सार्वभौम, वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रपन्नदिनचर्या (acccording to रामानुज school).

प्रपन्नलक्षण.

प्रपन्नौर्ध्वदेहिकविधि.

प्रभाकराह्निक by प्रभाकरभट्ट.

प्रमाणदर्पण.

प्रमाणपल्लव of नृसिंह or नरसिंह ठक्कुर, divided into परिच्छेदs on आचार &c.

प्रमाणसंग्रह.

प्रमाणसारप्रकाशिका.

प्रमेयमाला.

प्रयागकृत्य (part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागप्रकरण or प्रयागप्रघट्टक (from त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागसेतु m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (same as part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयोगकौस्तुभ by गणेशपाठक.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासशिष्य, brother of सीताराम.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका in 18 खण्डs. From पुंसवन to श्राद्ध ; follows आपस्तम्बगृह्य, mentions कण्ठभूषण, पञ्चाग्निकारिका, जयन्तकारिका, कपर्दिकारिका, वृशानिर्णय, वामनकारिका, सुधीविलोचन, स्मृतिरत्नाकर. (Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. cat. vol. VII. p. 2798 No. 3713).

प्रयोगचिन्तामणि (part of रामकल्पद्रुम) by अनन्तभट्ट.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection) on स्वस्तिक, पुण्याहवाचन, ग्रहयज्ञ, स्थालीपाक, दुष्टरजोदर्शनशान्ति, गर्भाधान, सीमन्तोन्नयन, षष्ठीपूजा, नामकरण, चौल and other संस्कारs, उपनयन, विवाह.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. p. 22).

प्रयोगचूडामणि m. by रघुनन्दन.

प्रयोगतत्त्व of रघुनाथ, son of माधुजि of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, composed at Benares in 25 तत्त्वs on ordinary religious rites (संस्कारs), परिभाषा, स्वस्तिवाचन, ग्रहमख &c.; composed in śake 1577 (1656 A. D.).

प्रयोगतिलक by वीरराघव (Baroda O. I. 9806).

प्रयोगदर्पण by नारायण, son of चायम्भट्ट. Deals with domestic rites according to Ṛgveda ritual. Names उज्ज्वला of हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, श्रीधर, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. Later than 1400 A. D.

प्रयोगदर्पण by पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण ; deals with देवप्रतिष्ठा, मण्डपपूजा, तोरणपूजा &c.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रघुनाथसूरि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रमानाथविद्यावाचस्पति on daily religious duties of householders ; quotes हेमाद्रि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

प्रयोगदर्पण Ano. N. (new series) vol. II p. 190. On the last rites of a man, his cremation and श्राद्ध. Mentions श्रीधर (author of स्मृत्यर्थसार) as much removed from him.

प्रयोगदीप (to शाङ्खायनगृह्य) by दयाशङ्कर.

प्रयोगदीपिका by मञ्चनाचार्य.

प्रयोगदीपिका by रामकृष्णभट्ट.

प्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

प्रयोगपञ्चरत्न m. in चातुर्मास्यप्रयोग.

प्रयोगपद्धति

of गङ्गाधर (बौधायनीय).

of झिंगय्यकोविद, son of पेअल्लु मञ्चनाचार्य (for आपस्तम्बीयs). This is called शिङ्गयभट्टीय.

of दामोदरगार्ग्य ; based on कर्कोपाध्याय, गङ्गाधर, हरिहर and follows पारस्करगृह्य. Also styled संस्कारपद्धति.

of रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट अयाचित (आश्वलायनीय).

of हरिहर (in 2 काण्डs on domestic religious rites); attached to com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

प्रयोगपद्धति to कात्यायनश्राद्धसूत्र.

प्रयोगपद्धतिसुबोधिनी by शिवराम

प्रयोगपारिजात by नरसिंह (vide I. O. cat. p. 415 No. 1396) Mentions हेमाद्रि, विद्यारण्य, प्रसाद (which the editor of I. O. cat. takes to be नृसिंहप्रसाद). This is most probably the same as the next below and प्रसाद means probably no more than the commentary प्रसाद of विठ्ठल on the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of रामचन्द्र. Vide I. O. cat. p. 166 for प्रसाद com. and Bhandarkar Report 1883-84 p. 59 for pedigree.

प्रयोगपारिजात by नृसिंह a native of कर्णाटक, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र. Has five काण्डs on संस्कार, पाकयज्ञ, आधान, आह्निक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय. Portion on संस्कार printed at Nir. Press (1916). Speaks of 25 संस्कारs ; mentions कालदीप and कालप्रदीप (on same page), कालदीपभाष्य, क्रियासार, कल्पप्रदीप, विष्वादर्श, विधिरत्न, श्रीधरीय, स्मृतिभास्कर ; criticizes हेमाद्रि and माधव ; composed between 1360 and 1435 A. D. It is this work probably that is mentioned in नृसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार), धर्मप्रवृत्ति (संस्कार portion) and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट ms. (Bik. cat. p. 439) is dated संवत 1495 (1438-39 A. D.).

प्रयोगपारिजात by पुरुषोत्तमभट्ट son of देवराजार्य.

प्रयोगपारिजात by रघुनाथ वाजपेयिन.

प्रयोगपारिजातसारावलि m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

प्रयोगप्रदीप by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता by श्रीकण्ठ (Baroda O. I. No. 12059).

प्रयोगमणि by केशवभट्ट, son of अभयंकर नारायण.

प्रयोगमुक्तावलि by मिश्रिमश्रि (?) तिर्विलि ; D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1871-72. Quotes विज्ञानेश्वर, प्रयोगपारिजात, नृसिंह, आश्वलायन. Later than 1650 A. D.

प्रयोगमुक्तावलि by **वीरराघव**.

प्रयोगरत्न or **स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति** by **अनन्त**, son of **विश्वनाथ** ; deals with 25 **संस्कार**s according to **आश्वलायन**, and **स्वस्तिवाचन**, **पुण्याहवाचन**, **स्थालीपाक**, **परिभाषा**, **प्रायश्चित्त**. (I.O. cat. vol. III. p. 515).

प्रयोगरत्न (**हिरण्यकेशीय**) by **अनन्तदेव**, son of **विश्वनाथ** ; vide Peterson's 5th Report No. 126. Probably same as above.

प्रयोगरत्न by **काशीदीक्षित**, son of **सदाशिव**.

प्रयोगरत्न by **केशवदीक्षित**, son of **सदाशिव**.

प्रयोगरत्न by **नारायणभट्ट**, son of **रामेश्वरभट्ट** (pr. by Nir. P.) for **आश्वलायनीय**s. Vide sec. 103.

प्रयोगरत्न by **प्रेमनिधि**.

प्रयोगरत्न by **नृसिंहभट्ट**, son of **नारायणभट्ट**, according to **आश्वलायन** and **शौनक** ; quoted in **चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान** of **भट्टोजि** ; between 1500-1600 A.D.

प्रयोगरत्न by **भट्टोजि** (C. P. cat. No. 3131).

प्रयोगरत्न or **स्मार्तप्रयोगरत्न** of **महेश**, son of **महादेव वैशम्पायन** ; composed at Kāśī on **संस्कार**, **शान्ति** and **श्राद्ध** , pr. in Śake 1798 ; eulogises **मातृभूम**; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1626) dated 1844 **संवत** i. e. 1787-8 A. D.

प्रयोगरत्न by **महादेव** (**हिरण्यकेशीय**).

प्रयोगरत्न by **वासुदेवदीक्षित**, son of **आपदेव**.

प्रयोगरत्न by **हरिहर**.

प्रयोगरत्नभूषा by **रघुनाथ नवहस्त** (BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 185).

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by **चौण्डप्पाचार्य**.

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by **वासुदेव**, son of **आपदेवभट्ट**, a **चित्तपावन ब्राह्मण** ; on **विष्ण्वादिसर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठा**, mentions **निर्णयसिन्धु**. Between 1620 and 1760 A. D. Also called **वासुदेवी** and **प्रतिष्ठारत्नमाला**.

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by **पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश**.

प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार by **प्रेमनिधि**.

प्रयोगरत्नसंग्रह m. by **संस्कारमयूख**.

प्रयोगरत्नाकर -vide **प्रयोगदीप** of **दयाशङ्कर** above.

प्रयोगरत्नाकर by **यशवन्तभट्ट** (for **मैत्रायणीय**s). Baroda O. I. 8365.

प्रयोगरत्नावली by **परमानन्दघन**, pupil of **चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती** (probably on Śrauta rites only).

प्रयोगलाघव by **विट्ठल**, son of **महादेव**.

प्रयोगसंग्रह by **रामनाथ**.

प्रयोगसागर by **नारायण आरड**. Later than 1650 A.D.; called also **वृद्धाग्निसागर**.

प्रयोगसार (W. and K. cat. II p. 97) in 8 **काण्ड**s.

प्रयोगसार by **कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश**, son of **नारायण**. This is also called **कृत्यतत्त्व** or **संवत्सरप्रयोगसार**.

प्रयोगसार by **केशवस्वामिन्** (**बौधायनीय**). On Vaidic sacrifices. Names **नारायण** and **भवस्वामी** and is m. by **त्रिकाण्डमण्डन**. About 1100 A. D.

प्रयोगसार by **गङ्गाभट्ट** (**आपस्तम्बीय**).

प्रयोगसार by **देवभद्र पाठक**, son of **बलभद्र** (**कात्यायनीय**). Refers to **महार्-**

धरपाठक, भर्तृयज्ञ, वासुदेव, रेहु, कर्क, हरिस्वामी, माधव, पद्मनाभ, गदाधर, हरिहर, रामपद्धति of अनन्त. Deals with श्रौत matters.

प्रयोगसार by नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Same as गृह्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसागर.

प्रयोगसार by निजानन्द.

प्रयोगसार by बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य, residing in गोकुलग्राम.

प्रयोगसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर. On पुण्याहवाचन, गणपतिपूजन &c.

प्रयोगसार by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगसारावलि m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

प्रयोगसारपीयूष of कुमारस्वामि विष्णु ; on परिभाषा, संस्कार, आह्निक, प्रायश्चित्त.

प्रयोगसारसमुच्चय.

प्रयोगादर्श by कनकसभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ, of मौद्गल्यगोत्र. It is a com. on his own कारिकामञ्जरी.

प्रवरकाण्ड (आश्वलायनीय) pr. by P. Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक (Mysore, 1900).

C. by नारायण (pr. in the above).

प्रवरखण्ड (आपस्तम्बीय).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन (pr. by Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक, Mysore, 1900, pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1914).

प्रवरखण्ड (वैखानस in one प्रश्न).

प्रवरगण- a work on प्रवरs in शार्दूलविक्रीडित verses. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 225 No. 707 ; breaks off in verse 25).

प्रवरदर्पण by कमलाकर ; also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (pr. in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900).

प्रवरदीप or प्रवरप्रदीप m. in प्रवरदीपिका

प्रवरदीपिका by कृष्णदेव ; mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

प्रवरनिर्णय- from the विश्वादर्श.

प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करत्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Calcutta S. College mss. cat. vol. II p. 69 No. 65.

C. रामनाथ(?).

प्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि. Also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

प्रवरनिर्णयवाक्यसुधार्णव of विश्वनाथदेव.

प्रवरमञ्जरी- vide गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी ; m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

प्रवरविवरण m. in the प्रवरदीपिका.

प्रवराध्याय (there is a section on प्रवर in most of the श्रौतसूत्रs).

प्रवराध्याय of the मानवश्रौत BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 177.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to अगस्त्य. On गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

प्रवराध्याय by पशुपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन ; about 1170-1200 A.D.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to भृगुदेव.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to लौगाक्षि, the eleventh परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन.

प्रवराध्याय by विश्वनाथकवि.

प्रवराध्याय from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर.

प्रवराध्याय from स्मृतिदर्पण.

प्रवासकृत्य by गङ्गाधर son of रामचन्द्र ; composed at स्तम्भतीर्थ (modern Khambayat or Cambay) in संवत्

1663(1606-7 A.D.). Deals with duties of साग्निक ब्राह्मणs driven to foreign lands for livelihood.

प्रस्तावपारिजात.

प्रस्तावरत्नाकर of हरिदास son of पुरुषोत्तम, under वीरसिंह, in गद्दापत्तन in संवत 1614 (1557-8 A. D.). A work in verse on various subjects including नीति, ज्योतिःशास्त्र.

प्रह्लादसंहिता m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (follows वल्लभमत).

प्राचीनषडशीति (as opposed to अभिनवषडशीति) vide under षडशीति.

प्रातःकृत्य.

प्रातःपूजाविधि by नरोत्तमदास (for the followers of चैतन्य).

प्रायश्चित्तकदम्ब or -निर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन. Points out differences between रघुनाथ, नारायण, जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चानन. N. vol. X, p. 119.

प्रायश्चित्तकदम्बसारसंग्रह by काशीनाथतर्कालङ्कार. Mentions views of शूलपाणि, मदनपारिजात, नव्यद्वैतनिर्णय, कृष्णशेखर. N. (new series) I. pp. 233-35.

प्रायश्चित्तकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तकल्पतरु- portion of कल्पतरु.

प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड- 2nd part of वैद्यनाथ's स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

प्रायश्चित्तकारिका by गोपाल ; based on the बौधायनसूत्र ; flourished before सायण.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by कृष्णराम.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by मुकुन्दलाल.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव. Stein's cat. p. 96. Hultzsch's Report III p. 56. On both श्रौत and स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्त. About 1660-1700.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by रामचन्द्र ; modelled on प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि. N. X. p, 197.

प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी alias प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश.

प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी alias प्रायश्चित्तविवेकटिप्पनी of रामकृष्ण.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर surnamed काल.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by रमापति of the भैपाल race.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by राधाकान्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by विश्वनाथभट्ट ; m. by दिवाकर in his प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका and in स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार.

प्रायश्चित्तचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102 ; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta in 1900).

C. by राधामोहनगोस्वामी (pr. at Calcutta 1885 in Bengali characters). He was a friend of Colebrooke and a descendant of अद्वैत, an associate of चैतन्य.

C. आदर्श by विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश.

प्रायश्चित्तदीप m. in प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्रदेव. Earlier than 1700 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by राम.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by लोकनाथ, son of वैद्यनाथ (from his सकलागमसंग्रह).

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by वाहिनीपति.

प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide sec. 73. Also called-प्रकरण.

प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by रिपुञ्जय (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta 1883).

प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन. Summary of रघुनन्दन's work.

प्रायश्चित्तपटल.

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by कामदेव. Ms. copied in 1669 A. D. (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. 293 a).

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by जम्बुनाथसभाधीश, son of हेमाद्रि; in four पटलs.

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास.

प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by गणेशमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय.

प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by रत्नपाणि. Mentions कामधेनु. (N. vol. VI, p. 300).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण (Stein's cat. pp. 96, 310).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भवदेव बालवलभीभुजङ्ग. Sec. 73.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by रामकृष्ण.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश of प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son of बलभद्र.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप m. by स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (on तिथि).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by गोपालसूरि. (Bik cat. p. 137 says so, but it appears that गोपालसूरि is a भाष्यकार on बौधायनश्रौत, whom the author follows on श्रौतप्रायश्चित्त.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by प्रेमनिधि of पन्थवंश. composed in śake 1675 (Baroda O. I. 1490).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by राजचूडामणि, son of रत्नखेट श्रीनिवासदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by रामशरण.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वरदाधीशयज्वन्, pupil of वेङ्कटाधीश.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वाहिनीपति.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथ. He was गुरु of वर्धमान, flourished in 2nd and 3rd quarters of 15th century).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by भास्कर (Same as प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी) on प्रायश्चित्तs in श्रौत rites.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by त्र्यम्बक (N. vol. X. 164), based on आश्वलायन.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by दिवाकर. Vide under स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्री कागलकर.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोगरत्नमाला-mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, प्रदीप, केशवीकार.

प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी of बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव केळकर. Stein's cat. p. 96, gives विरचनकाल as Sake 1736.

प्रायश्चित्तमनोहर of मुरारिमिश्र, son of कृष्णमिश्र, and pupil of रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ; vide sec. 107. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड of मार्तण्डमिश्र (Mitra's Notices vol. VII, p. 7, No. 2252 dated sake 1544 i. e. 1622-23 A. D.).

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by दिवाकर, son of महादेव (part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि).

अनुक्रमणी to above by वैद्यनाथ, son of author.

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्न by कमलाकरभट्ट m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नमाला by रामचन्द्रदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नाकर by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य by दिनकर m. in स्मृतिरत्नावली.

प्रायश्चित्तवारिधि by भवानन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by मायर अप्पयदीक्षित; mentions हेमाद्रि and माधव.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि from वसिष्ठस्मृति.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि attributed to शौनक.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by यशोधरभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 (Baroda O. I. 10849 dated संवत 1501 i. e. 1444-45 A. D.); pr. by Jivananda.

C. तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द son of गणपतिभट्ट. Vide sec. 101 (pr. by Jivananda).

C. कौमुदी or टिप्पनी by रामकृष्ण.

C. निगूढार्थप्रकाशिका. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 114.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of श्रीनाथ. About 1475-1525 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोद्योत- (part of मदनरत्न). Sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by चिन्तामणिन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य (N. vol. IV No. 1580). He wrote also व्यवस्थासंक्षेपs on तिथि, उद्वाह, श्राद्ध, दाय, शुद्धि. Ms. dated sake 1611.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंग्रह by मोहनचन्द्र.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासार by अमृतनाथ.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी by भास्कर in 4 प्रकरणs m. in नि. सि.. प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल of रघुनाथ, माविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by वेङ्कटेश वाजपेययाजी; ms. dated संवत् 1641 (1584-5 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 311.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका by गोपालस्वामिन् (बौधायनीय).

प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति by गोविन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तसंक्षेप by चिन्तामणिन्यायालङ्कार. Probably the same as प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप above.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश N. (new series) I p.239.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by देवराज (This is in Hindi, prepared for महाराज चेतसिंग of Benares). 1770-1781 A.D.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by नारायणभट्ट; mentions शूलपाणि, रघुनन्दन, स्मृतिसागरसार. So later than 1600 A. D. Defines प्रायश्चित्त as ' पापक्षयमात्रकामनाजन्यकृतिविषयः पापक्षयसाधनं कर्म प्रायश्चित्तम् '.

प्रायश्चित्तसदोदय of सदाराम, son of देवेश्वर.

प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by त्रिलोचनशिव.

प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by त्र्यम्बकभट्ट मोलह.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by दलपति (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद). Vide sec. 99.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by (भट्टोजि ?) दीक्षित m. in जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by श्रीमदाउचाक्षुक्कदीक्षित m. in प्रतापनारसिंह (vide BBRAS. cat. p.224).

प्रायश्चित्तसार by हरिराम.

प्रायश्चित्तसार from स्मृतिसार of यादवेन्द्रविद्याभूषण. N. (new series) I. p. 240. Ms. dated 1613 (1691 A.D.).

प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी of वनमालिन् (N. vol. IX p. 58).

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by आनन्दचन्द्र N. (new series) vol. III. p. 126.

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by नागोजिभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तसारावलि (portion of बृहन्नारदीयपुराण).

प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सायण, son of मायण and brother of माधवाचार्य. Vide sec. 92.

प्रायश्चित्तसुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवासमखिन् (आपस्तम्बीय).

प्रायश्चित्तसेतु by सदाशङ्कर.

प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय 3rd chap. of निबन्धसर्वस्व of महादेव, son of महाराजसहस्रमल्लश्रीपति. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555.).

प्रायश्चित्तानुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by काशीनाथ, son of अनन्त, (also called प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोगसारसंग्रह) composed for बालकृष्ण; pr. in Bombay in 1863 and 1882. Vide sec. 112.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110; ms. (N. vol. V p. 23) is dated संवत् 1848 i. e. 1781-82 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखरसारसंग्रह by नागोजि, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555).

प्रायश्चित्तोद्योत by दिनकर (part of दिनकरोद्योत).

प्रायश्चित्तोद्योत by मदनसिंहदेव (part of मदनरत्न). Vide sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, surnamed काळ. Also called स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त and स्मार्तनिष्कृतिपद्धति (vide Baroda O. I. 1334, 1543, 1663).

प्रायश्चित्तौघसार by आनन्दचन्द्र. Offences classified under 4 heads, heinous, gross, venial and slight, and their expiation.

प्रासाददीपिका m. by **अटमल्लविलास.** Earlier than 1500 A. D.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा by **नृहरि,** surnamed **पण्ढरपुर.** Based on the **प्रतिष्ठामयूख** and **मत्स्यपुराण** ; ms. in Bhadkamkar collection copied in śake 1714 (1792-3 A. D.) ; names **नि. सि., रामवाजपेय.**

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा by **भाणुजिमिश्र.**

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठादीधिति (part of **राजधर्मकौस्तुभ**) by **अनन्तदेव.** Vide sec. 109.

प्रासादशिवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by **कमलाकर.** Sec. 106.

प्रेतकृत्यनिर्णय.

प्रेतकृत्यादिनिर्णय Ano.

प्रेतदीपिका by **गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिन्.**

प्रेतप्रदीप by **कृष्णमित्राचार्य.**

प्रेतमञ्जरी- vide Hp. cat. XVII (ms. dated 1707 A. D.).

प्रेतमञ्जरी or **प्रेतपद्धति** by **यादुमिश्र.** Ulwar cat. No. 1403.

प्रेतमुक्तिदा by **क्षेमराम.**

प्रेतश्राद्धव्यवस्थाकारिका by **स्मार्तवागीश.**

प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड or **कालनिर्णयसंग्रह** by **प्रतापरुद्रदेव.** Vide **प्रतापमार्तण्ड.**

फलप्रदीप m. in **प्रयोगपारिजात** of **नृसिंह.** (probably a purely astrological work).

फलाभिषेक

बभ्रुस्मृति m. in **परा. मा.**

बलदेवाह्निक compiled from the **महाभारत.**

बहिर्न्यासस्त्र.

बहिर्मातृका.

बहिर्यागपूजा.

बह्वृचकारिका m. in **नि. सि.**

बह्वृचकर्मप्रयोग (according to **शाकल**) N. vol. X. p. 5.

बह्वृचगृह्यकारिका by **शाकलाचार्य.** Vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 14 b. This is the same as the above; m. in **समयमयूख.**

बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. in **हेमाद्रि, रघु॰, नि. सि.**

बह्वृचश्राद्धप्रयोग.

बह्वृचषोडशकर्ममन्त्रविवरण.

बह्वृचसन्ध्यापद्धतिभाष्य.

बह्वृचाह्निक by **कमलाकर,** son of **रामकृष्ण.** Refers to his **प्रायश्चित्तरत्न.**

बादरायणस्मृति m. in **प्रायश्चित्तमयूख** and in com. on **नीतिवाक्यामृत.**

बार्हस्पत्यमुहूर्तविधान.

बार्हस्पत्यस्मृति m. by **हेमाद्रि.**

बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता on **मुहूर्त**s for **गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, उपनयन** and other **संस्कार**s and on portentous phenomena. The **वीरमित्रोदय** (**लक्षणप्रकाश** p. 356) quotes **बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता** on elephants in prose and verse.

बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र (pr. in Punjab S. series). Also called **नीतिसर्वस्व.**

बालबोधक of **आनन्दचन्द्र.** In 46 **श्लोक**s on **प्रायश्चित्त.**

बालमरणविधिकर्तव्यता.

बालम्भट्टी by **लक्ष्मीदेवी;** pr. (**आचार, व्यवहार** and **प्रायश्चित्त**) by J. R. Gharpure and vyavahāra portion is

translated by him. Vide sec. 111.

बालार्कोदय m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार).

बालावबोधपद्धति on शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र.

बाष्कलस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 58.).

बुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन.

बुधभूषण by शम्भुराज (son of the great Shivaji). 1680-1689 A. D. On politics &c, pr. in Govt. Oriental series, Poona, 1926.

बुधस्मृति a small treatise of about one page in print in prose. D. C. mss. No. 207 of A 1881-82 and 145 of 1895-1902. Defines धर्म as श्रेयोऽभ्युदयसाधन; and summarises rules on उपनयन, विवाह, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, पाकयज्ञ, हविर्यज्ञ, सोमयाग, rules common to all, duties of the four वर्णs, वानप्रस्थ and यति, राजधर्म. हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्ग० (III. 2. 746) quotes some sutras on उपनयन and it is m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. I. O. cat. vol. III p. 386 (No. 1323) sets out the whole स्मृति. Vide sec. 25.
C. by हरिराम.

बुधाष्टमी.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतोद्यापन Stein's cat. p. 96.

बृहज्जातिविवेक by गोपीनाथकवि (Baroda O. I. 9707).

बृहत्पाराशरस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 53-309).

बृहत्संहिता by व्यास.

बृहद्यम pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 99-107.

बृहद्रत्नाकर of वामनभट्ट.

बृहद्राजमार्तण्ड m. by रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व.

बृहद्वसिष्ठस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा, हलायुध, मद. पा.

बृहद्विष्णुस्मृति.

बृहद्व्यास m. by मिता०.

बृहस्पतिशान्ति (from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

बृहस्पतिस्मृति-vide sec. 37; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 644-651 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 108-111.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि (परिशेषखण्ड, काल० p. 309).

बैजवाप (or-पि) गृह्य m. by कुमारिलभट्ट in तन्त्रवार्तिक on मीमांसासूत्र (I.3.11) in the words 'आश्वलायनकं सूत्रं बैजवापिकृतं तथा'.

बैजवापस्मृति m. by अपरार्क (in verse about शुभनुक्रिया and सपिण्डन).

बैजवापायन m. by हेमाद्रि.

बोपणभट्टीय.

C. by माधवमुनि.

बौधायनगृह्य Pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, ed. by Dr. Shamaśastri; divided into 4 प्रश्नs of गृह्य, two प्रश्नs of गृह्यपरिभाषा, 5 प्रश्नs of गृह्यशेष, 3 of पितृमेधसूत्र and one of पितृमेधशेषसूत्र. It is the बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र (II. 6) that contains a passage about पुत्रप्रतिग्रह (adoption) that resembles closely a passage of वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र.

C. पूरणव्याख्या by अष्टावक्र.

C. भाष्य (called शिष्टिभाष्य). Hultzsch II No. 668.

बौधायनगृह्यकारिका by कनकसभापति.

बौधायनगृह्यपद्धति by केशवस्वामिन्.

बौधायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (ed. by Harting).

बौधायनगृह्यप्रयोगमाला by राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड. Ulwar cat. extract 21; refers to प्रयोगसार.

बौधायनगृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र.

बौधायनतन्त्रि on गृह्य ritual.

बौधायनधर्मसूत्र-vide sec. 6: pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 425-484 and Mysore G. O. L. series

C. by गोविन्दस्वामिन् (Mysore G. O. L. series).

C. अमला by परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक.

बौधायनसंग्रह.

बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग by कनकसभापति. Hultzsch R. II. No. 672.

बौधायनस्मृति.

बौधायनाह्निक by विद्यापतिभट्ट.

बौधायनीयपरिशिष्ट m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु०.

ब्रह्मगर्भस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 268), अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०

ब्रह्मचारिव्रतलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 240.

ब्रह्मदत्तभाष्य m.? in शुद्धितत्त्व by रघु० as quoted by कल्पतरु. So earlier than 1100 A. D. It appears to be a com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्य.

ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका (com. on सन्ध्यामन्त्र) of वनमालिमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र.

ब्रह्मयज्ञशिरोरत्न by नरसिंह

ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायणठक्कुर. Refers to मुरारिभाष्य, उवटभाष्य, पारस्करगृह्यभाष्य. N. (new series) p. 250.

ब्रह्मौदनप्रायश्चित्त by श्रीनिवासदीक्षित (Baroda O. I. 6789 d).

ब्राह्मणपद्धति.

ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व by हलायुध; (sec. 72). pr. at Calcutta in 1893 and at Benares.

ब्राह्मवधस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (या. III. 257).

भक्तिजयार्णव by रघुनन्दन. Probably different from the famous रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) I. p. 25.

भक्तिप्रकाश by वेणरघुनन्दन in 8 उद्योतs.

भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा by विट्ठलेश्वर

भक्तिमार्गसंग्रह (for वाल्लभs).

भक्तिरत्नाकर by a son of शिवदास.

भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु by सनातन; composed in śake 1463 (1541-42 A.D.); m. in भक्तिजयार्णव.

C. दुर्गमसङ्गमनी by जीव.

भक्तिरसार्णव by कृष्णदास

भक्तिरहस्य by सोमनाथ.

भक्तिवर्धिनी by वल्लभाचार्य.

भक्तिविवेक by श्रीनिवास (for रामानुजs).

भक्तिहंस by विट्ठलेश.

भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय by विट्ठलेश

C. by रघुनाथ.

भगवत्स्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and आचारमयूख.

भगवद्दर्शनविधि by रघुनाथ.

भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or भगवद्भक्तिविवेक by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली by विष्णुपुरी composed at Benares. The author was a मैथिल.

C. कान्तिमाला by author. Composed in śake 1555 Phālguna (1634) A.D. Bhandarkar's Report for 1887-91 p. LXXX.

भगवद्भक्तिरसायन by मधुसूदनसरस्वती.

भगवद्भक्तिविलास by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधानन्द, in 20 विलासs on religious ceremonies of वैष्णवs ; m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

C. (with text pr. at Calcutta in 1845).

भगवन्तभास्कर or स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ, divided into twelve मयूखs. Vide sec. 107 (the whole published at Benares in 1879-80).

भट्टकारिका m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

भरद्वाजस्मृति-Vide sec. 27.

C. by बालम्भट्ट.

भर्तृसहगमनविधि.

भल्लाटसंग्रह m. in नि. सि. (on जन्मनक्षत्रफल). Probably a purely astrological work.

भवदेवनिबन्ध m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. Probably the प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण of भवदेवभट्ट. Vide p. 303 above.

भस्मकरोगप्रकाश.

भस्मवादावली.

भागविवेक or धनभागविवेक by भट्टरामजित्, son of श्रीनाथ.

C. मितवादिनी by author. Relies on मिताक्षरा.

भारद्वाजगार्ग्यपरिणयप्रतिषेधवादार्थ on the prohibition of intermarriage between persons of the भारद्वाज and गार्ग्य gotras.

भारद्वाजगृह्य ed. by Dr. J. W. Salomons at Leyden.

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन.

C. गृह्यप्रयोगवृत्ति by भट्टरङ्क.

भारद्वाजश्राद्धकाण्डव्याख्या.

भारद्वाजसंहिता vide भारद्वाजस्मृति.

भारद्वाजस्मृति.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड, son of महादेव and वेणी and pupil of नागोजि. Vide sec. 111.

भारद्वाजीयभाष्य m. by भास्कर in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (it is probably कपर्दिभाष्य on भारद्वाजगृह्य) and by हरिहर in पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य.

भार्गवार्चनचन्द्रिका m by भट्टोजि in तिथिनिर्णय.

भार्गवार्चनदीपिका m. in नि. सि. and रामकल्पद्रुम.

भार्गवार्चनदीपिका by साबाजी (or-ब्बा) alias प्रतापराज. Ulwar cat. extract 648.

भाविप्रायश्चित्त or भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण. Ano.; mentions माधवाचार्य. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 197.

भाष्यसंग्रह m. in निर्णयदीपक.

भाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by **हेमाद्रि** (III. 1. 1360, where a verse in **उपजाति** metre is quoted in which **कपर्दिन्** is named), **स्मृतिचन्द्रिका** (on **आशौच**), **कालनिर्णय** of **माधव**. Between 1000-1200 A. D.

भास्कराह्निक.

भिक्षुतत्त्व by **श्रीकण्ठतीर्थ**, pupil of **महादेवतीर्थ**, on the duties of ascetics, and on those entitled to take to **संन्यास**. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 260.

भीमपराक्रम m. in **शुद्धिकौमुदी** of **गोविन्दानन्द**, in **श्राद्धसौख्य** (**टोडरानन्द**), in **तिथितत्त्व** (seems to be an astrological work).

भुक्तिदीपिका (on the question, when food may be taken before an eclipse).

भुक्तिप्रकरण by **कमलाकर**.

भुजबलभीम of **भोजराज**. Vide pp. 278-279 above ; m. in **श्राद्धविवेक** of **शूलपाणि**, **टोडरानन्द**. An astrological work.

भूतशुद्धि Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 538.

भूतशुद्ध्यादिप्राणप्रतिष्ठा Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 537.

भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय m. in **कृत्यरत्नाकर** (p. 499) of **चण्डेश्वर**. Probably a work of **भोज धारेश्वर**.

भूपालपद्धति m. in **कुण्डाकृति**.

भूपालवल्लभ by **परशुराम**. An encyclopaedia of Dharma, astrology, poetics &c. m. in **नि. सि.** ; **निर्णयदीपक**, **कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्तव्याख्या**.

भूप्रतिमादान.

भृगुस्मृति m. by **विश्वरूप**, **कालविवेक** of **जीमूत°**, **मिताक्षरा**, **अपरार्क**.

भैरवार्चापारिजात by **जैत्रसिंह**.

भैरवार्चापारिजात by **श्रीनिवासभट्ट**, pupil of **सुन्दरराज**, and son of **श्रीनिकेतन**.

भ्रष्टवैष्णवखण्डन by **श्रीधर**.

मकरन्दप्रकाश by **हरिकृष्ण सिद्धान्त**. On **आह्निक**. **संस्कार** ; ms. (Bik. cat. p. 416) is dated **संवत्** 1725 (1668-9 A. D.).

मङ्गलनिर्णय by **गणेश**, son of **केशव दैवज्ञ**. On the rites to be performed at **उपनयन**, **विवाह** &c.

मञ्जरी Occurs as the last component of many works, e. g. **गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी**, **स्मृतिमञ्जरी** (of **गोविन्दराज**).

मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of **रघुनन्दन**. Vide sec. 102.

मठाम्नायादिविचार (on religious practices in the seven principal mathas of the **शंकराचार्य** school). N. vol. X. 256 and Stein's cat. p. 312.

मठोत्सर्ग of **कमलाकर** (C. P. cat. Nos. 3771-72).

मठोत्सर्ग of **माग्निदेव** (C. P. cat. No. 3770).

मणिमञ्जरीच्छेदिनी.

मण्डपकर्तव्यतापूजापद्धति by **शिवरामशुक्ल**.

मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन of **नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि**. C. **प्रकाशिका** (by author).

मण्डपकुण्डसिद्धि by **विट्ठल दीक्षित**, son of **बुधशर्मा** ; composed at **काशी** in śake 1541 (1619-20 A. D.).

C. विवृति by author; mentions कुण्डकौमुदी, कुण्डरत्नाकर, प्रतिष्ठासार-संग्रह, प्रयोगसार, रामवाजपेयी.

मण्डपनिर्णय m. in उत्सर्गमयूख.

मण्डपप्रकरण.

मण्डपोद्वासनप्रयोग by a son of धरणीधर.

मण्डलकारिका (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 647).

मण्डलदेवतास्थापन (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 648).

मतपरीक्षा.

मतोद्धार by शङ्करपण्डित.

मथुरासेतु by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव; m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Sec. 109.

मदनपारिजात attributed to मदनपाल (composed by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट). Vide sec. 93.

मदनमहार्णव Vide महार्णव.

मदनरत्न or मदनरत्नप्रदीप attributed to मदनसिंहदेव. Vide sec. 94. Ulwar cat. extract 336 for समयोद्योत; Baroda O. I. No. 4035 on शुद्धि is dated संवत 1551 (1494-5 A.D.). This last refers to भट्टविश्वनाथ श्रीमालिगुर्जर as the author.

मधुपर्कनिर्णय.

मधुपर्कपद्धति.

मध्यमाङ्गिरसस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (या. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).

मध्याह्निक.

मनुस्मृति or मानवधर्मशास्त्र. Vide sec. 31 (vide p. 157 for editions of commentaries).

C. मन्वर्थमुक्तावली by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88. He was a native of वारेन्द्री i. e. Rājśāhī in Bengal.

C. मन्वाशयानुसारिणी by गोविन्दराज (pr. by V. N. Mandlik). Vide sec. 76.

C. नन्दिनी by नन्दनाचार्य. A late writer. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. मन्वर्थविवृति by नारायणसर्वज्ञ. Between 1100-1300 A. D. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका by राघवानन्दसरस्वती. Later than 1400 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. सुखबोधिनी by मणिराममदीक्षित son of गङ्गाराम (vide Stein's cat. p. 98).

C. by असहाय. Vide sec. 58.

C. by उदयकर m. in वि. र. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

C. by उपाध्याय, m. in मेधातिथिभाष्य.

C. by ऋजु m. in मेधातिथिभाष्य.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by धरणीधर m. by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Between 950-1200 A. D.

C. by भागुरि m. by वि. र.; vide p. 157.

C. (भाष्य) by मेधातिथि: vide sec. 63 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik and by J. R. Gharpure).

C. by यज्वन, m. by मेधातिथि.

C. by रामचन्द्र (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. by रुचिदत्त.

C. anonymous (Kashmirian); portions pr. by Dr. Jolly.

मन्त्रकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

मन्त्रकोश m. in आचारमयूख.

मन्त्रकोश by आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन in 20 परिच्छेदs. Ulwar cat. extract 651.

मन्त्रकौमुदी by अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय, said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. In four काण्डs explains मन्त्रs of सामवेदगृह्यसूत्र; ms. (N. vol. X. p. 122) dated śake 1717 i. e. 1795 A. D.

मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in दीक्षातत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रश्नभाष्य by हरदत्त. Vide under एकाग्निकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या.

मन्त्रमुक्तावली m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व by रघु०.

मन्त्ररत्नदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह of शिवराम.

मयूरचित्रक or मेघमाला or रत्नमाला attributed to नारद. Deals with indications of prospective rain, famine etc. from the appearance of the atmosphere &c.; m. in अद्भुतसागर of बल्लालसेन.

मयूरचित्रक by भट्टगुरु in 7 kāṇḍas. (Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 4404).

मरणकर्मपद्धति (ascribed to the यजुर्वेदगृह्यसूत्र).

मरणसामयिकनिर्णय on rites and expiations to be performed at time of death (Bik. cat. p. 420).

मरीचिस्मृति- vide sec. 48.

मर्यादासिन्धु m. in द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका of कृष्णोत्सव.

मलमासकार्याकार्यनिर्णय.

मलमासतत्त्व or मलिम्लुचतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ and grandson of रामकृष्ण.

C. by मथुरानाथ.

C. टिप्पनी by राधामोहन.

C. by वृन्दावन.

C. by हरिराम.

मलमासनिरूपण.

मलमासनिर्णय by दशपुत्र.

मलमासनिर्णय by बृहस्पति, son of भवदेव (Baroda O. I. No. 12851).

मलमासनिर्णय by वत्सेश्वर, son of नरसिंह.

मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार by वासुदेव.

मलमासरहस्य by बृहस्पति, son of भवदेव, composed in śake 1603 (1681-2 A. D.).

मलमासविचार Ano.; composed in 1579 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 417). The date seems to be rather 1679 (1600 शके).

मलमासापमर्षणी Ano.

मलमासार्थसंग्रह by गुरुप्रसादशर्मन्; N. (new series) vol. I. p. 279.

महागणपतिपूजापद्धति.

महादाननिर्णय by king भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला, with the help of वाचस्पतिमिश्र; ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XII, 36 and 122) dated ल. सं 392 (i. e. 1511 A. D.). The pedigree is given as भवेश, his son हरसिंहदेव, his son भैरवेन्द्र,

styled रूपनारायण here, though हरिनारायण elsewhere ; vide also Ulwar cat. No. 1413 where this work appears to be styled महादानप्रयोगपद्धति.

महादानपद्धति by रूपनारायण (I. O. cat. p. 550. No. 1715 must be taken as dated in śake 1452, i. e. 1530 A. D., as the cyclic year विकृति agrees). Also called महादानप्रयोगपद्धति; m. by वाचस्पति in द्वैतनिर्णय, by कमलाकर, in दानमयूख.

महादानपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर.

महादानवाक्यावली of रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of गंगोलीसंजीवेश्वरमिश्र ; mentions a work called इतिहाससमुच्चय.

महादानानुक्रमणिका.

महादीपदानविधि.

महादेवपरिचर्याप्रयोग (बौधायनीय) by सुरेश्वरस्वामिन्, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ. N. vol. X. p. 239.

महादेवीय m. by निर्णयामृत.

महाप्रदीपरत्नपद्धति N. (new series) I. p. 280.

महाप्रयोगसार m. by रघु० in आह्निकतत्त्व.

महाप्रवरनिर्णय.

महाप्रवरभाष्य by पुरुषोत्तम m. in his गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी.

महारुद्रकर्मकलापपद्धति.

महारुद्रजपहोमपूजापद्धति.

महारुद्रन्यासपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महारुद्रपद्धति- see रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महारुद्रपद्धति by अचलदेव द्विवेदिन्, son of वत्सराज (acc. to शांखायन). About 1518 A. D.

महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत ; quotes प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट. So later than 1575 A. D. (also called महारुद्रप्रयोगपद्धति).

महारुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महारुद्रपद्धति by नारायण (acc. to आश्वलायन).

महारुद्रपद्धति by परशुराम, son of कर्ण (acc. to सामवेद); m. by शूद्रकमलाकर. Composed in 1459 A. D.

महारुद्रपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महारुद्रपद्धति by मालजित् (or मालजी) son of तिगलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट ; of श्रीस्थल, in गुर्जरदेश. The work is also called रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी and the author was also called वेदाङ्गराय. About 1627-1655 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1415).

महारुद्रपद्धति by रामचन्द्राचार्य (for गोभिलीयs). Baroda O. I. 1250.

महारुद्रपद्धति by विष्णुशर्मन्.

महारुद्रपद्धति by वेदाङ्गराय, son of तिगलाभट्ट. Same as the work of मालजी.

महारुद्रयज्ञपद्धति.

महार्णव or महार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि (vol. III. part 1, pp. 183, 1440) and by श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि. This is also called स्मृतिमहार्णव or -प्रकाश. Vide p. 308 above.

महार्णव (कर्मविपाक) attributed to मान्धातृ, a son of मदनपाल. Vide sec. 93 pp. 382-83.

महार्णव by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of पेद्दिभट्ट (? पेद्दिभट्ट). Vide sec. 93. (N. vol. VII p. 121). Same as महार्णव attributed to मान्धातृ.

महार्णवव्रतार्क.

महालयप्रयोग.

महालयश्राद्धपद्धति.

महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by अखण्डानन्द, disciple of अखण्डानुभूति.

महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

महाशान्ति in two अध्यायs (of 18 and 25 sections) on expiatory and propitiatory rites.

महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय by कृष्णराम of काश्मीर.

महाष्टमीनिर्णय.

महिषीदान.

महिषीदानमन्त्र.

महेश्वरधर्माधर्म.

मांसनिर्णय by ढुण्ढि.

मांसपीयूषलता by रामभद्रशिष्य (C. P. cat. No. 4143).

मांसभक्षणदीपिका by वेणीराम शाकद्वीपिन्.

मांसमीमांसा by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि.

मांसविवेक by भट्टदामोदर. Tries to prove that the directions about offering of flesh do not apply to the present age.

मांसविवेक or मांसतत्त्वविवेक by विश्वनाथन्यायपञ्चानन. Composed about 1634 A. D.; pr. in सरस्वतीभवन series. Styled also मांसतत्त्वविचार.

माघोद्यापन.

माण्डव्यस्मृति m. in कालविवेक o जीमूत°, हेमाद्रि, दानमयूख.

मातुलसुतापरिणय.

मातृगोत्रनिर्णय by नारायण.

मातृगोत्रनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son of मुद्गल, son of रुद्रकवीन्द्र. (Baroda O. I. No. 1463). On the question of मातृगोत्र being prohibited in marriage to माध्यन्दिनीय ब्राह्मणs.

मातृदत्तीय com. on हिरण्यकेशिसूत्र m. in नि. सि.

मातृसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धप्रयोग.

मातृस्थापनाप्रयोग.

मात्रादिश्राद्धनिर्णय by कोकिल.

माधवप्रकाश or सदाचारचन्द्रोदय. Vide आचारचन्द्रोदय above.

माधवीयकालनिर्णय. Vide कालनिर्णय of माधव above.

माधवीसारोद्धार by रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण. An abstract of पराशरमाधवीय for महाराजाधिराज लक्ष्मणचन्द्र. Vide Stein's cat. p. 309 for extract. About 1575-1600 A. D.

माधवोल्लास m. by रघु° in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (p. 509).

माध्यन्दिनाचारसंग्रहदीपिका by पद्मनाभ.

मानवगृह्यसूत्र (ed. by Knauer and and in the G. O. series with com.) in two parts called पुरुषs.

C. (भाष्य) by अष्टावक्र : mentions याज्ञवल्क्य, गौतम, पराशर, बैजवाप,

शबरस्वामी, भट्टकुमार, and भट्टअष्टावक्र himself. In the Intro. to 2nd पुरुष he says he composed when 100 years (of what era?) were completed.

मानवगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (BBRAS cat. p.206 No. 657).

मानवधर्मशास्त्र- vide under मनुस्मृति.

मानवश्राद्धकल्प m. by हेमाद्रि.

मानसागरीपद्धति of मानसिंह (C. P. cat. No. 4116).

मानसोल्लास of सोमेश्वर. Vide अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि above.

मार्कण्डेयस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 19) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

मार्तण्डदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

मार्तण्डार्चनचन्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

मालवदर्शन m. in दानरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. It is probably only a reference to some view of भोज and not to a work of that name.

मासकृत्य.

मासतत्त्वविवेचन Ano. On the months and appropriate feasts, fasts and religious rites in each. (Bik. cat. p. 421).

मासदर्पण.

मासनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

मासमीमांसा by गोकुलनाथ महामहोपाध्याय. On 4 kinds of months, चान्द्र, सौर, सावन and नाक्षत्र, and on the various religious rites and festivals of each of the twelve months of the year.

मासादिनिर्णय by ढुण्ढि.

मासिकश्राद्धनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण father of कमलाकर ; m. in नि. सि.

मासिकश्राद्धपद्धति by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

मासिकश्राद्धप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by रघुनाथभट्टसम्राट्स्थपति.

मासिकश्राद्धमानोपन्यास by मौनि मल्लारिदीक्षित.

मिताक्षरा com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र by हरदत्त. Vide sec. 86.

मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by मथुरानाथ.

मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by विज्ञानेश्वर; also called ऋजुमिताक्षरा. Vide sec. 70.

C. प्रमिताक्षरा or प्रतीताक्षरा by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

C. बालम्भट्टी alias लक्ष्मीव्याख्यान by लक्ष्मीदेवी. Vide sec. 111 ; pt. in Ch. S. series (व्यवहार) and by J. R. Gharpure (आचार, प्रायश्चित्त and व्यवहार).

C. सुबोधिनी by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 93 p. 285. (व्यवहार text pr. by Mr. Gharpure and tr. by him).

C. मिताक्षरासार by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

C. by मुकुन्दलाल.

C. by रघुनाथ वाजपेयी (vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 11).

C. सिद्धान्तसंग्रह by राधामोहनशर्मा.

C. by हलायुधभट्ट.

C. व्याख्यानदीपिका by निर्वृरिबसवोपाध्याय, son of देवराजभट्ट, on व्यवहार.

मिताक्षरासार (summary of विज्ञानेश्वर's work) by मयाराम.

मिथिलेशाह्निक by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा; composed under prince छत्रसिंह of मिथिला. Speaks of the daily religious duties according to सामवेद such as शौचविधि, दन्तधावन, स्नान, सन्ध्याविधि, तर्पण, जपयज्ञ, देवपूजा, भोजन, मांसभक्षण, द्रव्यशुद्धि, गार्हस्थ्यधर्म. N. vol. VI. pp. 30-32. He wrote also मिथिलेशचरित describing महेशठक्कुर and his nine descendants, महेश having got राज्य from Delhi king. N. vol. VI. p. 48.

मीमांसापल्वल by इन्द्रपति, son of रुचिपति and रुक्मिणी; applies rules of मीमांसा to धर्मशास्त्र matters such as एकादशीव्रत, श्राद्ध, उत्सर्ग. N. vol. V. p. 281-82. His teacher was गोपालभट्ट.

मुक्तिक्षेत्रप्रकाश by भास्कर son of आपाजिभट्ट; divided into प्रकाशs on seven holy places अयोध्या, मथुरा, माया &c. (Baroda O. I. 12386). He quotes vedic passages like सितासिते सरिते (for प्रयाग), अष्टचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूरयोध्या (तैत्तिरीयारण्यक), वागक्षरं प्रथमजा (तै. ब्रा.) for अवन्तिका and गोपालतापिनी, नृसिंहपूर्वतापनीय and रामतापनीय for मथुरा, माया and काशी respectively.

मुक्तिचिन्तामणि by गजपति पुरुषोत्तमदेव. On religious duties on a pilgrimage to जगन्नाथपुरी. About 1500 A. D.

मुद्गलस्मृति (Palm-leaf Ms. No. 11950 Baroda O. I.) on मौञ्जविधि, दाय, अशौच, प्रायश्चित्त.

मुद्राविवरण.

मुनिमतमणिमाला by वामदेव.

मुमूर्षुमृतकृत्यादिपद्धति by शङ्करशर्मन्. Quotes शुद्धितत्त्व. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 152.

मुहूर्तकण्ठाभरण.

मुहूर्तकलीन्द्र by शीतलदीक्षित.

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम m. by महादेव in मुहूर्तदीपक (Earlier than 1650 A. D.).

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम by केशव.

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम by विठ्ठलदीक्षित, son of बूबशर्मन्, of कृष्णात्रिगोत्र; composed in 1628 A. D.

C. मञ्जरी by author.

मुहूर्तकल्पाकर by दुःखभञ्जन.

मुहूर्तगणपति by गणपतिरावल, son of हरिशङ्कर, composed in 1685 A. D.

C. by परमसुख, son of सीताराम.

C. by परशुराममिश्र.

मुहूर्तचक्रावलि.

मुहूर्तचन्द्रकला by हरजीभट्ट. About 1610 A. D.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि by रामदैवज्ञ, son of अनन्त and younger brother of नीलकण्ठ, composed at Benares in 1600-01 A.D.; m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर; pr. at Bombay in 1902; (vide Ulwar cat. extract 543 which shows that नीलकण्ठ was a Pandit in Akbar's court). His ancestors came from विदर्भ.

C. प्रमिताक्षरा by author ; pr. at Benares 1848.

C. कामधेनु.

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. पीयूषकर्णिका.

C. पीयूषधारा by गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ, composed in 1603 A.D. Pr. at Bombay in 1873. गोविन्द was nephew of author.

CC. by रघुदैवज्ञ.

C. षट्साहस्री.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि by वेङ्कटेशभट्ट.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणिसार.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणिसारिणी.

मुहूर्तचूडामणि by शिवदैवज्ञ, son of श्रीकृष्णदैवज्ञ of भारद्वाजगोत्र.

मुहूर्ततत्त्व by केशव दैवज्ञ, son of कमलाकर ; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

C. by author.

C. by कृपाराम.

C. by गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशवदैवज्ञ ; composed about 1540 A.D.

C. by महादेव m. in मुहूर्तदीपक.

मुहूर्तदर्पण m. in मार्तण्डवल्लभा.

C. दीपिका (Madras Govt. mss. cat. No. 1870, 1874).

मुहूर्तदर्पण by लालमणि, son of जगन्नाम, son of गङ्गाराम of अलर्कपुर to the south of प्रयाग. Ulwar cat. extract 544.

मुहूर्तदर्पण by विद्यामाधव.

C. by माधवभट्ट.

मुहूर्तदीप by जयानन्द.

मुहूर्तदीप by a son of शिवदैवज्ञ.

मुहूर्तदीपक by नामदेव.

मुहूर्तदीपक by महादेव, son of कान्हजि (कान्हजित् ?). Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 336a.

C. by author composed in śake 1583 (1661 A. D.). Mentions टोडरानन्द.

मुहूर्तदीपक by रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त.

मुहूर्तदीपिका m. in कालविधान acc. to नि. सि.

मुहूर्तदीपिका attributed to बादरायण.

मुहूर्तनिर्णय.

मुहूर्तपदवी.

मुहूर्तपरीक्षा by देवराज.

मुहूर्तभूषण or मञ्जीर by रामसेवक त्रिवेदिन् (N. vol. XI preface p. 4).

मुहूर्तभूषणटीका by रामदत्त.

मुहूर्तभैरव by गङ्गाधर, son of भैरवदैवज्ञ.

मुहूर्तभैरव by दीनदयालु पाठक.

मुहूर्तमञ्जरी by यदुनन्दनपण्डित in 4 गुच्छs and 101 verses. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No.545; composed in संवत् 1726 (1670 A.D.).

मुहूर्तमञ्जरी by हरिनारायण.

मुहूर्तमञ्जूषा.

मुहूर्तमणि by विश्वनाथ.

मुहूर्तमाधवीय ascribed to सायण or माधवाचार्य.

मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड by केशव.

मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड by नारायणभट्ट, son of अनन्त. Composed in śake 1493 Phālguna (i.e. about March 1572 A. D.) near Devagiri in 160 verses.

C. मार्तण्डवल्लभा by author ; pr. (with text) in Bombay, 1861.

मुहूर्तमाला by रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र and चित्तपावन subcaste : pr. at Ratnagiri in 1878.

मुहूर्तमुक्तामणि.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by काशीनाथ.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by देवराम.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by भास्कर.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by योगीन्द्र (vide Ulwar cat. extract 546).

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाल; composed in 1618 A. D.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by श्रीकण्ठ.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by हरिभट्ट.

मुहूर्तरचना by दुर्गासहाय.

मुहूर्तरत्न by ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय (also called मुहूर्तरत्नाकर).

मुहूर्तरत्न by गोविन्द.

मुहूर्तरत्न by रघुनाथ.

मुहूर्तरत्न by शिरोमणिभट्ट.

मुहूर्तरत्नमाला by श्रीपति ; m. by रघु०.
C. by author.,

मुहूर्तरत्नाकर by हरिनन्दन.
C. by author.

मुहूर्तराज by विश्वदास.

मुहूर्तराजीय.

मुहूर्तलक्षणपटल.

मुहूर्तविधानसार m. in कालमाधव.

मुहूर्तविवरण.

मुहूर्तवृत्तशत.

मुहूर्तशिरोमणि by धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र.

मुहूर्तसंग्रह m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर and सं.कौ. Earlier than 1650 A. D.
C. by लक्ष्मीपति.

मुहूर्तसंचय by क्षेमराम.

मुहूर्तसर्वस्व by रघुनाथाचार्य (?). Is it not the same as the next ?

मुहूर्तसर्वस्व by रघुवीर, son of विठ्ठल दीक्षित, son of ध्रुव, at Benares ; composed in śake 1557 i. e. 1635-36 (vide N. vol. I. p. 109).

मुहूर्तसार (vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 79 a).

मुहूर्तसार by भानुदत्त.

मुहूर्तसारिणी.

मुहूर्तसिद्धि.

मुहूर्तसिद्धि by नागदेव.

मुहूर्तसिद्धि by महादेव.

मुहूर्तसिन्धु by मधुसूदनमिश्र pr. at Lahore.

मुहूर्तस्कन्ध by बृहस्पति.

मुहूर्तामृत m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.

मुहूर्तार्क by मृत्युञ्जय कोकिल.
C. प्रभा by author.

मुहूर्तालङ्कार by गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव. Composed in śake 1554 माघ 15 (1633 A. D.). Vide Stein's cat. p. 343 for extract.

मुहूर्तालङ्कार by जयराम.

मुहूर्तावलि.

मूर्खेहा- a treatise on सङ्कल्पवाक्यs, नान्दीश्राद्ध, तिथिव्यवस्था, एकोद्दिष्टकालव्यवस्था, आद्यव्यवस्था, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय-भिन्न, व्यवहारदायादिव्यवस्था, विवाह-

नक्षत्रादि. Vide N. vol. II p. 49 and N. (new series) vol. II pp. 146-7.

मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा- N. (new series) I. p. 293.

मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठापन.

मूलनक्षत्रशान्ति (rites for averting the evil effects of birth on a day when the moon is in the Mūla constellation).

मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग attributed to शौनक.

मूलभट्टप्रयोग by मूलभट्ट.

मूलशान्ति attributed to शौनक.

मूलशान्तिनिर्णय Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.

मूलशान्तिविधान.

मूलशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

मूलादिशान्ति.

मूल्यनिरूपण of गोपाल (C. P. cat. No. 4321).

मूल्यसंग्रह or मूल्याध्याय by बापुभट्ट; contains summary of fines ordained in lieu of various gifts at various ceremonial rites, when one is unable to give the gifts. Names गोपालभाष्य. Ms. dated śake 1756 (N. vol. X. p. 238).

मूल्याध्याय (in 5 1/2 verses) attributed to कात्यायन. Deals with substitution of money for gifts of cows and other property. Vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 171 for text.

C. by कामदेवदीक्षित. N. (new series) vol. III preface p. IV.

C. by गोपालजी.

C. by विठ्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed वैष्णव and resident of श्रीपुर. Mentions नीलकण्ठ and his son. Later than 1670 A. D.

मृत्तिकास्नान.

मृत्युञ्जयस्मृति m. in हेमाद्रि दानखण्ड pp. 764-65, 784 and in दानमयूख.

मृत्युमहिषीदानविधि (gift of a she-buffalo at the time of death of a person).

मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपदार्थानुक्रम

मैत्रायणगृह्यपद्धति (on 16 संस्कारs according to मैत्रायण school). The chap. called प्रथमपुरुष.

मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हलायुध, हेमाद्रि, म. पा.

मैत्रायणीयौर्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति- Vide क्रियापद्धति.

मोक्षकल्पतरु (a part of कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु) by लक्ष्मीधर. Sec. 77.

मोक्षेश्वरनिबन्ध m. by गदाधर in com. on पारस्करगृह्यपरिशिष्ट. This is probably the same as the प्रश्नज्ञानदोषपृच्छाप्रकरण of ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर (Bik. cat. pp. 325-326).

मोहचूडोत्तर or मोहचूल्लोत्तर; m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 883 as मोहचौरोत्तर), नि. सि.

यजुर्वल्लभा or कर्मसरणि by विट्ठलदीक्षित or विट्ठलेश, son of वल्लभाचार्य and younger brother of गोपीनाथ, in 3 काण्डs on आह्निक, संस्कार, आवसथ्याधान (consecration of गृह्य fire) according to यजुर्वेद. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1280.

यजुर्विवाहपद्धति.

यजुर्वेदिवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघु°. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु°. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदीयश्राद्धविधि of होण्टु. Vide under श्राद्धविधि.

यजुःशाखाभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय by पाण्डुरङ्ग टकले (Baroda O. I. 374). His सिद्धान्त is that wherever the word यजुर्वेद occurs by itself तैत्तिरीयशाखा is to be understood and not शुक्लयजु°.

यज्ञपार्श्वसंग्रहकारिका m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्कर.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह by रामसेवक.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by रामप्रसाद.

यज्ञोपवीतनिर्णय.

यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति by रामदत्त, son of गणेश्वर (for वाजसनेयिशाखा).

यतिक्षौरविधि by मधुसूदनानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5015).

यतिखननादिप्रयोग by श्रीशैलवेदकोटीरलक्ष्मण; mentions यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यतिधर्म by पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिधर्म Ano.

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by वासुदेवाश्रम (Baroda O. I. 12289).

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर. Same as °संग्रह below.

यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी by नीलकण्ठयतीन्द्र.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह Ano (N. vol. IX. p. 278). First speaks of आचार्यपरम्परा from शङ्कराचार्य, of मठाम्नाय and then of यतिधर्म.

H. D. 77.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश (pr. by आनन्दाश्रम, Poona).

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by यादवप्रकाश in 11 *parvans* for वैष्णवs.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 293) dated संवत् 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). Also called यतिधर्मसंग्रह (same as above).

यतिनित्यपद्धति by आनन्दानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5017).

यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण by पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिमरणोपयुक्तांशसंग्रह.

यतिलिङ्गसमर्थन in 3 स्कन्धs.

यतिवन्दननिषेध.

यतिवन्दनशतदूषणी.

यतिवन्दनसमर्थन.

यतिवल्लभा or संन्यासपद्धति of विश्वकर्मन्. On संन्यास, the four kinds of यतिs, viz. कुटीचक, बहूदक, हंस, परमहंस and their duties. N. vol. X. 175. Mentions विधानमाला.

यतिसंस्कार (a part of प्रतापनारसिंह).

यतिसंस्कार (on the funeral rites and श्राद्धs for यति performed by his son). N. vol. X. p. 10.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by रायम्भट्ट.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वर. N. vol. I p. 173.

यतिसंस्कारविधि (two different works) Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.

यतिसंस्कारविधिनिर्णय (I. O. cat. p. 523 No. 1647).

यतिसंस्कारोपयोगिनिर्णय.

यतिसन्ध्यावार्तिक by **सुरेश्वर**, pupil of **शङ्कर**. N. vol. X. p. 9.

यतिसिद्धान्तनिर्णय by **सच्चिदानन्दसरस्वती**.

यत्यनुष्ठान.

यत्यनुष्ठानपद्धति by **शङ्करानन्द**.

यत्यन्तकर्मपद्धति by **रघुनाथ**.

यत्याचारसंग्रहीययतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by **विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती** (N. vol. I p. 174).

यत्याचारसमर्षिपूजा.

यत्याराधनप्रयोग.

यत्याह्निक (Baroda O. I. 8563).

यमस्मृति. Vide sec. 49; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 560-567 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 112-116.

यल्लाजीय by **यल्लाजि** son of **यल्लुभट्ट**. On funeral rites, **सपिण्डीकरण** etc. Relies on **आश्वलायनसूत्र**, **भारद्वाजसूत्र**, **भाष्य**s thereon and on **शौनक**.

यशवन्तभास्कर by **भास्कर** or **हरिभास्कर**, son of **आपाजिभट्ट**, son of **हरिभट्ट**, son of **पुरुषोत्तम**; patronised by **यशवन्तदेव**, son of **इन्द्रमणि**, king of Bundelkhand, Bik. cat. p. 508 contains **संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश** out of this work. N. vol. IV p. 269 has same. **हरिभट्ट** hailed from **त्र्यम्बकेश्वरपुरी** and was of **काश्यपगोत्र** and **आपाजिभट्ट** dwelt in **काशी**. About 1676.

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति- vide sec. 34.

C. by **अपरार्क**; vide sec. 79.

C. by **कुलमणि शुक्ल**.

C. by **देवबोध** m. in **शुद्धितत्त्व** of **रघु०**.

C. by **धर्मेश्वर** m. in **शूलपाणि**'s **प्रायश्चित्तविवेक** (p. 529).

C. **बालक्रीडा** by **विश्वरूप**. Vide sec. 60.

CC. **विभावना**.

CC. **अमृतस्यन्दिनी** of **सोमयाजिन्**.

CC. **वचनमाला** by pupil's pupil of **सोमयाजिन्**.

CC. ano.

C. **मिताक्षरा** by **मथुरानाथ**.

C. **मिताक्षरा** by **विज्ञानेश्वर**. Vide sec. 70. For com. on **मिताक्षरा**, vide under **मिताक्षरा** above.

C. by **रघुनाथभट्ट**.

C. **दीपकलिका** of **शूलपाणि**. Vide sec. 95.

C. **वीरमित्रोदय** by **मित्रमिश्र**. Sec. 108 (portion printed in Ch. S. series).

याज्ञिककमलाकरी (C. P. cat. No. 4414).

यात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व by **हरिशङ्कर**.

यात्राविवाहाद्युपाय (auspicious times for marriage, journey &c.) N. (new series) vol. II p. 149.

युक्तिकल्पतरु of **भोजदेव**. Deals with state administration and topics of **राजनीति**, such as **दूत**, **कोष**, **कृषिकर्म**, **बल**, **यात्रा**, **सन्धि**, **विग्रह**, **नगरनिर्माण**, **वास्तुप्रवेश**, **छत्र**, **ध्वज**, **रत्नादिपरीक्षा**, **अश्व**, **खड्गपरीक्षा**, **नौका-**

लक्षण &c. Names भोज himself as authority and उशनस्, गर्ग, बृहस्पति, पराशर, वात्स्य, लोहप्रदीप, शार्ङ्गधर and several पुराणs. (pr. in Cal. O. series No. 1).

युद्धार्णव (C. P. cat. No. 4418).

युद्धकुतूहल.

युद्धकौशल by रुद्र.

युद्धचिन्तामणि by रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन्.

युद्धजयप्रकाश by दुःखभञ्जन.

युद्धजयार्णव m. by रघु० in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

युद्धजयार्णव (from अग्निपुराण chap. 123-125).

युद्धजयोत्सव.

C. ano.

C. by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

C. by रामदत्त.

युद्धजयोत्सव by गङ्गाराम in five प्रकाशs. Ulwar cat. extract 551.

युद्धयात्रा m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.

युद्धरत्नावली.

रङ्गनाथदेशिकाह्निक by रङ्गनाथदेशिक.

रजतदानप्रयोग by कमलाकर.

रत्नकरण्डिका by शोण. (Hp. cat. pp. X-XI ms. copied in संवत् 1189 i. e. 1132-33 A. D.); treats of rites for Vājasaneyins. D. C. Ms. No. 273 of 1886-92 is incomplete and contains the following topics, viz. प्रायश्चित्त, स्पृश्यास्पृश्यप्रकरण, शावाशौच, श्राद्ध, गृहस्थाश्रमधर्म, दाय, ऋण, व्यवहार, स्त्रियः, कृच्छ्र &c.

रत्नकोश m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 750), in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०, टोडरानन्द.

रत्नदीपबिम्बप्रकाश.

रत्नमाला by शतानन्द ; m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (vol. I. p. 596).

रत्नमाला m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, ज्योतिर्न्यार्णव, निर्णयदीपक ; probably श्रीपति's work or शतानन्द's work.

रत्नसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.

रत्नसागर m. in नि. सि.

रत्नाकर- vide under चण्डेश्वर sec. 90.

रत्नाकर by गोपाल.

रत्नाकर by रामप्रसाद. Stein's cat. p. 100 has the portion on प्रायश्चित्त.

रत्नार्णव m. by रघु०.

रत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 857), by रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व.

रथसप्तमीकालनिर्णय.

रविसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ son of माधव.

रसामृतसिन्धु m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका (probably on आह्निक).

राघवभट्टीय m. by नि. सि.

राजकौस्तुभ or राजधर्मकौस्तुभ (part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ) by अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

राजधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to तुलाजिराज of Tanjore (1765-1788).

राजनीति ano.

राजनीति by देवीदास.

राजनीति by भोज.

राजनीति by वररुचि (?). Begins with the well-known verse about nine gems 'धन्वन्तरिः etc.' (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 141 b).

राजनीति by हरिसेन of Benares.

राजनीतिकामधेनु m. by राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय) pr. in Ch. S. series.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र अहडीवार.

राजनीतिमयूख— same as नीतिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

राजनीतिशास्त्र by चाणक्य in 8 chapters and about 566 verses. W. and K. cat. II. p. 182.

राजभूषणी or नृपभूषणी (on politics) by रामानन्दतीर्थ. Names कुल्लूक's टीका on मनुस्मृति..

राजमार्तण्ड of भोज. Vide p. 278 above. D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1879-80 is a work callsd राजमार्तण्ड of भोज on astrology in relation to धर्मशास्त्र and contains such topics as व्रतबन्धकाल, विवाहशुभकाल, विवाहराशियोजनाविधि, संक्रान्तिनिर्णय, दिनक्षय, पुरुषलक्षण, मेषादिलग्नफल. The Ms. is dated संवत 1655 चैत्र (i. e. about April 1598).

C. by गणपति.

राजलासक m. in सरस्वतीविलास (Mysore ed. p. 21).

राजवल्लभ (by सूत्रधारमण्डन ?) m. in मुहूर्तदीपक of महादेव.

राजाभिषेक by अनन्त.

राजाभिषेकप्रयोग (from नीतिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ).

राज्याभिषेक (from टोडरानन्द).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति (part of दिनकरोद्योत).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by शिव, son of विश्वकर्मन्.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ सम्राट्स्थपति, son of माधवभट्ट.

रामकल्पद्रुम by अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. Divided into ten kāṇḍas, which were in order काल, श्राद्ध, व्रत, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, शान्ति, दान, आचार, राजनीति and (gap, probably उत्सर्ग). Aufrecht says that there were seven काण्ड्s, but a ms. in Bhadkamkar collection gives ten and names them as above except the last. Flourished about 1640-1670 A. D. (Vide Bik. cat. pp. 445-447 for some of these kāṇḍas).

रामकौतुक m. in निर्णयामृत and नि. सि.

रामतत्त्वप्रकाश attributed to सायण.

रामदेवप्रसाद alias गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ or विश्वेश्वर, son of शम्भुदेव; composed in śake 1506 (1584 A. D.).

रामनवमीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिकार्य. Quotes नि. सि.

रामनवमीनिर्णय by विट्ठलदीक्षित.

रामनाथपद्धति by रामनाथ.

रामनित्यार्चनपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

रामनिबन्ध by क्षेमराम, son of श्रीयानन्द, son of दीक्षितराम. Composed in 1720 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1431).

रामपूजापद्धति by क्षेमराज. (Ulwar cat. No. 1432 and extract 341).

रामपूजापद्धति by रामोपाध्याय. Stein's cat. p. 101.

रामप्रकाश.

(1) com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव by रामदेव.

(2) a digest of religious observances compiled in the name of कृपाराम (described as गौडब्रह्मकुलोद्भव), son of यादवराज and descendant of the royal family of माणिक्यचन्द्र. कृपाराम was himself a feudatory of Jehangir and Shah Jehan. The I. O. cat. (vol. III. p. 502) says that the real author was राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ and father of रामदेव चिरञ्जीव. Relies on हेमाद्रि, माधव, and गौड writers. Latter half of 17th century. Peterson (in Ulwar cat. No. 1433) says that this is a com. on the कालतत्त्वविवेचन. But from the description in the I. O. cat. this does not appear likely.

रामप्रसाद- vide तीर्थरत्नाकर.

रामानुजनित्यकर्मपद्धति Vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 107.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in तिथितत्त्व and शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, नि. सि.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by अच्युताश्रम.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवनयति, pupil of परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमन्मुकुन्दवन in 5 पटलs. (D. C. ms. 440 of 1891-95 is dated śake 1607 i. e. 1685 A. D.). Traces गुरुपरम्परा from वसिष्ठ to गौडपाद, गोविन्द, शङ्कराचार्य, विश्वरूप, सुरेश्वर; in four पटलs.

C. लघुदीपिका by गदाधर.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by कुलमणिशुक्ल.

रामार्चनदर्पण (Ulwar cat. No. 1435).

रामार्चनदीपिका.

रामार्चनपद्धति by रामानन्द.

रामार्चनरत्नाकर by केशवदास m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

रामार्चापद्धति by रामानुज.

रासकूटपद्धति m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 213).

रायसिंहप्रकाश of गदाधर.

रासयात्रापद्धति by रघु०. Vide p. 417 above.

रासयात्राविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

रुद्रकलशस्थापनविधि by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायण.

रुद्रकल्प.

रुद्रकल्पतरु.

(1) ano. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 138 a); ms. dated संवत् 1714 (1657-8 A. D.).

(2) by a son of विश्वेश्वर.

रुद्रकल्पद्रुम or महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव द्विवेदी, resident of Benares. Mentions हेमाद्रि, टोडरानन्द, प्रयोगपारिजात रुद्रकारिका of परशुराम, नि. सि. Later than 1640 A. D.

रुद्रचिन्तामणि or रुद्रपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम; for कुक्कोवक (Baroda O. I. 8018).

रुद्रजपसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by रामचन्द्रपाठक. A very large work. Baroda O. I. 10946 has 13 प्रकरणs and probably there were more.

रुद्रपद्धति.

(1) by परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an उदीच्यब्राह्मण. Describes the rites connected with Śiva worship in the form of महारुद्र. There are in all 1028 verses on रुद्रजपप्रशंसा, कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण, पीठपूजाविधि, न्यासविधि. Composed in संवत् 1515 (1458 A. D.). Also called रुद्रकारिका.

(2) another shorter treatise on same subject; introduction being partly identical. Composed between 1578-1643 A.D. (vide I. O. cat p. 584).

(3) by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ. Baroda ms. 8030 is dated संवत् 1809 (1752-3 A.D.).

(4) Describes रुद्रप्रयोग following तैत्तिरीयशाखा, though रुद्र is recited in all śākhas; says 'स्मार्तरुद्रप्रयोगस्य बौधायनसूत्रमूलकत्वेन बह्वृचादीनां च तत्र बौधायनं प्रामाण्यम्। रुद्रः पञ्चधा रूपं रुद्री लघुरुद्रो महारुद्रोतिरुद्रश्चेति एकादशगुणवृद्ध्या। सर्वत्र त्रेधा जपरुद्रो होमरुद्रोभिषेकरुद्रश्चेति।' I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1587 i. e 1530-31 A. D. (vide cat. p. 580 No. 1783); quotes रूपनाथ often.

रुद्रपद्धति (मैत्रायणीय) Baroda O. I. 2452.

रुद्रपद्धति by आपदेव.

रुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव. Also called रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति and महारुद्रपद्धति.

रुद्रपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. 'यद्यप्यनेकासु शाखासु रुद्रः पठ्यते तथापि तैत्तिरीयशाखानुसारेण रुद्रः पठ्यते.'

रुद्रपद्धति by भास्करदीक्षित, son of रामकृष्ण (according to शाङ्खायनगृह्य).

रुद्रपद्धति by रेणुक; ms. (Bik. cat. p. 601) dated śake 1604 (1682 A. D.).

रुद्रपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव and younger brother of रामदेव (for माध्यन्दिनीयs).

रुद्रपूजापद्धति- Peterson's 6th Report p. 109.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by चन्द्रचूड.

रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध by नन्दनमिश्र.

रुद्रस्नानविधि or रुद्रस्नानपद्धति by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट; m. in शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकर. About 1570-1600.

रुद्रप्रतिष्ठा.

रुद्रलघुन्यास- manual of formula intended for रुद्र worship.

रुद्रसूत्र or -योग by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव, residing at Benares, also called त्रैविद्यमोद for वाजसनेयशाखा; Peterson's 5th Report p. 175.

रुद्राक्षधारण.

रुद्राक्षपरीक्षा.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर (D. C. No. 283 of 1886-92). Seems to be same as रुद्रपद्धति (4) above.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by मेघनाथ, of the family of सर्वज्ञ. Relies on महार्णव as the principal authority.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळसूरि m. in व्रतोद्यापनपद्धति ; q. v. About 1750 A. D.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति or -दीपिका. Vide रुद्रपद्धति above.

रुद्रानुष्ठानप्रयोग by खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed अयाचित.

रुद्रार्चनचन्द्रिका of शिवराम.

रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी by वेदाङ्गराय ; vide महारुद्रपद्धति.

रूपनारायणीय (पद्धति) by उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह. In the D. C. ms. No. 240 of A 1881-82 (428 folios) a pedigree is given, which starts with भास्करकेसरी, in whose family was born सुरपसिंह who conquered सोमिराज; his son was मदनसिंह. उदयसिंह was 13th from मदनसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. The work deals with षोडशमहादानs such as तुलापुरुष (upto folio 210), and with कूपवापीतडागादिविधि, नवग्रहहोम, अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, दुर्गोत्सव. Relies upon भोजराज, लक्ष्मीधर (कल्पतरु), हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, पारिजात, हरिहर, भीमपराक्रम, विद्याधर, चिन्तामणि, सर्वदीप. महादानपद्धति of रूपनारायण ; described above seems to be a part of this; m. in जलाशयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

रेणुकारिका or रेणुककारिका- vide पारस्करगृह्यकारिका above. In 1266-67 A. D.

लक्षणप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र ; part of वीरमित्रोदय (on politics) ; pr. in Chowkhamba S. series.

लक्षणरत्नमालिका by नारोजिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ; in five पद्धतिs on वर्णाश्रमाचार, दैव, राज, उद्योग, शरीर ; seems to be a com. on his लक्षणशतक (in one hundred verses). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 132 b and 164 b.

लक्षणशतक by नारोजिपण्डित.

लक्षणसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 328, कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

लक्षणसमुच्चय by हेमाद्रि. On the indications and predictions from bodily signs and on Prākrits. Vide Bik. cat. p. 411.

लक्षणसमुच्चय m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 823, by नि. सि.

लक्षणसारसमुच्चय- rules for the construction of शिवलिङ्गs in 32 sections.

लक्षहोमपद्धति.

(1) by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

(2) by गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम.

(3) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. Sec. 103.

लक्ष्मणसमुच्चय m. in व्रतदीपिका o. महादेव.

लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाकौमुदी by शिवानन्द गोस्वामी in five प्रकाशs.

लक्ष्मीसपर्यासार by श्रीनिवास.

लघुकारिका by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of देववृत्त (for माध्यन्दिनशाखा). Baroda O. I. 12072 dated संवत् 1552 and No. 4055 dated 1507 संवत्.

लघुकालनिर्णय by माधवाचार्य. The first verse is व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान्पाराशरानथ and the last verse is व्यतिपाते च वैधृत्यां तत्कालव्यापिनी तिथिः । (vide Bik. cat. pp. 408-409).

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुचिन्तामणि by वीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले.

लघुजातिविवेक m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

लघुनारदस्मृति m. by नि. सि., सं. कौ.

लघुनिर्णय by शिवनिधि (Baroda O. I. 12854).

लघुपद्धति or कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ ; based on कारिका and वृत्ति, वामनभाष्य and जयन्त. Deals with leading topics of आचार, व्यवहार. N. vol. X. p. 248 ; Baroda O. I. No. 1422 is dated संवत 1592 (1535-6 A. D.). It mentions चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

लघुपाराशरस्मृति.

लघुबृहस्पतिस्मृति.

लघुयमस्मृति m. by अपरार्क (on या. I. 238) and by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुवसिष्ठस्मृति.

लघुविष्णुस्मृति m. in अपरार्क and ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध ; pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 117-123.

लघुव्यास (pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 310-320) m. in संस्कारमयूख.

लघुशङ्खस्मृति pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 124-127.

लघुशातातपस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 128-135.

लघुशौनकस्मृति in 114 verses (Baroda O. I. 11863).

लघुहारीतस्मृति- m. in अपरार्क (pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 136-141 and Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 177-193).

लघ्वत्रिस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 1-12) vide p. 109 above.

लघ्वाश्वलायनस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. (pp. 142-181).

लघ्वाह्निक.

ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका by सच्चिदानन्दनाथ, guru of विद्यानन्दनाथ.

ललितार्चनदीपिका.

ललितार्चनपद्धति by चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of स्वयंप्रकाशानन्दनाथ. Probably same as ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लवणश्राद्ध (on offerings of salt cakes to the deceased on 4th day after death).

लिखितस्मृति- vide sec. 13, p. 76 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 375-382 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 182-186 D. C. ms. 44 of 1866-68 contains a लिखितस्मृति in 6 अध्यायs where वसिष्ठ and other sages are represented as asking लिखित about चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्म and प्रायश्चित्तs.

लिङ्गतोभद्र.

लिङ्गतोभद्रकारिका.

लिङ्गधारणचन्द्रिका.

लिङ्गधारणदीपिका.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा by **अनन्त.**

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठापनविधि by **अनन्त** (according to **बौधायन**). I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 584-585.

लिङ्गादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by **नारायणभट्ट**, son of **रामेश्वरभट्ट.**

लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका by **सदाशिवदशपुत्र**, son of **गङ्गाधर**, son of **विष्णु**, composed for pleasing king **जयसिंह**. He wrote **आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका** also. First quarter of the 18th century.

लेखपञ्चाशिका on fifty forms of deeds, bonds and letters, composed in 1232 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, No. 410 ; ms. dated **संवत** 1536, i. e. 1479-80 A. D.

लेखपद्धति contains forms of mortgage-deeds, sale-deeds, treaties, cited from actual documents in the royal secretariat from 9th to 16th century of Vikrama era, published in G. O. series (1925).

लेखकमुक्तामणि by **हरिदास**, son of **धनराज** in 464 verses and four **सर्ग**s on **उद्भव** (origin of writing), **गणित**, **लिखन** (the art of the scribe) and **नृपनीति**; ms. copied in 1625 A.D. (Aufrecht's Oxf.cat.).

लोकप्रकाश by **क्षेमेन्द्र**. Latter half of 11th century; gives specimens of letters, bonds, deeds &c.

लोकसागर m. in **अहल्याकामधेनु.**

लोहितस्मृति.

लौगाक्षिस्मृति- sec. 50.

वङ्गिपुरेश्वरकारिका by **वङ्गिपुरेश्वर.**

वचनसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 5507).

वचनसमुच्चय (Bik. cat. p. 489).

वचनसारसंग्रह by **श्रीशैलताताचार्य**, son of **सुन्दराचार्य**; mentions **मद. पा.**

वटेश्वरसिद्धान्त m. in **कालसार** of **गदाधर.**

वत्सस्मृति m. in **कालमाधव** and by **मस्करिन्** on **गौतमधर्मसूत्र.**

वपननिर्णय.

वरदराजीय (Hultzsch R. I. No. 448).

वर्ज्याहारविवेक by **वेङ्कटनाथ.**

वर्णकाचार.

वर्णशासन.

वर्णसङ्करजातिमाला by **भार्गवराम**. On mixed castes. N. (new series) I. p. 332.

वर्णसारमणि by **वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.**

वर्णाश्रमधर्म by **वैद्यनाथदीक्षित**. Probably the same as above.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप or **-दीपिका** by **कृष्ण**, son of **गोविन्द**, son of **राघव** of the **भारद्वाजगोत्र**; composed at Benares on **संस्कार**s, **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय**, **स्थालीपाक**, **लक्षहोम**, **कोटिहोम**, **तुलापुरुष**, **वास्तुविधि**, **आह्निकविधि**, **सर्वप्रायश्चित्त**, **मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा** &c.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप by king **कृष्ण** who ruled over **महाराष्ट्र** on the banks

of the गोदावरी (vide Bik. cat. p. 489). This is a large work.

वर्धमानपद्धति m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु० (styled नव्यवर्धमान०).

वर्षकृत्य by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर; pr. at Benares in 1903; m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि.

,, of रावणशर्मन् of चम्पहट्टि family. Deals with संक्रान्ति and the festivals and व्रतs of the 12 months of the year.

,, by विद्यापति. About first half of 15th century; m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

,, by शङ्कर. It is also styled स्मृतिभास्कर or वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध (Bik. cat. p. 468).

,, by हरिनारायण (C. P. cat. No. 5017).

वर्षकृत्यतरङ्ग from the कृत्यमहार्णव.

वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमत (माला) by माधवर्शर्मन; ms. dated 1577 A. D. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 312 and JBORS for 1927 parts III-IV p. IV).

वर्षकौमुदी or वर्षकृत्यकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द, son of गणपतिभट्ट (pr. in B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

वर्षदर्पण m. in कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर, in समयमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

वर्षदीधिति part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

वर्षदीप m. in रूपनारायणीय.

वर्षदीपिका m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर.

वर्षभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश, composed by order of king वर्मदेव.

वसन्तराजीय alias शकुनार्णव by वसन्तराजभट्ट, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज; composed by order of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला; m. in अद्भुतसागर by बल्लालसेन and in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि. Earlier than 1150 A.D.

C. by भानुचन्द्रगणि in Akbar's reign.

वसिष्ठकल्प.

वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र vide sec. 9; pr. in B. S. series, Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 456-496 and Anan. Sm. pp. 187-232.

C. by यज्ञस्वामिन् m. in गोविन्दस्वामिदीपिका on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

वसिष्ठसंहिता or महासंहिता in 45 अध्यायs on शान्ति, जप, होम, बलिदान, on certain astrological aspects of नक्षत्र, वार etc. (Ulwar cat. extract 582).

वसिष्ठस्मृति in ten अध्यायs and about 1100 verses. On the duties for वैष्णवब्राह्मणs, स्त्रीधर्म, विष्णुपूजन, श्राद्ध, आशौच, विष्णुमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 392 No. 1339). Baroda O. I. Ms. No. 1885 is dated śake 1564.

वसिष्ठस्मृति or वासिष्ठी.

C. वासिष्ठभाष्य by वेदमित्र. राम is said to have asked वसिष्ठ why he was exiled. Deals with propitiatory rites for evil aspects of

planets, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम. Says that it was based by वसिष्ठ on माध्यन्दिनी शाखा. Vide D. C. ms. No. 245 of 1879-80. Baroda O. I. 1412 is dated संवत 1565 (1508-9 A. D.). The com. gives only the प्रतीकs of verses. It says that लक्षहोम was imparted to नारद and others by वसिष्ठ.

वसिष्ठहोमपद्धति.

वाक्यतत्त्व of सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन. On proper times for religious ceremonies. Part of द्वैततत्त्व.

वाक्यमीमांसा m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

वाक्यरत्नावलि m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

वाग्भटस्मृतिसंग्रह m. by अपरार्क.

वाग्वतीतीर्थयात्राप्रकाश by गौरीदत्त, son of रामभद्र.

वाजसन्यादिकर्मप्रकाश.

वाङ्मयाङ्कुर- a work by a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर, according to वीरमित्रोदय. Vide pp. 289-90 above; m by कल्पतरु. Between 1080 1125 A. D.

वाधूलवृत्तिरहस्य or वाधूलगृह्यागमवृत्तिरहस्य by संगमग्रामवासिमिश्र. Deals with ऋगध्ययनोपाकरण, ब्रह्मचर्य, संस्कार, आह्निक, श्राद्ध, स्त्रीधर्म.

वापीकूपतडागादिपद्धति.

वाप्युत्सर्ग.

वामनकारिका- a large work in verse; follows खादिरगृह्य mainly.

वामनपद्धति m. in श्राद्धसौख्य (टोडरानन्द).

वारव्रतनिर्णय.

वाराणसीदर्पण by सुन्दर, son of राघव.

वाराहगृह्य- pr. in G. O. series in 21 खण्डs on संस्कारs from जातकर्म, नामकरण to पुंसवन and on वैश्वदेव and पाकयज्ञ.

वार्तिकसार by यतीश, son of टेकचन्द्र; composed in 1785 A. D.

वार्षिककृत्यनिर्णय.

वासकर्मप्रकाश.

वासन्तीविवेक by शूलपाणि. Sec. 95.

वासिष्ठलघुकारिका.

वासिष्ठीशान्ति by महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ (he rather revised or restored it). Vide Bik. cat. p. 490 (खलैर्या दूषिता शान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा प्रशोधिता).

वासुदेवी or प्रयोगरत्नमाला; pr. in Bombay 1884. Quotes हेमाद्रि, कृत्यरत्नाकर, त्रिविक्रम, रूपनारायण, नि.सि. So later than 1620 A. D. Speaks of मूर्तिनिर्माणप्रकार, मण्डपप्रकार, विष्णुप्रतिष्ठा, जलाधिवास, शान्तिहोमप्रयोग, नूतनपिण्डिकास्थापन, जीर्णपिण्डिकायां देवस्थापनप्रयोग.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by करुणाशङ्कर.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by कृपाराम.

वास्तुतत्त्व by गणपतिशिष्य; pr. at Lahore (1853).

वास्तुपद्धति or वास्तुस्थापन (Baroda O. I. No 1672).

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by परमाचार्य.

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

वास्तुप्रदीप by वासुदेव m. in नि.सि.

वास्तुयागतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Sec. 102.

वास्तुरत्नावलि by जीवनाथदैवज्ञ, pr. at Benares, 1883 and Calcutta, 1885.

वास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. According to आश्वलायनगृह्य; m. in शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकरभट्ट.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- शाकलोक्त.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- extracted from शान्तिसार of दिनकर.

वास्तुशास्त्र by मय; m. in नि. सि.

वास्तुशिरोमणि by शङ्कर at the bidding of स्यामसाह son of माननरेन्द्र. Ulwar cat. extract 576.

वास्तुसर्वस्वसंग्रह pr. at Bangalore, 1884.

विचारनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चाननभट्टाचार्य.

विजयदशमीनिर्णय.

विजयदशमीपद्धति (Ulwar cat. No. 1444 and extract 344).

विजयविलास by रामकृष्ण on शौच, *स्नान, सन्ध्या, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, तिथिनिर्णय. Relies upon भाष्यs of कर्क, हरिहर, and गदाधर.*

विज्ञानमार्कण्ड m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

विज्ञानललित m. by हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 109), in दानसार (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

विट्ठलीय m. in श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण.

विदुरनीति- (from the उद्योगपर्व of महाभारत chapters 33-40 of the Bombay edition); pr. at Gujarati Press, Bombay.

विद्याकरपद्धति m. in नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 566, 571.

विद्याधरीविलास m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.

विद्यारण्यसंग्रह- vide स्मृतिसंग्रह.

विद्याविनोद m. in नि. सि. (may also be the name of an author).

विद्वन्मनोहरा- com. on पराशरस्मृति by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विधवाधर्म.

विधवाविवाहखण्डन.

विधवाविवाहविचार by हरिमिश्र.

विधानखण्ड m. in नि. सि.

विधानगुम्फ m. in विधानपारिजात of अनन्त.

विधानपारिजात of अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेव. Composed at Benares in 1625 A. D. He styles himself काण्वशाखाविदां प्रियः. In five स्तबकs on स्वस्तिवाचन, शान्तिकर्म, आह्निक, संस्कार, तीर्थ, दान, प्रकीर्णविधान and funeral ceremonies, the third dealing with आह्निक, संस्कार and *काल, the fifth with* श्राद्ध, आशौच. *व्यवहार and प्राय०. Mentions* देवजानीय, दिवोदासीय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु (pr. *B. I. series).*

विधानमाला or शुद्धार्थविधानमाला by नृसिंहभट्ट of अत्रिगोत्र. Resided on the वसुमती near चन्द्रगिरि in वैराटदेश; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ and विधानपारिजात. Earliar than 1550 A. D. There are 240 प्रकरणs in the I. O. ms. (cat. p. 575 No. 1769) which was copied in संवत् 1732; pr. in Anan. P. series, 1920. (1765-6 A. D.). Baroda O. I. No. 10449 copied in संवत् 1622 (1565-6 A.D.).

C. by विश्वनाथ, son of हरि.

विधानमाला by लल्ल.

विधानमाला by विश्वकर्मन्.

विधानरत्न by नारायणभट्ट.

विधानरहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

विधानसारसंग्रह Ano. Vide Bik. cat. p. 494.

विधिपुष्पमाला (पद्धति) m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

विधिरत्न by गङ्गाधर.

विधिरत्न m. in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, हेमाद्रि, प्रयोगपारिजात.

विनायकपूजा by रामकृष्ण, son of योगीश्वर, surnamed शौच (शौचे ?). Composed in 1702 A. D.

विनायकशान्तिपद्धति.

C. by श्रीधराचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 5491 dated संवत 1607 (1550-1 A. D.).

विबुधकण्ठभूषण- com. on गृह्यरत्न by वेङ्कटनाथ.

विभक्ताविभक्तनिर्णय.

विभागतत्त्व or-तत्त्वविचार by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. Relies on मिताक्षरा. About 1575-1600 A. D. Deals with अप्रतिबन्ध and सप्रतिबन्ध दाय, मुख्यगौणपुत्राः, विभागकाल, अपुत्रदायाक्रम, माता preferred to पिता as heir. The Bhadkamkar collection ms. comes up to only भ्रातरः.

विभागनिर्णय.

विभागसार of विद्यापति ; composed under orders of दर्पनारायण, son of हरिसिंह, son of भवेश. On दायलक्षण, विभागस्वरूप, दायानर्ह, अविभाज्य, स्त्रीधन, द्वादशविधपुत्र, अपुत्रधनाधिकार, संसृष्टविभाग. N. vol. VI. p. 67.

विभूतिधारण.

विमलोदयमाला or विमलोदयजयन्तमाला- a com. on आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र.

विरुद्धविधिविध्वंस by लक्ष्मीधर, son of मल्लदेव and श्रीदेवी and pupil of भगवद्बोधभारती. His gotra was काश्यप and his grandfather was वामन and grand-uncle स्कन्द and great-grand-father was सोढ, who was a minister of सोमेश्वर of शाकम्भरी (Sambhar). स्कन्द was commander-in-chief and वामन was सान्धिविग्रहिक of पृथ्वीराज, who was killed by तुरुष्कs. स्कन्द crowned हरिराज in शाकम्भरी and वामन went to अणहिल्लपाटक. The family originally came from आनन्दनगर. Work is divided into seven अधिकरणs ; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 489 No. 1577) is dated संवत् 1582 चैत्र (1526 A. D.). Deals with disputed points of sacred law, such as the persons entitled to offer श्राद्ध to the deceased, कृच्छ्र-प्रायश्चित्त etc.

विलक्षणजन्मप्रकाशिका.

विलाससंग्रहकारिका m. by कालसार of गदाधर.

विवस्वत्स्मृति m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका,हेमाद्रि.

विवादकल्पतरु (a portion of the कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर) vide sec. 77.

विवादकौमुदी by पीताम्बर सिद्धान्तवागीश composed in Śake 1529 (1604

A. D.). He was patronised by the Rājā of Assam.

विवादचन्द्र by मिसरुमिश्र. Vide sec. 97.

विवादचन्द्रिका by अनन्तराम ; quotes शूलपाणि and स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य. Later than 1600 A. D.

विवादचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. In his श्राद्धचन्द्रिका quotes वर्धमान. On the 18 titles of law. About 1450 A.D.

विवादचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Sec. 98 ; pr. at Bombay.

विवादताण्डव by कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106.

विवादनिर्णय by गोपाल.

विवादनिर्णय by श्रीकर.

विवादभङ्गार्णव by जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113. Colebrooke translated two out of the several principal topics of this work. Vide N. (new series) vol. I. preface pp. XIII-XIV.

विवादरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

विवादवारिधि by उमापतिउपाध्याय सन्मिश्र, on the 18 titles of law.

विवादव्यवहार by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.

विवादसार of कुल्लूक, m. in his श्राद्धसागर. Vide sec. 88.

विवादसारार्णव compiled by सर्वोरुशर्मा त्रिवेदी at the instance of Sir William Jones in 1789 in nine तरङ्गs. The colophon has the rather picturesque words 'सर्विल्यं मिस्तरश्रीजोन्समहीपाज्ञस etc.' (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2407, No. 3203).

विवादसिन्धु.

विवादार्णवभञ्जन or -भङ्ग compiled by गौरीकान्त and several other Pandits. (D. C. ms. No. 364 of 1875-76, N. vol. IX p. 244 No. 3165).

विवादार्णवसेतु compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by बाणेश्वर and several other Pandits and translated into English by Halhed (which translation was published in 1774 A. D.). Divided into 21 ऊर्मिs (waves, sections) on ऋणादान and the other titles of law (व्यवहारपदs). Pr. by the Venk. Press, Bombay. This edition shows that the work was composed at the court of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Towards the end the names of the Pandits who compiled it are given. Vide N. vol. X p. 115-116 and N. (new series) I pp. 339-341 where the verses about the names of the collaborating Pandits are given, but the reference to Ranjit Singh does not occur.

विवादार्थसंग्रह.

विवाहकर्म by अग्निहोत्रि विष्णु of मथुरा.

विवाहकर्मपद्धति. Vide विवाहपद्धति.

विवाहकर्ममन्त्रव्याख्या सुबोधिनी (Ulwar cat. No. 1452 and extract). Relies on हरिहर.

विवाहकर्मसमुच्चय- ms. copied in 1113 A. D. (Hp. cat. p. XI).

विवाहकौमुदी (C. P. cat. No. 5140-41).

विवाहचतुर्थीकर्म.

विवाहतत्त्व or उद्वाहतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन Sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम.

विवाहतत्त्वार्णव m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 117) of रघु०.

विवाहद्विरागमनपद्धति.

विवाहनिरूपण by नन्दभट्ट.

विवाहनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

विवाहपटल m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of रघु०. Probably an astrological work of वराहमिहिर or of शार्ङ्गधर.

विवाहपटल by सारङ्गपाणि (शार्ङ्गपाणि ?), son of मुकुन्द.

विवाहपटल by हरिदेवसूरि.

विवाहपटलस्तबक by सोमसुन्दरशिष्य. Baroda O. I. No. 133.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिपद्धति गोभिलीय.

विवाहपद्धति by गौरीशङ्कर.

विवाहपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

विवाहपद्धति by जगन्नाथ.

विवाहपद्धति by नरहरि.

विवाहपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

विवाहपद्धति by रामचन्द्र.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिकर्मपद्धति by रामदत्त राजपण्डित, son of गणेश्वर, son of देवादित्य. He was paternal first cousin of चण्डेश्वर and so flourished about 1310-1360 A. D. On आभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध, विवाह, चतुर्थीकर्म, पुंसवन and the other संस्कारs up to समावर्तन. He wrote for वाजसनेय students.

विवाहपद्धति from the अनूपविलास.

विवाहपद्धतिव्याख्या by गुदडमल्ल.

विवाहप्रकरण- from the लघुकारिका of कर्क.

विवाहरत्न by हरिभट्ट. An elaborate treatise on marriage in 122 chapters.

विवाहरत्नसंक्षेप by क्षेमंकर.

विवाहवृन्दावन by केशवाचार्य, son of राणिग or राणग, in 17 chapters on auspicious times for marriage. One ms. is dated śake 1326 i. e. 1398-99 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part I p. 109 No. 322); m. in मुहूर्तदीपक of महादेव, in टोडरानन्द.

C. दीपिका by गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशव, in śake 1476 i. e. 1554-5 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part I p. 110 No. 334). See Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 372-373, where we read that गणेश first composed ग्रहलाघव, then श्राद्धविधि, then a com. on लीलावती, a com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व.

C. by कल्याणवर्मन.

विवाहसौख्य by नीलकण्ठ (seems to be a portion of टोडरानन्द).

विवाहाग्निनष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.

विवाहादिकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेव.

विवाहादिप्रयोगतत्त्व-ascribed to रघुनन्दन (N. vol. XI Preface p. 14).

विवाह्यकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय by अनन्तरामशास्त्रिन्.

विविधविद्याविचारचतुरा of भोज on propitiation of angry deities and consecration of tanks and wells &c. Ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XIII and 65) dated ल. सं. 372 i. e. 1490-91. This is different from धारेश्वरभोज.

विवेककौमुदी by रामकृष्ण. Discussion about wearing the शिखा and यज्ञोपवीत, विधि, नियम, परिसंख्या, स्नान, तिलकधारण, तर्पण, शिवपूजा, त्रिपुण्ड्र, प्रतिष्ठोत्सर्गभेद. N. vol. X. pp. 105-107.

विवेकदीपक by दामोदर. Treats of महादानs; compiled under auspices of संग्रामसाह ; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 551 No. 1716) copied in संवत् 1638 (1582 A. D.).

विवेकमञ्जरी.

विवेकसारवर्णन.

विवेकार्णव by श्रीनाथ m. in his कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव. 1475-1525 A. D.

विशुद्धिदर्पण by रघुनन्दन. On आशौच of two kinds, जननाशौच and शावाशौच.

विश्वदीप m. in आचारार्क.

विश्वदेवदीक्षितीय.

विश्वनाथभट्टी (C. P. cat. No. 5197.

विश्वप्रकाश D. C. ms. No. 144 of 1884-86. For वाजसनेय followers on daily duties like सन्ध्यावन्दन, कृष्णजन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, ग्रहणनिर्णय, and श्राद्ध.

विश्वप्रकाशिकापद्धति of विश्वनाथ of the पराशरगोत्र, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of नारायणाचार्य. On various ceremonies and expiations ; based on आपस्तम्ब. Composed in 1544 A. D. Vide N. vol. X. pp. 233-235.

विश्वम्भरशास्त्र m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

विश्वरूपनिबन्ध m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि, नि. सि. Vide pp. 263-364 above. Bik. cat. p. 497 No. 1967 is विश्वरूपनिबन्ध which deals with सपिण्ड relationship in marriage, particularly about the girl being beyond the fifth and the seventh from the mother and father respectively.

विश्वरूपसमुच्चय m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व by रघु० (vol. II p. 116).

विश्वादर्श by कविकान्तसरस्वती, son of आचार्यादित्य, who styles himself गीतार्थप्रवीण. Author was devotee of विश्वेश्वर in Benares. Divided into 4 काण्डs on आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त and ज्ञान. 1st काण्ड has 42 स्रग्धरा verses and one अनुष्टुभ on daily religious duties such as शौच, दन्तधावन, कुशविधि, स्नान, सन्ध्या, होम, देवतार्चन, दान; 2nd काण्ड (on व्यवहार) has 44 verses in various metres (मालिनी, अनुष्टुभ्, मन्दाक्रान्ता, &c.) ; 3rd (प्रायश्चित्त) has 53 verses (all स्रग्धरा except last which is मालिनी); 4th ज्ञानकाण्ड has 53 verses in शार्दूलविक्रीडित, शिखरिणी, अनुष्टुभ्, and other metres on वानप्रस्थ, संन्यास, त्वंपदार्थ, काशीमाहात्म्य. Author's patron seems to have been धन्य or धन्यराज, son of नागार्जुन, at

काशी. Refers to शुक्र, धारेश्वर, मेधातिथि and विज्ञानेश्वर. M. by हेमाद्रि (III 2. p. 102, which occurs in com. on विश्वादर्श III. 37) and by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आशौच, Mysore ed. p. 164 'पतिव्रता त्वन्यथिनेवुगच्छेया स्त्री पतिं चित्याधिरोहणेन । दशाहतो भर्तुरथस्य शुद्धिः श्राद्धद्वयं स्यात्पृथगेककाले ॥). Later than 1100 A. D. and earlier than 1200 A.D. (This information is based on two mss. in the Bhadkamkar collection).

C. by author (Vide BBRAS. cat. part 2 pp. 229-231 for fuller details).

विश्वामित्रकल्प- on the daily ceremonies performed by ब्राह्मणs.

विश्वामित्रकल्पतरु.

विश्वामित्रसंहिता by श्रीधर.

विश्वामित्रस्मृति- vide sec. 57 p. 236.

विश्वेश्वरनिबन्ध m. in संस्कारमयूख. Probably the मदनपारिजात or सुबोधिनीटीका of विश्वेश्वर.

विश्वेश्वरपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर on संन्यास m. in संस्कारमयूख.

विश्वेश्वरस्मृति (Hultzsch R. I. No. 69).

विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिभास्कर (Hultzsch R. I. No. 144).

विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति (or यतिधर्मसंग्रह) by अच्युताश्रम, pupil of चिदानन्दाश्रम. Mentions ज्ञानार्णव.

विश्वेश्वरीस्मृति by अच्युताश्रम.

विषघटिकाजननशान्ति or विषनाडीजननशान्ति (from वृद्धगार्ग्यसंहिता) on rites for averting evil consequences of being born at one of the four periods called विषघटिका.

विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश by वनमालिन्. Digest of स्मार्त rites for माध्व followers.

विष्णुतत्त्वविनिर्णय by आनन्दतीर्थ.

विष्णुतीर्थीयव्याख्यान by पुरोत्तमाचार्य.

विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा by नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट. Ulwar cat. 1457.

विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 10. Pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 60-176.

C. वैजयन्ती by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विष्णुधर्मामृत m. in मठमल्लविलास.

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरामृत m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका by शिवशङ्कर.

C. by सदानन्द.

विष्णुपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुपूजाविधि by शुकदेव (Baroda O. I. No. 5487 said to be author's copy is dated संवत् 1692 i. e. 1635-6 A. D.).

विष्णुप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण of नरसिंहसोमयाजी, son of माधवाचार्य.

विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्र m. in निर्णयदीपक.

विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय by नृसिंहारण्य or नृसिंहाचार्य in 19 kalās; m. by पुरुषोत्तम in ब्रह्मशुद्धिदीपिका. Deals with principal वैष्णव fasts, festivals, and ceremonies; ms. dated संवत् 1496 (1440 A. D.). Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 76.

विष्णुभक्तिरहस्य m. by **रामानन्द**.

विष्णुमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by **कृष्णदेव**, son of **रामाचार्य** (part of a larger work called **वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति** or नृसिंहपरिचर्यापद्धति). Ms. copied in **संवत्** 1675.

विष्णुयागपद्धति by **अनन्तदेव**, son of आपदेव. Sec. 109. Deals with rites in honour of Viṣṇu to be performed by one who desires a son. Ulwar cat. No. 1458; Baroda I. O. 2264 dated **संवत्** 1604 which seems to be śake.

विष्णुरहस्य m. by **अपरार्क**, **दानसागर**, कालविवेक of जीमूत°.

विष्णुश्राद्ध (part of **नारायणबलि** in **गोभिलगृह्य**).

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति alias वीरपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति by **नारायण** son of **रामेश्वर** (Baroda O. I. 8171).

विष्णुसमुच्चय m. in अपरार्क, **मद**. पा. (p. 291).

विष्णुस्मृति- vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र, above.

वीरनारसिंहावलोकन- vide **वीरसिंहावलोकन**.

वीरमित्रोदय, com. on **याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति** by **मित्रमिश्र** (4 parts on **आचार** pr. in Chowkhamba S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरमित्रोदय by **मित्रमिश्र**. A digest divided into **प्रकाश**s on **व्यवहार** (pr. by Jivananda), **परिभाषा**, **आह्निक**, **तीर्थ**, **पूजा**, राजनीति, **लक्षण**, **शुद्धि**, **समय** (the first six pr. in Ch. S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरशैवधर्मनिर्णय.

वीरसिंहमित्रोदय (**संस्कारप्रकरण**) by **रामज्योतिर्विद्**.

वीरसिंहावलोकन or -**विलोकन** by king **वीरसिंह**, son of **देववर्मन**, son of **कमलसिंह** of **तोमरवंश**. On expiations for lapses committed in this life; composed in **संवत्** 1439 (1383 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 189. D. C. Ms. No. 85 of 1869-70 is dated **संवत्** 1572. It says that the work (which is over 400 folios) is a compendium of **आयुर्वेद**, **ज्योतिःशास्त्र** and **धर्मशास्त्र**. It borrows from **गर्ग**, **गौतम**, **शालिहोत्र**, **मनु**, **व्यास**, **पुराण**. The work is also styled **सूर्यारुण**.

वृक्षोद्यापन.

वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by **वात्स्यवेदान्तदास** on proper time for breaking fast on **द्वादशी**.

वृत्तशतसंग्रह or **वृत्तशतक** by **महेश्वर**, son of **मनोरथ** and father of **भास्कराचार्य**; m. in **नि. सि.**, **गोविन्दार्णव**. An astrological work. About 1100-1150 A. D. In 11 **प्रकरण**s on गर्भविधि, नक्षत्रविधि, **संस्कार**, **विवाह**, आधान, नृपाविधि, **नृपाभिषेक**, **यात्रा**, **गोचरविधि**, **संक्रान्ति**, **देवप्रतिष्ठा**. Baroda O. I. No. 8173.

वृद्धगौतमसंहिता pr. in Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 497-638.

वृद्धपाराशरीसंहिता (in 12 chap.). Vide **बृहत्पराशरसंहिता** pp 195-96 above.

वृद्धशातातपस्मृति- pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

वृद्धहारीतस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 194-409 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 236-356).

वृद्धात्रिस्मृति pr. in Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 47-59.

वृद्धिश्राद्ध.

वृद्धिश्राद्धदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव.

वृद्धिश्राद्धपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन् at Benares.

वृद्धिश्राद्धप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट (part of प्रयोगरत्न).

वृद्धिश्राद्धविधि by करुणाशङ्कर.

वृद्धिश्राद्धविनिर्णय (माध्यन्दिनीय) by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव (Baroda O. I. 10464.).

वृन्दावनपद्धति for followers of the वल्लभाचार्य sect.

वृषभदान.

वृषभोत्सर्ग.

वृषोत्सर्गकौमुदी by रामकृष्ण.

वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघु०. He wrote one for each of ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद.

वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति ascribed to शौनक with reference to कातीयशाखा.

वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर.

वृषोत्सर्गपरिशिष्ट.

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग (वाचस्पतिसंमत) for यजुर्वेद students (बौधायनीय).

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेव. Also called नीलवृ०.

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग (छन्दोग) attributed to रघु०.

वृषोत्सर्गभाष्य Stein's cat. p. 104.

वृषोत्सर्गविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

वृषोत्सर्गादिपद्धति of कात्यायन in 307 verses. Baroda O. I. ms. 9470 is dated संवत् 1592.

वेगराजसंहिता by वेगराज in 1559 संवत् (रन्ध्रेषुबाणशशि) i. e. 1503 A. D.

वेणी Directions for worshipping वरुण before starting on a journey. Bik. cat. p. 492.

वेणुगोपालप्रतिष्ठा.

वेदव्यासस्मृति- pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 357-371.

वेदव्रत.

वेदानध्याय On the holidays as to Vedic studies.

वैखानसधर्मप्रश्न Vide sec. 15.
C. by नृसिंहवाजपेयी, son of माधवाचार्य (on 2 out of 3 प्रश्नs only found yet).

वैखानसमन्त्रप्रश्न (containing the मन्त्रs required in the वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र). in 8 प्रश्नs (4 प्रश्नs pr. at Kumbhakonam in 1910).

वैखानससंहिता m. by कालमाधवीय, नि. सि., समयमयूख.

वैखानससूत्रदर्पण by नृसिंह, son of माधवाचार्य वाजपेययाजिन्. Hand-book of domestic rites according to वैखानसगृह्य; pr. at Ellore 1915.

वैखानससूत्रानुक्रमदीपिका of वेङ्कटयोगिन्, son of कोण्डपाचार्य.

वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र in 10 प्रश्नs (7 of गृह्य and 3 of धर्म) pr. at Kumbhakonam 1914 and by Dr. Caland in B. I. series with English translation (1927 text, 1929).

C. by नृसिंह वाजपेयी, son of माधवाचार्य.

वैजयन्ती, com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र by नन्दपण्डित composed in 1623 A. D. Vide sec. 105.

वैतरणीदान (on gift of a black cow to secure for the soul of a deceased person a safe passage over the Vaitaraṇī river in hell).

वैतरणीदानप्रयोग- Stein's cat. p. 104.

वैदिकप्रक्रिया.

वैदिकविजयध्वज.

वैदिकाचारनिर्णय by र्ग न्द्.

वैद्यनाथसंग्रह.

वैद्यनाथीय. Vide स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

वैशम्पायननीतिसंग्रह- vide under नीतिप्रकाश or- प्रकाशिका.

वैशम्पायनस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (या. III. 326), अपरार्क.

वैष्णवचन्द्रिका by रामानन्द न्यायवागीश.

वैष्णवदीक्षापद्धति.

वैष्णवधर्मखण्डन (Baroda O. I. 1741) against पुण्ड्रधारण &c.

वैष्णवधर्मपद्धति of कृष्णदेव.

वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा by अनन्तराम.

वैष्णवधर्मशास्त्र in 109 verses divided into five chapters on संस्कार, गृहिधर्म, आश्रमs, पारिव्राज्य, राजधर्म.

वैष्णवधर्मसुरद्रुममञ्जरी by सङ्कर्षणशरण, a follower of केशवकाश्मीरी, who was a follower of निम्बार्क.

वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य.

वैष्णवनिर्णय Ulwar cat. No. 1466.

वैष्णवप्रक्रिया by वेदचूडालक्ष्मण. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, नि. सि., स्मृतिलोचन.

वैष्णवलक्षण by कृष्णताताचार्य.

वैष्णववर्षकृत्य (Baroda O. I. 8133).

वैष्णवसदाचारनिर्णय.

वैष्णवसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in his ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका by रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of नृहरि.
C. by विठ्ठल, son of नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्र (the author).

वैष्णवाचारसंग्रह.

वैष्णवामृत m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु० and in नि. सि.

वैष्णवामृत by भोलानाथ. N. vol. VI. p. 185-6.

वैष्णवाह्निक (Baroda O. I. 10543).

वैष्णवोपयोगिनिर्णय. D. C. Ms. No. 160 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1732 (1675-6 A. D.). It mentions प्रह्लादसंहिता, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका. It supports the marking of the body with चक्र by citing verses from कठशाखा and अथर्ववेद (एभिर्वयमुरुक्रमस्य चिह्नैरङ्किता लोके सुभगा भवेम।).

व्यतिपातनिर्णय by रघुनाथभट्ट.

व्यतीपातजननशान्ति by कमलाकरभट्ट.

व्यतीपातप्रकरण.

व्यतीपातव्रतकल्प.

व्यवस्थादर्पण by आनन्दशर्मा, son of रामशर्मा. On points of स्मृति rites and rules, such as तिथितत्त्व, मलमास, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, श्राद्ध, दायानधिकारि, दायविभाग. N. vol. VIII p. 211.

व्यवस्थादीपिका by राधानाथशर्मा. N. vol. X p. 84 is confined only to आशौच.

व्यवस्थानिर्णय Ano. on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, दाय.

व्यवस्थाप्रकाश.

व्यवस्थारत्नमाला by लक्ष्मीनारायणन्याया-लङ्कार, son of गदाधर. In ten गुच्छs on दायभाग, स्त्रीधन, दत्तकव्यवस्था; mentions मिताक्षरा and विधान-माला.

व्यवस्थार्णव Ano.

व्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनन्दन (on pre-emption).

व्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथ, at order of king रायराघव.

व्यवस्थार्णव of रामभद्र. Vide under स्मृतितत्त्वविनिर्णय.

व्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

व्यवस्थासंग्रह by गणेशभट्ट. Gives decisions on प्रायश्चित्त, inheritance etc.

व्यवस्थासंग्रह by महेश. On definite conclusions about आशौच, सपिण्डीकरण, संक्रान्तिविधि, दुर्गोत्सव, जन्माष्टमी, आह्निक, देवप्रतिष्ठा, दिव्य, दायभाग, प्रायश्चित्त. Based on रघु०.

व्यवस्थासार by नारायणशर्मन् (I. O. cat. p. 452) on आह्निक, आशौच, तिथि, दत्तपुत्र, विवाह, श्राद्ध. Different from next.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मन्. On law of inheritance. This is also called व्यवस्थासारसञ्चय. Vide N. vol. III pp. 126-127 and I. O. cat. p. 453 which shows that the work embraced आशौच, दायभाग and श्राद्ध.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by महेश. Probably same as व्यवस्थासंग्रह.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्ती, son of मुकुन्द, on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, अन्त्येष्टि, आशौच etc. Vide N. vol. IV pp. 289-291; N. (new series) I. p. 349 describes him as the son of रामगोपाल of यदुवंश.

व्यवस्थासेतु by ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मन्; ms. copied in śake 1741 (1819-20 A. D.).

व्यवहारकमलाकर by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण (7th section of धर्मतत्त्व).

व्यवहारकल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर (portion of कल्पतरु). Vide sec. 77.

व्यवहारकोश by वर्धमान. A part of his तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार on judicial procedure and civil and criminal law composed under राम, king of मिथिला. Latter half of 15th century.

व्यवहारकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. (Baroda O. I. 10105 dated śake 1535).

व्यवहारचण्डेश्वर m. in संस्कारमयूख.

व्यवहारचन्द्रोदय (part of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय, on judicial procedure and the विवादपदs.

व्यवहारचमत्कार by रूपनारायण, son of भवानीदास, son of नाथमल्ल; composed in संवत् 1637 (1580-81) in 13 प्रकरणs (in D. C. ms. No. 199 of A 1883-85 and 14 in Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 91, which

splits विवाह into two); on astrology in connection with गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन and the other संस्कारs, विवाह, यात्रा, मलमासनिर्णय.

व्यवहारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पति. Vide above p. 400; on भाषा, उत्तर, क्रिया and निर्णय. N. III. p. 34.

व्यवहारतत्त्व by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec. 107.

व्यवहारतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

व्यवहारतत्त्वालोक- vide व्यवहारालोक.

व्यवहारतिलक by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide sec. 73 pp. 301-302.

व्यवहारदर्पण by अनन्तदेव याज्ञिक. On meaning of व्यवहार, plaint, reply, means of proof, witnesses, documents, possession, judgment.

व्यवहारदर्पण by रामकृष्णभट्ट. On राजधर्म, भाषा, उत्तर, प्रत्यवस्कन्दन, प्राङ्न्याय, साक्षि, लिखित, भुक्ति, जयपत्र.

व्यवहारदशश्लोकी or दायदशक by श्रीधर भट्ट.

व्यवहारदीधिति (part of राजधर्मकौस्तुभ).

व्यवहारदीपिका m. by रघु० in दिव्यतत्त्व on ordeals.

व्यवहारनिर्णय (गौड) m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

व्यवहारनिर्णय by मयाराममिश्रगौड residing at Benares, by order of जयसिंह. On judicial procedure and the व्यवहारपदs. D. C. ms. 140 of 1892-95 copied in संवत 1885 (1798-99 A. D.).

व्यवहारनिर्णय by वरदराज; m. in स. वि., नि. सि.; composed about 1500 (tr. into English by Burnell).

व्यवहारनिर्णय by श्रीपति m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व of रघु०. Probably astrological as bearing on धर्मशास्त्र.

व्यवहारपदन्यास. (Vide Tri. cat. of Madrras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV p. 4836). Breaks off in the midst of 8th topic (भाषानिरूपण), the other seven being व्यवहारावलोकनधर्म, प्राड्विवाकधर्म, सभालक्षण, सभ्यलक्षण, सभ्योपदेश, व्यवहारस्वरूप, विचारविधि.

व्यवहारपरिभाषा by हरिदत्तमिश्र.

व्यवहारपरिशिष्ट.

व्यवहारप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय). Vide sec. 108.

व्यवहारप्रकाश by शरभोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D.).

व्यवहारप्रकाश by हरिराम.

व्यवहारप्रदीप by कल्याणवर्मा.

व्यवहारप्रदीप by कृष्ण. On astrology applied to धर्मशास्त्र. (Hp. cat. pp. XX and 253) m. in दिव्यतत्त्व by रघु०.

व्यवहारप्रदीप by पद्मनाभमिश्र. On judicial procedure.

व्यवहारप्रदीपिका m. by वर्धमान.

व्यवहारमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 (pr. by the Bhandarkar O. Institute Poona, by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by V. N. Mandlik).

व्यवहारमातृका or न्यायमातृका of जीमूतवाहन. Vide sec. 78 p. 321.

व्यवहारमाधव- (the third part of पराशरमाधवीय).

व्यवहारमाला by वरदराज. 18th century. Much used in Malabar.

व्यवहारमालिका (Baroda O. I. 6373).

व्यवहाररत्न by भानुनाथदैवज्ञ, son of चन्द्रनानन्द of the मौआलवंश.

व्यवहाररत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Sec. 90 p. 367.

व्यवहाररत्नावली.

व्यवहारशिरोमणि of नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर; vide pp. 292-293. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. III. part 1 C. p. 3938 No. 2750.

व्यवहारसमुच्चय by हरिगण.

व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघु°, and in नि. सि.

व्यवहारसर्वस्व by सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वरदीक्षित, on व्यवहार i. e. judicial procedure etc.

व्यवहारसार by मयाराममिश्र.

व्यवहारसार m. in नि. सि. and निर्णयदीपक.

व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मा.

व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by रामनाथ. N. (new series) vol. III p. 192.

व्यवहारसारोद्धार by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी composed under Ranjit Singh of Lahore (1799 A. D.).

व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपीयूष by चित्रपति, son of नन्दीपति, at the request of Colebrooke, in śake 1725 (1803-4 A. D.).
C. by author.

व्यवहारसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

व्यवहाराङ्गस्मृतिसर्वस्व by गौडमयाराममिश्र of Benares at the order of जयसिंह. Deals with judicial procedure and व्यवहारपद्s (titles of law).

व्यवहारादर्श by चक्रपाणिमिश्र; D. C. ms. No. 247 of 1887-91 deals with भोजनविधि, अभोज्यान्न (ms. is incomplete).

व्यवहारार्थसार by मधुसूदन. Same as व्यवहारसारोद्धार.

व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by शरभोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D.). Probably same as व्यवहारप्रकाश above.

व्यवहारालोक by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.

व्यवहारोच्चय by सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय; m. by टोडरानन्द, नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव, स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

व्याघ्रस्मृति or व्याघ्रपादस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. 3. 30), अपरार्क, हरदत्त.

व्यासस्मृति Vide sec. 52; pr. in Jivananda Sm. II. pp. 321-342 and Ānan. Sm pp. 357-371 (about 248 verses).
C. by कृष्णनाथ.

व्रजतत्त्व.

व्रजपद्धति.

व्रतकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106.

व्रतकल्प m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतकालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट.

व्रतकालनिर्णय by भारतीतीर्थ.

व्रतकालनिष्कर्ष by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

व्रतकालविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

व्रतकौमुदी of रामकृष्णभट्ट.

व्रतकौमुदी of शङ्करभट्ट.

व्रतकौस्तुभ.

व्रतखण्ड (the first part of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि).

व्रतचूडामणि.

व्रततत्त्व of रघु०. Sec. 102.

व्रतनिर्णय by औदुम्बरर्षि.

व्रतपञ्जी by नवराज of ग्रोण family ; son of देवसिंह.

व्रतपद्धति of रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय. Vide sec. 96 p. 397. One ms. dated लक्ष्मणसेनसंवत् 344 i. e. 1463 A. D. Hp. cat. XIII and 73).

व्रतप्रकाश (a part of the वीरमित्रोदय).

व्रतप्रकाश- vide व्रतराज.

व्रतप्रकाश by अनन्तदेव.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघु०. Vide व्रततत्त्व.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग or साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

व्रतबन्धपद्धति by रामदत्तमिश्र, son of गणेश्वर (for वाजसनेयशाखा).

व्रतबोधविवृति or व्रतबोधनीसंग्रह in five परिच्छेदs for वैष्णवs on तिथिनिरूपण, व्रतमहाद्वादशी, रामनवम्यादिव्रत, मासनिरूपण, वैशाखादिचैत्रान्तमासकृत्यनिरूपण. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 182.

व्रतरत्नाकर by सामराज pr. at Sholapur in 1871.

व्रतराज by कोण्डभट्ट.

व्रतराज or व्रतप्रकाश by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल. Compiled at Benares in śake 1658 (1736 A. D.); was a Cittapāvana Brāhmaṇa of Śāṇḍilya gotra and came from Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnāgiri District. Pr. several times at Bombay, Ven. Press ed. being the latest.

व्रतवल्ली.

व्रतविवेकभास्कर by कृष्णचन्द्र.

व्रतसंग्रह composed by order of हरिसिंह, king of कर्णाटवंश. First quarter of 14th century.

व्रतसमुच्चय m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतसंपात.

व्रतसागर m. by चण्डेश्वर.

व्रतसार by गदाधर.

व्रतसार by दलपति (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

व्रतसार by श्रीदत्त. Vide sce. 89.

व्रताचार by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गङ्गोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा at the order of महेश्वरसिंह, king of मिथिला, son of रुद्रसिंह, son of छत्रसिंह of खण्डवल family; mentions श्रीदत्त as one of his authorities and also ज्योतिर्निबन्ध.

व्रतार्क by गदाधरदीक्षित.

व्रतार्क by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a huge work ; flourished between 1620-1675; wrote his कुण्डभास्कर in 1671 A. D.; pr. at Lucknow in 1877, 1881.

व्रतोद्योत (part of दिनकरोद्योत).

व्रतोद्यापन.

व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी by रामकृष्ण based on हेमाद्रि, as he expressly says ; dilates upon those व्रतs that are observed among गौडs.

व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसूरि, surnamed खारे of the चित्तपावन subcaste. He wrote तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी and refers to his व्रता-

व्रतान्तकौमुदी. Composed in śake 1625 (शाके शरदृग्ययक्चन्द्रे i. e. 1703-4 A. D.) ; pr. in Bombay at ज्ञानदर्पण press (1863 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat. extract 352) wrongly reads वितथावनसंज्ञिना for चित्तपावन०.

व्रतोपवाससंग्रह by निर्भयरामभट्ट.

व्रात्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय (extracted from the प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट); decides that modern princes are not entitled to have उपनयन performed (pr. in Ch. S. series, two recensions, बृहत् and लघु).

व्रात्यताशुद्धि Stein's cat. p. 105.

व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह (pr. in Ch. S. series).

व्रात्यस्तोमपद्धति by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 194 (व्रात्य means पतितसावित्रीक).

शकुनार्णव or शकुनशास्त्र or शाकुन by वसन्तराज. Vide under वसन्तराजीय.

C. by भानुचन्द्रगणि.

शङ्करगीता m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत०, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1000 A. D.

शङ्कुप्रतिष्ठा (on ceremonies at the time of laying the foundation of a house).

शङ्करभट्टी.

शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर (Baroda O. I. 736).

शङ्खधरसमुच्चय m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत०.

शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 12.

C. m. by कल्पतरु and वि. र. B. D. 80.

शङ्खलिखितस्मृति- Vide sec. 12 ; pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 372-373.

शङ्खस्मृति- Vide sec. 12; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 343-374 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 374-395.

शतक्रतुस्मृति m. in मद. पा.

शतचण्डीपद्धति by गोविन्द.

शतचण्डीप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति by जयरामभट्ट.

शतचण्डीविधानपूजापद्धति vide Stein's cat.p. 237.

शतचण्डीसहस्रचण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर (from his शान्तिरत्न).

शतद्वयी on प्रायश्चित्त. Vide प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

C. प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.

शतश्लोकी by वल्लभट्ट.

शतश्लोकी by वेङ्कटेश.

शतानन्दसंग्रह m. by कालसार of गदाधर.

शत्रुघ्नी.

शत्रुमित्रोपशान्ति.

शय्यादान.

शरद्वक्षस्मृति m. in व्रतप्रकाश or व्रतराज.

शाकटायनस्मृति m. in अपरार्क, श्राद्धमयूख.

शाकलस्मृति m. in व्यवहारमयूख, दत्तकमीमांसा.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यकारिका.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यनिर्णय.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. in नि. सि. and संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंस्कारपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंग्रह by वासुदेव, son of ईजट (pr. in Ben. S. series);

Stein's cat. p 19 gives संवत् 1428 as the date.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र (edited by Oldenberg in Indische Studien, vol. 15 pp. 1-166 and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. (भाष्य) by **ब्रह्मदत्त** quoted in **कल्पतरु** according to **शुद्धितत्त्व** (vol. II. p. 312). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

C. (on four अध्यायs only). N. vol. I pp. 2-4.

C. **प्रयोगदीप** by **दयाशङ्कर**, son of **धरणीधर**.

C. **अर्थदर्पण** by **रघुनाथ**.

C. **गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति** or **आधानपद्धति** by **रामचन्द्र**, son of **सूर्यदास**, son of **शिवदास**, son of **श्रीधरमालव**.

C. **गृह्यप्रदीपक** by **नारायण**, son of **कृष्णजी द्विवेदी**, son of **श्रीपति**; gives pedigree of family which was **नागर** from **श्रीपाटलापुरी** in Gujerat. **श्रीपति** was 8th from **चण्डांशु** of that family. Work composed in 1629 (**वर्षे नन्दकरर्तुचन्द्रसंमिते माघे** &c.) probably of **विक्रम** era (i. e. in 1573 A. D.); ms. in Bombay University Library. He wrote **गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति** also. Vide Ulwar cat. for a long extract and D. C. No. 6 of 1879-80.

C. **बालावबोधपद्धति**.

शाङ्खायनाह्निक or-**ह्निकदीपिका** by **अचल**, son of **वत्सराज**. About 1518 A. D.

शाट्यायन or-**निस्मृति** m. in **कालविवेक** of **जीमूत°**, **अपरार्क**.

शाण्डिल्यगृह्य m. by **रुद्रदत्त** on **आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र** 9. 11. 21.

शाण्डिल्यधर्मशास्त्र (in verse) on **गर्भाधानादिसंस्कार, ब्रह्मचारिधर्म, गृहस्थविहितधर्म, गृहस्थनिषिद्धधर्म, वर्णधर्म, देहशोधन, सावित्रीजपादि, चतुर्वर्णदोष**. (Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV. p. 5153).

शाण्डिल्यस्मृति m. in **मिता°** (**या**. III. 280), **स्मृतिच°**, **मस्करिभाष्य** on **गौतमधर्मसूत्र**; in five **अध्याय**s on **भागवताचार** (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol V. p. 1991; Baroda O. I. No. 7966).

शातातपस्मृति- Vide sec. 28 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 435-455 and Ânan. Sm. pp. 396-410.

शातातपस्मृति in mixed prose and verse on expiation and **आचार** (I. O. cat. p. 398).

शातातपस्मृति in 12 **अध्याय**s (I. O. cat. p. 399.

शातातपस्मृति in 87 **अध्याय**s and 2376 verses (N. vol. II p. 4).

शान्तिकमलाकर or **शान्तिरत्न** of **कमलाकरभट्ट** on the propitiatory rites in case of portents. Vide sec. 106; pr. at Bombay.

शान्तिकल्पदीपिका on propitiatory rites for several happenings such as the following, viz. of a frog in domestic fire, **पल्लीपतन**, birth of a child on **मूल** or **आश्लेषा नक्षत्र** etc.

शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप or कृत्यापल्लवदीपिका by श्रीकृष्णविद्यावागीश. On incantations for killing, subjugating or bewitching rivals. N. vol. II. p. 107 and vol. V. p. 275 (ms. dated संवत् 1851).

शान्तिकल्पलता Ano.

शान्तिकल्याणी.

शान्तिकविधि of वसिष्ठ in 213 verses. See वासिष्ठीभाष्य above. वसिष्ठ tells राम why the latter and others like रावण, पाण्डवs, कंस suffered from unfavourable stars and dilates upon अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम, नवग्रहहोम. Employs मन्त्रs from माध्यन्दिनीयशाखा (vide D. C. ms. No. 104 of 1871-72).

शान्तिकौमुदी of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Probably the same as शान्तिकमलाकर.

शान्तिकौस्तुभ (C. P. cat. No. 5585).

शान्तिगणपति by गणपति रावल. About 1685 A. D.

शान्तिचन्द्रिका by कवीन्द्र ; m. in his काव्यचन्द्रिका (vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 211 b).

शान्तिचरित्र.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by कुलमुनि m. in his नीतिप्रकाश.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of विश्राम of मोढ caste.

शान्तितत्त्वामृत or शान्तिकतत्त्वामृत by नारायणचक्रवर्ती. Names अद्भुतसागर. Defines शान्ति as 'यथा शक्तोपघातानां कवचं विनिवारणम् । तथा दैवोपघातानां शान्तिर्भवति वारणम् ॥ एतेन अदृष्टद्वारा ऐहिकमात्रानिष्टनिवारणं शान्तिः ॥'.

शान्तिदीपिका m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व, संस्कारतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 195).

शान्तिनिर्णय.

शान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. It deals with rites propitiating the nine *grahas* (planets) according to Sāmaveda. The author wrote also छन्दोगाह्निक. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 570 No. 1762) dated संवत् 1806 (1749-50 A. D.).

शान्तिपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

शान्तिपुस्तक.

शान्तिपौष्टिक of वर्धमान.

शान्तिप्रकरण (बौधायनीय).

शान्तिप्रकार by गोभिल (same as the first 7 chapters of the कर्मप्रदीप).

शान्तिप्रकाश (from the वीरमित्रोदय).

शान्तिभाष्य by वेदमिश्र. Same as वासिष्ठीभाष्य.

शान्तिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 ; pr. in Bombay by J. R. Gharpure.

शान्तिरत्न or शान्तिरत्नाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106 (BBRAS cat. p. 234 No. 729). Vide शान्तिकमलाकर above.

शान्तिविवेक by विश्वनाथ on rites for propitiating planets etc. (part of मदनरत्न). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 353 for table of contents.

शान्तिसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि., संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

शान्तिसार by दलपतिराज (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

शान्तिसार by दिनकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. A very big work on propitiatory rites like अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम, ग्रहशान्ति, वैनायकीशान्ति, विवाहादौ गुरुशान्ति ; pr. in Bombay several times, the most recent edition being that of Venk. Press.

शान्तिहोम by माधव.

शान्त्युद्योत part of मदनरत्न. Vide sec. 94.

शापविमोचन.

शाम्बव्यगृह्यसूत्र.

शारदाक्रमदीपिका m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक and by रघु°.

शारदातिलक by लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son of श्रीकृष्ण, son of विजयाचार्य of वारेन्द्रकुल. Rather a Tantric work very frequently quoted in धर्मशास्त्र works ; m. by सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह, by रघु° in दिव्यतत्त्व. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

C. m. in कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण by रामवाजपेयी in 1449-50 A. D.

C. गूढार्थदीपिका by त्रिविक्रमज्ञ pupil of श्रीरामभारती.

C. गूढार्थप्रकाशिका by कामरूपपति.

C. गूढार्थसार by विक्रमभट्ट.

C. by काशीनाथ.

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by लक्ष्मणदेशिक (Is there some confusion of the author with the com ?).

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by गदाधर, son of राघवेन्द्र ; composed when रामभद्र, son of भैरवेन्द्र, ruled over मिथिला. About 1450 A. D. Vide N. vol, VI p. 233.

C. by नारायण.

C. प्रकाश by मथुरानाथशुक्ल.

C. by माधव.

C. पदार्थादर्श by राघवभट्ट, son of पृथ्वीधर, son of रामेश्वर ; m. in व्रतराज. Author's family migrated from जनस्थान (Nasik) on गोदावरी to Benares. Composed in 1550 गगनपौषसित 12 (probably of the विक्रम era). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 669.

C. by रामदीक्षित.

C. शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि by प्रेमनिधिपन्थ.

C. हर्षकौमुदी by श्रीहर्षदीक्षित.

शारदार्चाप्रयोग by रामचन्द्र.

शालग्रामदानकल्प.

शालग्रामदानपद्धति by बाबादेव. Vide I. O. cat. p. 593 No. 1805 (ms. dated संवत 1858 i. e. 1801-2).

शालग्रामनिर्णय.

शालग्रामपरीक्षा by शङ्करदैवज्ञ. (I. O. cat. p. 592).

शालग्रामपरीक्षा (Bik. cat. p. 450). A different work.

शालग्रामलक्षण ano. N. (new series) II. p. 187.

शालग्रामलक्षण by तुरगवदनपण्डित.

शालग्रामलक्षण by सदाशिवद्विवेदी.

शालङ्कायनस्मृति m. by स्मृतिच°, हेमाद्रि, मद. पा., नि. सि.

शालाकर्मपद्धति (a part of वृक्षकर्मदीपिका of पशुपति).

शास्त्रदीप by अग्निहोत्रि नृहरि ; ms. (Baroda O. I. 8132) dated संवत् 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) deals with प्रायश्चित्त and refers to portion of the work on व्यवहार.

शास्त्रदीपार्थसार.

शास्त्रमार्गावलि by हरिभानुशुक्ल.

शास्त्रमार्गोद्धार by कृष्ण of the होमिङ्ग family by order of यानन्त राव (?) (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a). Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव, मदनरत्न. Later than 1450 A. D.

शास्त्रोपदेशक्रम.

शिङ्गभट्टीय or सिङ्गभट्टीय m. in नि. सि. Vide C. P. cat. 5670-71.

शिबिकादान.

शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका by भोजदेव.

शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर by king बसप्पनायक I of the Keladi dynasty; contains a chapter on polity. Divided into कल्लोलs, each कल्लोल being divided into तरङ्गs. Published by B. M. Nath and Co. at Madras.

शिवदमनार्चनपद्धति composed for विनयसिंह a former Maharaja of Ulwar. (Ulwar cat. No. 1485).

शिवद्युमणिदीपिका- the same as दिनकरोद्द्योत.

शिवपूजनपद्धति by हरिराय.

शिवपूजा (अघोरपद्धति) Vide Bik. cat. p. 611.

शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी by काशीनाथ, son of जयराम, surnamed जडे.

शिवपूजापद्धति Ano. (N. vol. II p. 225).

शिवपूजापद्धति by राघवानन्दनाथ.

शिवपूजाप्रकार.

शिवपूजासंग्रह by वल्लभेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिवपूजासूत्रव्याख्यान by रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the अत्रिगोत्र. Explains बौधायन (गृह्य) सूत्र on शिवपूजा beginning with अथातो महादेवस्याहरहः परिचर्याविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः. N. vol. X p. 347.

शिवप्रतिष्ठा by कमलाकर.

शिवरात्रिकल्प.

शिवरात्रिनिर्णय by शिवोपाध्याय. Vide महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शिवलिङ्गपरीक्षा.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाक्रम.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by अनन्त.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

शिववाक्यावली by चण्डेश्वर, son of वीरेश्वर. Sec. 90.

शिवसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि. and by रघु०.

शिवाराधनदीपिका by हरि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in नि. सि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by अप्पय्यदीक्षित.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन in 16 प्रकाशs.

शिवार्चनपद्धति by अमरेश्वर.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by नारायणानन्दनाथ.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ, pupil of लोकानन्दनाथ, in 20 उल्लासs.

शिवालयप्रतिष्ठा by राधाकृष्ण.

शिवाष्टमूर्तितत्त्वप्रकाश by रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिष्टिभाष्य- vide बौधायनगृह्यभाष्य.

शुक्रनीतिसार (pr. by Oppert at Madras in 1892 and by Jivananda in 1892 and tr. by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. series) in four chapters in about 2500 verses. Speaks of राजधर्म, missiles, gunpowder &c.

शुक्राष्टमी.

शुद्धदीपिका of दुर्गादत्त (Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255). Compiled from प्रयोगसार.

शुद्धसौख्य.

शुद्धिकारिका.

(1) based on रघुनन्दन's शुद्धितत्त्व by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार.

(2) by नारायणवन्द्योपाध्याय. N. (new series) II. p. 196.

शुद्धिकारिकावली by मोहनचन्द्रवाचस्पति. N. (new series) I. pp. 367-369); mentions शुद्धिरत्नाकर.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; pr. in B. I. series. Vide sec. 101.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by महेश्वर on सहगमन, आशौच, सपिण्डतानिरूपण, गर्भस्रावाशौच, मद्यःशौच, शवानुगमनाशौच, अन्त्येष्टिविधि, मुमूर्षुकृत्य, अस्थिसंचयन, उदकादिदान, पिण्डोदकदान, वृषोत्सर्ग, प्रेतक्रियाधिकारि, द्रव्यशुद्धि.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 10183).

शुद्धिगुच्छ m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by कालिदास (Hultzsch R. I. No. 93).

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका com. on षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय of कौशिकादित्य by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

शुद्धिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ, residing at विष्णुपुर in Bankura: pr. at Calcutta 1884, 1907.

C. by गुरुप्रसादन्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 371.

C. by राधामोहनशर्मा, pr. at Calcutta, 1884, 1907.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार. Same as शुद्धिकारिका above.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका of हरिनारायण. Based on शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव of श्रीनाथ m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 257) of रघु०. About 1475-1525.

शुद्धिदर्पण of अनन्तदेव याज्ञिक. Defines शुद्धि as विहितकर्मार्हत्वप्रयोजको धर्मविशेषः शुद्धिः. Contains almost same topics as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप or प्रदीप by केशवभट्ट. Same subjects treated as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप m. in नि. सि. and विधानपारिजात and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

शुद्धिदीपिका.

(1) of श्रीनिवास महीन्तापनीय in eight अध्यायs on ज्योतिःशास्त्रप्रशंसा and राशिनिर्णय, ग्रहनिर्णय, ताराशुद्धिनिर्णय, वारादिनिर्णय, वि-

वाहनिर्णय, जातकनिर्णय, नामादिनिर्णय, यात्रानिर्णय. Composed about 1159-60 A. D. (vide Ind. Ant., vol. 51 for 1922 pp. 146-147); m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. Mentions वराहमिहिर by name and quotes largely from his works.

C. प्रभा by कृष्णाचार्य.

C. प्रकाश by राघवाचार्य (pr. at Calcutta in 1901).

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द कविकङ्कणाचार्य, son of गणपतिभट्ट. Vide sec. 101 p. 415 ; pr. at Calcutta in 1901.

by दुर्गदत्त. Based on प्रपञ्चसार. (Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255).

by नारायणसर्वज्ञ.

by केशवभट्ट. Same as शुद्धिप्रदीप.

शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति by मथुरानाथशर्मन.

शुद्धिनिबन्ध of मुरारि, son of रुद्रशर्मन. His grandfather हरिहर was chief judge of देवसिंह, eldest son of भवेश of मिथिला and his great-grand-father जयधर लाड was chief judge of भवेश. About 1450 A. D.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by उमापति.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by गोपाल.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति महामहोपाध्याय सन्मिश्र. Vide sec. 98 p. 405.

शुद्धिपञ्जी m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु°.

शुद्धिप्रकाश by (हरि) भास्कर of Benares, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम who was a resident of त्र्यम्बकेश्वरपुरी. Composed in संवत 1752 (द्वीषुसप्तेन्दुवत्सरे) i. e. 1695-96 A. D. Vide N. vol. II. p. 126 for the same author's com. (सेतु) on वृत्तरत्नाकर (composed in 1732 संवत).

शुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघु° in शुद्धितत्त्व.

शुद्धिप्रकाश by कृष्णशर्मन, son of नरसिंह at the biddingof छोटराय.

शुद्धिप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट. Vide शुद्धिदीप above.

शुद्धिप्रदीपिका by कृष्णदेवस्मार्तवागीश.

शुद्धिप्रभा by वाचस्पति.

शुद्धिबिम्ब m. in शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर. Earlier than 1425 A. D.

शुद्धिमकरन्द by सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति.

शुद्धिमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 (pr. by J. R. Gharpure in Bombay).

शुद्धिमुक्तावली by महामहोपाध्याय भीम of काञ्जिविल्लीयकुल (in Bengal). On आशौच. N. (new series) II p. 201.

शुद्धिरत्न from the अनूपविलास.

शुद्धिरत्न by दयाशङ्कर.

शुद्धिरत्न by माणिराम, son of गङ्गाराम.

शुद्धिरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90 p. 367.

शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर by मथुरानाथचक्रवर्ती.

शुद्धिलोचन.

शुद्धिवचोमुक्तागुच्छक by माणिक्यदेव (styled अभिनिचित and पण्डिताचार्य) on आशौच, आपद्धर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c. (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 5474).

शुद्धिविवेक.

(1) by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर and youngest brother of हलधर. Vide sec. 96 p. 396.

(2) by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य. Mentions शूलपाणि at end. 1475-1525 A. D.

(3) a portion of the हारलता by अनिरुद्ध.

(4) by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

शुद्धिविवेकोद्योत- part of मदनरत्न.

शुद्धिव्यवस्थासङ्क्षेप of चिन्तामणिन्यायवागीश, a native of गौड. A part of स्मृतिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप ; ms. copied in śake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.). Vide N. vol. IV p. 130. He wrote similar works on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, श्राद्ध and दाय.

शुद्धिव्यवस्थासंग्रह.

शुद्धिसार.

(1) by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश, a वन्द्यघटीयब्राह्मण.

(2) by गदाधर.

(3) by श्रीकण्ठशर्मन. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 372.

शुद्धिसेतु by उमाशङ्कर.

शुनःपुच्छस्मृति m. in मिता° (या. III. 16), अपरार्क.

शुभकर्मनिर्णय by मुरारिमिश्र. Treats of domestic rites according to गोभिल. Gives pedigree of patron as king लक्ष्मीनारायण of वङ्गदेश-his son रूपनारायण-वीरनारायण-नरनारायण-जगन्नारायण-त्रिविक्रमनारायण, who is said to have written the work with the help of मुरारि, whose *gurus* were रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र. About end of 15th century. (N. vol. VI p. 7).

शूद्रकमलाकर or शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व of कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

शूद्रकर्मवृत्ति m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण.

शूद्रकुलदीपिका by रामानन्दशर्मा. Deals with genealogy and history of the कायस्थs of Bengal (N. vol. II p. 55).

शूद्रकृत्य by लालबहादुर.

शूद्रकृत्यविचारतत्त्व of रघु°. Vide sec. 102.

शूद्रजपविधान.

शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व of कमलाकरभट्ट. The same as शूद्रकमलाकर.

शूद्रधर्मबोधिनी by मदनपाल ; the same as the स्मृतिकौमुदी of मदनपाल. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384.

शूद्रधर्मोद्योत- part of दिनकरोद्योत, completed by गागाभट्ट.

शूद्रपञ्चसंस्कारविधि by कश्यप.

शूद्रपद्धति by अपिपाल, son of देह्लणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्दपाल. One ms. copied in शके 1442 i. e. 1520 A. D. (N. vol. V. p. 302) in गौडदेश ; m. in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी and in श्राद्धतत्त्व. Expressly says that it was based on सोममिश्र's work. The English note in N. is wrong. The verse at the end says distinctly that it was copied in शाके युग्मसरोजसम्भवमुखाम्भोराशिचन्द्रान्विते i. e. śake 1442 (1520 A. D.).

शूद्रपद्धति by **गोपाल**, son of **कृष्ण**, son of **गोपाल** surnamed **उदास**. A very large work on 10 **संस्कार**s of **शूद्र**s viz. **गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, अनवलोभन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, विवाह** and also on **पञ्चमहायज्ञ**s. Refers to **मदरत्न** and **शुद्धितत्त्व**. Later than 1640 A. D. Portion on **संस्कार** is styled also **संस्कारदीपिका**.

शूद्रपद्धति published by **कृष्णराज** as a part of **स्मृतिमहाराज**. Mentions **मदनरत्न**. Begins with **गोदान**. Baroda O. I. No. 8023.

शूद्रविवेक by **रामशङ्कर**.

शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति by **रामदत्तठक्कुर**.

शूद्रषट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

शूद्रसंस्कारदीपिका by **गोपालभट्ट**, son of **कृष्णभट्ट** (Baroda O. I. 8975).

शूद्रसंकर (Ulwar cat. No. 1492).

शूद्रस्मृति.

शूद्राचार. Appears to contain only extracts from **पुराण**s.

शूद्राचारचिन्तामणि by **वाचस्पतिमिश्र**, written at the court of **हरिनारायण** of **मिथिला**. Vide sec. 98.

शूद्राचारपद्धति of **रामदत्तठक्कुर**. It is doubtful whether he is the same as **रामदत्त**, cousin of **चण्डेश्वर**.

शूद्राचारविवेकपद्धति by **गोण्डिमिश्र**.

शूद्राचारशिरोमणि by **कृष्णशेष**, son of **नृसिंहशेष**, who wrote **गोविन्दार्णव**. Work composed at request of **पिलाजीनृप**, son of **केशवदास**, who showed his prowess in the south and is styled **परमवैष्णव**. D. C. ms. No. 55 of 1872-73 was copied at **स्तम्भतीर्थ** (modern Cambay) in **संवत** 1647 **फाल्गुन वदि ४ गुरौ** (4th March 1591). Names **गोविन्दार्णव, मिताक्षरा, शङ्खधर, शूद्रकर्मवृत्ति, शूद्रोत्पत्ति, स्मृतिकौमुदी** and is mentioned in **आचाररत्न** of **लक्ष्मण** (on **भूतयज्ञ**). Between 1520-1590 A. D. For the **शेष** family, vide Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 245 ff.

शूद्राचारसंग्रह or **सच्छूद्राचार** by **नवरसौन्दर्यभट्ट**.

शूद्राहःकृत्यतत्त्व or-**प्रयोग** of **रघु**°. N. (new series) vol. II p. 200.

शूद्राह्निक.

शूद्राह्निकाचार of **श्रीगर्भ**. Palm-leaf ms. dated śake 1462 i. e. 1540-41 A. D.

शूद्राह्निकाचारसार by **यादवेन्द्रशर्मन्**, under order of **रघुदेव**, prince of **गौड**, son of **वासुदेव**. N. (new series) I. p. 373.

शूद्रीपद्धति.

शूद्रोत्पत्ति m. in **शूद्राचारशिरोमणि** of **शेषकृष्ण**.

शूद्रोद्द्योत- vide **शूद्रधर्मोद्द्योत** above.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by **अप्पय्यदीक्षित**.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by **लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र**.

शैवतत्त्वप्रकाश.

शैवतत्त्वामृत.

शैवतात्पर्यसंग्रह.

शैवधर्मखण्डन.

शैवरत्नाकर by **ज्योतिर्नाथ**. Hultzsch R. I. No. 76.

शैववैष्णवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शैववैष्णवमतखण्डन.

शैवसर्वस्व of **हलायुध** m. in his **ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व**.

शैवसर्वस्वसार by **विद्यापति**, composed at the bidding of queen **विश्वासदेवी**, wife of **पद्मसिंह** of **मिथिला**, son of **शिवसिंह**, son of **देवसिंह**, son of **भवेश**. Between 1400-1450 A. D. (N. vol. VI. pp. 1-5).

शैवसिद्धान्तदीपिका.

शैवसिद्धान्तशेखर or **सिद्धान्तशेखर** m. in **नि. सि.**

शैवसिद्धान्तसंग्रह.

शैवसिद्धान्तसार.

शैवसिद्धान्तसारावलि or **सिद्धान्तसारावलि**.

शैवाह्निक

शौचलक्षण.

शौचसंग्रहविवृति by **भट्टाचार्य**.

शौचाचमनविधि.

शौचाचारपद्धति m. by **हेमाद्रि** in **व्रतखण्ड** I. 59.

शौनककारिका or **शौनकोक्तगृह्यकारिका** (D. C. ms. 97 of 1869-70). An extensive work in 20 **अध्याय**s in verse on domestic rites. Mentions **आश्वलायनाचार्य**, five **शाखा**s of the **ऋग्वेद**, **सर्वानुक्रमणी**; ms. written in **संवत** 1653 (1566-67 A. D.). Vide Bik. cat. p. 152 for **शौनककारिका**s and Baroda O I. No. 8637.

शौनककारिकावली (C. P. cat. 5898).

शौनकगृह्य m. by **विश्वरूप**, **अपरार्क**, **हेमाद्रि**.

शौनकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by **अपरार्क** (two verses) on p. 525.

शौनकपञ्चसूत्र.

शौनकस्मृति. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 208 for a large work in verse on **पुण्याहवाचन**, **नान्दीश्राद्ध**, **स्थालीपाक**, **ग्रहशान्ति**, **गर्भाधान** and other **संस्कार**s, **उत्सर्जनोपाकर्म**, **बृहस्पतिशान्ति**, **मधुपर्क**, **पिण्डपितृयज्ञ**, **पार्वणश्राद्ध**, **आग्रयण**, **प्रायश्चित्त** &c. Mentions **आचारस्मृति**, **प्रयोगपारिजात**, **बृहस्पति**, **मनु**.

शौनकी- on the worship of the 9 **ग्रह**s.

श्रवणद्वादशीनिर्णय by **गोपालदेशिक**.

श्राद्धकमल m. in **श्राद्धकल्पलता** of **नन्दपण्डित**.

श्राद्धकला the 5th part of the **स्मृतितत्त्व** of **भवदेवशर्मन्**. Mentions **कल्पतरु**'s definition of **श्राद्ध** '**पितॄनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकारपर्यन्तम्**'. N. vol. I. p. 299.

श्राद्धकलिका alias **श्राद्धपद्धति** of **रघुनाथ**. He bows to **भट्टनारायण**. Quotes **कालादर्श**, **धर्मप्रवृत्ति**, **निर्णयामृत**, **नारायणवृत्तिकृत**, **जयन्तस्वामी**, **हेमाद्रि**, **हरदत्त**, **स्मृतिरत्नावलि**. (D. C. ms. No. 421 of 1891-95).

श्राद्धकलिकाविवरण of **विश्वरूपाचार्य** m. in **षण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय** of **शिवभट्ट**.

श्राद्धकल्प (मानव) BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 177.

(1) (कात्यायनीय) also called श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र in 9 chapters followed by 9 श्लोकs on श्राद्ध ceremonies; pr. at Gujarati P. with several com.

C. प्रयोगपद्धति (N. vol. II p.174).

C. (श्राद्धविधिभाष्य) by कर्क (pr. Gujarati P.).

C. श्राद्धकाशिका of कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of नित्यानन्द ; m. in नि. सि. Refers to कर्क's and हलायुध's com. (pr. by Gujarati P.).

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन (Ulwar cat. 1509 and extract 358); pr. Gujarati P.

C. श्राद्धसूत्रार्थमञ्जरी by गदाधर.

C. by नीलासुर, son of सङ्कर्षण (Ulwar cat. extract 44).

C. by समुद्रकर (m. in तिथितत्त्व p. 174).

C. by हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण. Mentions गोविन्दराज and शङ्खधर and is m. by श्राद्धकाशिका. Vide p. 301 above. It appears from the introductory and final verses that the ms. (BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 170) is the same as the Ulwar ms. and that नीलासुर is a wrong reading of the original नीलाम्बर which means हलायुध. यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 496) expressly mentions the भाष्य of नीलाम्बर on कात्यायन.

(2) a परिशिष्ट of the मानवगृह्य.

(3) गोभिलीय.

C. by महायशस् (Baroda O. I. 12895).

(4) मैत्रायणीय.

(5) 44th परिशिष्ट of अथर्ववेद.

(6) वासिष्ठ.

श्राद्धकल्प.

by काशीनाथ.

by भर्तृयज्ञ.

by वाचस्पति. Also styled पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी. Vide sec. 98.

by श्रीदत्त. Also styled छन्दोगश्राद्ध. Vide sec. 89 p. 364. Based on स्मृति, गृह्य, पुराणs and गोपाल and भूप (N. vol. III. p. 34 and II. p. 364).

by हेमाद्रि (Peterson's 6th Report p. 11). Refers to चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि as his work.

श्राद्धकल्पदीप of होरिलत्रिपाठी.

श्राद्धकल्पद्रुम.

श्राद्धकल्पना (vide I. O. cat. p. 558).

श्राद्धकल्पभाष्य- vide under गोभिलीयश्राद्धकल्प.

श्राद्धकल्पलता of गोविन्दपण्डित ; m. by नन्दपण्डित in his श्राद्धकल्पलता.

श्राद्धकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

श्राद्धकल्पसार by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

C. by author. Vide Stein's cat. pp. 105, 316.

श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र- vide श्राद्धकल्प (कात्यायनीय) above.

श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकासूत्र 6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन; vide नवकण्डिकासूत्र.

श्राद्धकाण्ड from the प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

श्राद्धकाण्ड by भट्टोजि.

श्राद्धकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित, part of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

श्राद्धकाण्डसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ. Probably same as श्राद्धकाण्ड above.

श्राद्धकारिका Ulwar cat. No. 1496 and extract 354.

श्राद्धकारिका by केशवजीवानन्दशर्मा.

श्राद्धकार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

श्राद्धकालनिरूपण by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति.

श्राद्धकालनिर्णय.

श्राद्धकाशिका by कृष्ण, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of नित्यानन्द (pr. in Gujarati Press ed. of पारस्करगृह्य). Mentions कर्क, धर्मप्रदीप, हलायुध and is m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता and श्राद्धमयूख. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

श्राद्धकृत्यप्रदीप by होलिल. Ulwar cat. extract 355 gives summary of contents.

श्राद्धकौमुदी or श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Vide sec. 101; pr. in B. I. Series.

श्राद्धक्रम by याज्ञिकदेव, son of महादेव.

श्राद्धखण्ड- from प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

श्राद्धगणपति or श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट (C. P. cat. No. 5921). Vide श्राद्धसंग्रह below.

श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

(1) by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. Part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि. An अनुक्रमणी to it was prepared by his son वैद्यनाथ. Vide under आचारार्क. About 1680 A. D.

(2) by नन्दन.

(3) by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

(4) by रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. Quotes वर्धमान's definition of श्राद्ध 'संबन्धवेदोपनीतान् पितॄनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागः श्राद्धम्.' N. vol. VIII p. 270.

(5) by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व p. 493 as his teacher's work, which criticizes श्रीदत्त. 1475-1525 A. D.

श्राद्धचन्द्रिकाप्रकाश- same as श्राद्धचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर.

श्राद्धचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; pr. at Benares in Śake 1814. Vide sec. 98.

C. भावदीपिका by महामहोपाध्याय वामदेव (N. vol. V. 165).

श्राद्धचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of श्रीविश्राम शुक्ल. Styled प्रयोगपद्धति or सुबोधिनी; summarises section on श्राद्ध in his कृत्यचिन्तामणि (vide I. O. cat. p. 538).

श्राद्धतत्त्व by रघु°. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.

C. विवृति by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta).

C. भावार्थदीपिका by गङ्गाधरचक्रवर्ती.

C. श्राद्धतत्त्वादर्श by विष्णुराममिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेवविद्यावागीश. He commented on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व also.

श्राद्धतिलक m. in विधानपारिजात.

श्राद्धदर्पण of जयकृष्णतर्कवागीश; criticizes कल्पतरु. Also styled श्राद्धदीप or -प्रदीप.

श्राद्धदर्पण of मधुसूदन.

श्राद्धदीधिति of कृष्णभट्ट.

श्राद्धदीप m. by विधानपारिजात.

श्राद्धदीप by जयकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (also called ०प्रदीप). N. vol. X 107. Refutes कल्पतरु.

श्राद्धदीप by दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.

श्राद्धदीपकलिका of शूलपाणि; m. in नि. सि., विधानपारिजात.

श्राद्धदीपिका by काशीदीक्षित याज्ञिक, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित; based on कात्यायनसूत्र and कर्कभाष्य.

श्राद्धदीपिका of गोविन्दपण्डित; m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धदीपिका by वेदाङ्गराय, formerly मालजित, son of तिगुलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat. He wrote पारसीप्रकाश in 1643 A. D. for Emperor Shah Jehan.

श्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीनाथआचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य. For सामवेद followers; m. by रघु० in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व. 1475-1525 A. D.

श्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीभीम who is described as काञ्जिविल्लीय (a राढीय ब्राह्मण) for सामवेद followers. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 379.

श्राद्धदीपिकानिर्णय.

श्राद्धदेवतानिर्णय.

श्राद्धह्रासप्रतिकलाः.

श्राद्धनवकण्डिकासूत्र- vide श्राद्धकल्प (कात्यायनीय) above.

श्राद्धनिरूपण (Ulwar cat. 1501).

श्राद्धनिर्णय of उमापति m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धनिर्णय of चन्द्रचूड.

श्राद्धनिर्णय of शिवभट्ट.

श्राद्धनिर्णय of सुदर्शन.

श्राद्धनिर्णयदीपिका by तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र. Mentions कालादर्श.

श्राद्धनृसिंह of नृसिंह (Cal. S. col. Mss. cat. vol. II p. 392).

श्राद्धपङ्क्ति m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र's द्वैतनिर्णय (Oxf. cat. p 273 b).

श्राद्धपञ्जी m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

श्राद्धपद्धति आश्वलायनीय.

श्राद्धपद्धति- पञ्चत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

श्राद्धपद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिराम (Ulwar cat. No. 1503).

श्राद्धपद्धति by क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोकमणि, son of बाबूलक्ष्मीकान्त of Kanoj; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 559) copied in संवत् 1805 (1748-9 A. D.).

श्राद्धपद्धति by गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित.

श्राद्धपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

श्राद्धपद्धति by दामोदर.

श्राद्धपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट आरडे (Baroda O. I. 338).

श्राद्धपद्धति by नीलकण्ठ mentioned in श्राद्धमयूख.

श्राद्धपद्धति by पशुपति, elder brother of हलायुध, who mentions it in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

C. by हलायुध.

श्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव. Also called दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति. Based on हेमाद्रि's work. He was a nephew of नारायणभट्ट.

श्राद्धपद्धति by विश्वनाथभट्ट.

श्राद्धपद्धति of शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र.

श्राद्धपद्धति by हेमाद्रि. Refers to his चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि. Stein's cat. pp. 316-17.

श्राद्धपल्लव m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर and टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य).

श्राद्धपारिजात m. by केशव in द्वैतपरिशिष्ट (द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट).

श्राद्धप्रकरण by नरोत्तमदेव.

श्राद्धप्रकरण by लोल्लट (ms. in Ānandāśrama collection at Poona). Quotes मेधातिथि. Between 900-1100 A. D. as लोल्लट is mentioned in स्मृत्यर्थसार.

श्राद्धप्रकाश m. in नि. सि.

श्राद्धप्रकीर्णकारिका.

श्राद्धप्रदीप.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by कृष्णमिश्राचार्य.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by धनराम, son of गोवर्धन (Baroda O. I. 9971); not later than 1750 A. D.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by प्रद्युम्नशर्मा, son of श्रीधरशर्मन् ; ms. dated शके 1448 (1526 A. D.). The author is described as having jurisdiction over श्रीहट्टदेशीयहाकादिष्टी (probably as धर्माधिकारि). Vide N. (new series) vol. I. pp. 380-81.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by मदनमनोहर महामहोपाध्याय, son of मधुसूदन. For students of यजुर्वेद (N. vol. VI. p. 299).

श्राद्धप्रदीप by रुद्रधर (C. P. cat. 5939). Probably the same as श्राद्धचन्द्रिका or श्राद्धविवेक.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by वर्धमान m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथसन्मिश्र; m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०. (N. vol. VII. p. 191). He was guru of वर्धमान.

श्राद्धप्रभा by रामकृष्ण.

C.

श्राद्धप्रयोग.

,, आपस्तम्बीय.

,, बौधायनीय.

,, भारद्वाजीय.

,, मैत्रायणीय.

,, सत्याषाढ.

,, आश्वलायनीय by कमलाकर.

श्राद्धप्रयोग ,, by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by गोपालसूरि. Mentions प्रयोगदर्पण, वैद्यनाथीयनिबन्ध, सुधीविलोचन.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. A part of his प्रयोगरत्न.

श्राद्धप्रयोगचिन्तामणि of अनूपसिंह.

श्राद्धप्रयोगपद्धति (कात्यायनीया) by काशीदीक्षित.

श्राद्धप्रशंसा.

श्राद्धब्राह्मण.

श्राद्धभास्करप्रयोगपद्धति.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी m. in नि. सि. and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी by बापुभट्ट केळकर, residing at फणशी in Rajapur Taluka of Ratnagiri District in Śake 1732 (1810 A. D.); pr. in Ānan. P.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी by मुकुन्दलाल.

श्राद्धमन्त्रव्याख्या- from the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. Ulwar cat. extract 356.

श्राद्धमयूख of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. Pr. by J. R. Gharpure.

श्राद्धमीमांसा by नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धरत्न by लक्ष्मीपति, pupil of इन्द्रपति, for followers of सामवेद and शुक्लयजुर्वेद. Relies upon श्रीदत्त.

श्राद्धरत्नमहोदधि by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त. Mentioned in his श्राद्धाङ्गभास्कर.

श्राद्धरहस्य m. by रामनाथ in स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

श्राद्धवचनसंग्रह.

श्राद्धवमनप्रायश्चित्त.

श्राद्धवर्णन by हरिराम.

श्राद्धवसिष्ठ m. in सं. कौ. Same as वसिष्ठश्राद्धकल्प.

श्राद्धविधि

कौकिलोक्त; vide D.C. ms. No. 223 1879--80; mentions स्कन्दपुराण, कात्यायन, आपस्तम्ब, सुमन्तु, शातातप, याज्ञवल्क्य; on वृद्धिश्राद्ध, गणाधिपपूजा, मातृपूजा, other श्राद्धs.

छन्दोग.

(माध्यन्दिनीय) by होण्ढू. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 236; refers to कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठउपाध्याय, हलायुधीय, श्राद्धभाष्य. Between 1200--1500 A. D.

श्राद्धविधिसंक्षेप.

श्राद्धविभक्ति- on the point when the genitive, objective, dative and vocative are to be used in श्राद्ध. N. vol. X. p. 347.

श्राद्धविवेक by होडूमिश्र, son of प्राणकृष्ण. Peterson's 2nd report p. 188.

श्राद्धविवेक by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide sec 96; pr. at Benares.

श्राद्धविवेक by शूलपाणि sec. 95; pr. in Calcutta by M. M. Madhusudan Smrtiratna.

C. टिप्पनी by अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन्; m. in his दायभागटीका.

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; sec. 101.

C. भावार्थदीप by जगदीश.

C. by श्रीकृष्ण; pr. at Calcutta in Bengali characters, 1880 A. D.

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. N. (New series) vol. I pp. 381-382; shows that श्रीनाथ

only elaborated what his father said.

C श्राद्धादिविवेककौमुदी by महामहोपाध्याय रामकृष्णन्यायालङ्कार N. vol. X. p. 119.

श्राद्धविवेकसंग्रह.

श्राद्धवृत्तिप्रकरण.

श्राद्धव्यवस्था.

श्राद्धव्यवस्थासंक्षेप of चिन्तामणि. Vide शुद्धिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

श्राद्धषोडशविधि - Ulwar cat. No. 1508 and extract 357.

श्राद्धसंकलन.

श्राद्धसंकल्प- from प्रयोगपारिजात of रघुनाथ.

श्राद्धसंकल्पविधि.

श्राद्धसंग्रह.

(1) m. in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

(2) of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट, son of प्रयागभट्ट. Based upon कात्यायन's श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र. He wrote संस्कारगणपति on कातीयगृह्यसूत्र. Composed at Benares in śake 1673 (त्रिनगभूपाख्ये) i. e. 1751 A. D. Vide I. O. cat. pp. 560-61, No. 1738. I. O. cat. p. 562 gives the date as शाके गगनाङ्ग(ङ्का ?)रूभूमिते (1670-1690) and 1826 of विक्रम (i. e. 1770 A. D.) which is probably the date of copying. Mentions कर्क, हलायुध, गदाधर's भाष्य on कातीयगृह्यसूत्र, काशिका and दीपिका.

श्राद्धसमुच्चय.

श्राद्धसागर.

(1) by कुम्भकभट्ट (?). Is it a misreading for कुल्लक or कुल्लूकभट्ट ?

(2) by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88 pp. 361-62.

(3) नारायण आरड m. in his शुद्धाग्निसागर q.v. Later than 1650 A. D.

श्राद्धसार.

(1) part of नृसिंहप्रसाद ; m. in विधानपारिजात.

(2) by कमलाकर.

श्राद्धसौख्य- part of टोडरानन्द. Vide sec. 104.

श्राद्धहेमाद्रि- the श्राद्ध section of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

श्राद्धाङ्गतर्पणनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण (Baroda O. I. 303).

श्राद्धाङ्गभास्कर by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त, who became a संन्यासिन and was styled अनुभूतिस्वरूप ; based on कर्क ; for माध्यन्दिनशाखा (Ulwar cat. extract 359).

श्राद्धादर्श by महेश्वरमिश्र.

श्राद्धादिविधि.

श्राद्धादिविवेककौमुदी by रामकृष्ण.

श्राद्धाधिकार by विष्णुदत्त.

श्राद्धाधिकारिनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन (N. vol. III p. 60).

श्राद्धानुक्रमणिका.

श्राद्धापरार्क.

श्राद्धालोक m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

श्राद्धाशौचीयदर्पण by देवराज.

श्राद्धेन्दु. Ano. (N. vol. V. p. 96.)

श्राद्धेन्दुशेखर by **नागोजिभट्ट** surnamed Kala. Sec. 110.

श्राद्धोद्योत m. in **वर्धमान**'s **गङ्गाकृत्य-विवेक**. It is probably a portion of **मदनरत्न**.

श्राद्धोपयोगिवचन by **अनन्तभट्ट**.

श्रावणकर्मसर्पबलिप्रयोग- a **गृह्य** rite.

श्रावणद्वादशी.

श्रावणी (**आश्वलायनीय**).

,, (**काण्वशाखीय**).

श्रावणीकर्म (**वाजसनेय**).

,, (**हिरण्यकेशि**) by **गोपीनाथ दीक्षित**.

श्रावणीप्रयोग by **कमलाकर**.

श्रावणीहोमपद्धति (**आश्वलायनीय**).

श्रावणोत्सर्गकर्म.

श्रीआह्निक.

श्रीकरनिबन्ध m, in **स्मृतिसार** of **हरि-नाथ**.

श्रीधरसमुच्चय m. in **मलमासतत्त्व** by **रघु०**.

श्रीधरीय m. in **नि. सि.**, **प्रयोगपारिजात**. Vide sec. 81 p. 337.

श्रीनिवासदीक्षितीय by **श्रीनिवास**, son of **गोविन्दार्य** of **कौशिकगोत्र**. On **वैखानससूत्र** (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5179).

श्रीपतिरत्नमाला m. in **समयमयूख**.

श्रीपतिव्यवहारनिर्णय m. in **तिथितत्त्व** of **रघु०** (Jivananda vol. I. p. 21).

श्रीपतिव्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in **संस्कार-तत्त्व** of **रघु०**. Probably the same as above.

श्रीपतिसमुच्चय m. in **ज्योतिस्तत्त्व** of **रघु०** (vol. I. p. 582).

श्रीस्थलप्रकाश by **तिगलाभट्ट**. Peterson's 5th Report No. 154.

श्रुतिचन्द्रिका.

श्रुतिमीमांसा by **नृसिंहवाजपेयी**.

श्रुतिमुक्ताफल.

श्रौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग by **नृसिंह**.

श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियापद्धति.

श्रौतस्मार्तविधि by **बालकृष्ण**.

श्लोककात्यायन m. in **अपरार्क**.

श्लोककालनिर्णय.

श्लोकगौतम m. in **कालविवेक** of **जीमूत०**, **अपरार्क**, **कालमाधव**.

श्लोकचतुर्दशी (**धर्मानुबन्धि**) by **कृष्ण-शेष**.

C. by **रामपण्डित शेष**; pr. in **सरस्वती-भवन** series (No. 22).

श्लोकतर्पण by **लौगाक्षि**.

श्लोकसंग्रह- on 96 **श्राद्ध**s.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in **आचारमयूख**.

श्वश्रूस्नुषाधनसंवाद (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 143a) decides that if a man dies childless, leaving a widow and mother, each takes half of his estate.

श्वासकर्मप्रकाश.

श्वेताश्वदानविधि by **कमलाकर**.

षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका by **चरुकूरितिम्मयज्वन्**, son of **लक्ष्मणभट्ट**. He was called **रामचन्द्राश्रम** on becoming a **संन्यासिन्**.

षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका m. in **सन्ध्याभाष्य** of **कृष्णपण्डित**.

षट्कर्मदीपिका Ano. Collection of rituals for the worship of त्र्यम्बक, पार्थिवशिवलिङ्ग, and connected matters (N. vol. IX p. 273).

षट्कर्मदीपिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

षट्कर्मविचार (part of स्मृतिरत्न-महोदधि).

षट्कर्मविवेक by हरिराम.

षट्कर्मव्याख्यानचिन्तामणि by नित्यानन्द. Discourse on the sentences used at wedding and five othsr sacraments, for students of यजुर्वेद. Based upon गुणविष्णु. N. vol. III. p. 27.

षट्त्रिंशन्मत. Vide sec. 53.

षट्पदी of विठ्ठलदीक्षित (C. P. cat. No. 6029).

षट्पारायणविधि.

षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय by कौशिकादित्य (i. e. आदित्य of the कौशिकगोत्र). The first verse is ' अथानेकर्षिवाक्यानि संगत्यादाय केवलम् । संग्रथ्य कौशिकादित्यो लिखत्याशौचनिर्णयम् ॥ .' It is in 86 verses on impurities on birth and death and in five प्रकरणs on सूतक, सगोत्राशौच, असगोत्राशौच, संस्काराशौच and आशौचापवाद. Aufrecht (II. p. 82) is wrong in identifying it with अभिनवषडशीति.

C. अघशोधिनी by लक्ष्मीनृसिंह.

C. शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपण्डित (pr. in Ch. S. series with text).

षडशीति by वल्लभभट्ट.

षट्त्रिंशन्मत m. by स्मृतिच० and परा. मा.

षण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय by शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दसूरि. The 96 श्राद्धs are briefly set out in one verse ' अमायुगमनुक्रान्तिधृतिपातमहालयाः । आन्वष्टक्यं च पूर्वेद्युः षण्णवत्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ '. Mentions कमलाकरभट्ट, नीलकण्ठभट्ट, दीपिकाविवरण, प्रयोगरत्न, श्राद्धकलिका, कलिकाविवरण of विश्वरूपाचार्य ; (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection). Later than 1650 A. D.

षण्णवतिश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर. Refers to नारायणभट्ट as his uncle. About 1550-1625 A. D.

षण्णवतिश्राद्धप्रयोग.

षष्टिपूर्तिशान्ति (ceremonies on attaining 60 years). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 138b, 151b.

षोडशकर्मकलापनिर्णय.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by ऋषिभट्ट.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by गङ्गाधर.

षोडशकर्मप्रयोग on the sixteen संस्कारs, स्थालीपाक, पुंसवन, अनवलोभन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, षष्ठीपूजा, पञ्चगव्य, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, कर्णवेध, अन्नप्राशन, चौलकर्म, उपनयन, गोदान, समावर्तन, विवाह. Mentions प्रयोगसार, प्रयोगपारिजात, दीपिका ; ms (in Bhadkamkar collection) dated śake 1695. After 1500 A.D.

षोडशपिण्डदानप्रयोग Ano. ; mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप. (N. vol. II. pp. 310-311).

षोडशमहादानपद्धति or दानपद्धति by रामदत्त of the सोपाकवंश minister of king नृसिंह of मिथिला of the

कार्णाटवंश, with the help of भवशर्मन्, his family priest. He was a paternal first cousin of चण्डेश्वर and so flourished in first half of 14th century.

षोडशमहादानविधि by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

षोडशयात्रा.

षोडशसंस्काराः (according to आश्वलायनगृह्य).

षोडशसंस्काराः by कमलाकर.

षोडशसंस्काराः by चन्द्रचूड. An abridgment of his संस्कारनिर्णय.

षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारपद्धति (Bik. cat. p. 463) by आनन्दरामदीक्षित.

षोडशसंस्कारप्रयोग.

षोडशसंस्कारसेतु by रामेश्वर.

षोडशोपचारपूजापद्धति (for worship of विष्णु).

संवत्सरकल्पलता of व्रजराज, a devotee of विट्ठलेश, son of वल्लभाचार्य ; in 12 दलs in verse. Begins with कृष्णजन्माष्टमी festival in भाद्रपद and then describes festivals in other months. D. C. ms. No. 201 of A 1882-83.

संवत्सरकृत्य or संवत्सरकौस्तुभ or संवत्सरदीधिति-part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश-a part of the यशवन्तभास्कर by भास्करशर्मा.

संवत्सरकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द. Sec.101.

संवत्सरदीधिति-part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

संवत्सरनिर्णयप्रतान by पुरुषोत्तम.

संवत्सरप्रकाश.

संवत्सरप्रदीप m. by शूलपाणि in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, निर्णयामृत and in एकादशीतत्त्व (II. p 51) and शुद्धितत्त्व (II. 327) as हलायुध's. Aufrecht (cat. I. p. 681) wrongly ascribes it to शूलपाणि. Vide p. 394 above. Vide N. (new series (I. p. 390 for a संवत्सरप्रदीप.

संवत्सरप्रयोगसार of श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, son of नारायण of the वन्द्यघटीय clan.

संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय by निर्भयराम.

संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय of पुरुषोत्तम on the same subject as preceding. Expressly says that it was composed to clear up the पद्धति of व्रजराज. In prose. D. C. Ms. No. 177 of 1884-86. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

संवर्तस्मृति Vide sec. 55 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 584-603 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 411-424.

संस्कर्तृक्रम by वैद्यनाथ. Probably a portion of the स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

संस्कारकमलाकर or संस्कारपद्धति by कमलाकर. Vide sec. 106 (vide BBRAS cat. p. 236 and I. O. cat. p. 514).

संस्कारकल्पद्रुम by जगन्नाथयाज्ञिक, son of सुखशङ्करशुक्ल. In three काण्डs on गणेशपूजन, संस्कार and स्मार्ताधान ; names वासुदेव's भाष्य on (पारस्कर) गृह्य. Speaks of 25 संस्कारs. Ulwar cat. extract 364.

संस्कारकौमुदी by गिरिभट्ट, son of प्रद्युम्नभट्ट.

संस्कारकौस्तुभ or संस्कारदीधिति- part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109 (pr. by Nir. P. and at Baroda with Marathi translation).

संस्कारगङ्गाधर or- धरी by गङ्गाधरदीक्षित. On संस्कारs of गर्भाधान, चौल, व्रतबन्ध, वेदव्रतचतुष्टय, केशान्त, व्रतविसर्ग, विवाह. (D. C. ms. No. 610 of 1882-83).

संस्कारगणपति- com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र by रामकृष्ण. Vide under पारस्करगृह्य above.

संस्कारचन्द्रचूडी of चन्द्रचूड. Vide संस्कारनिर्णय below.

संस्कारचिन्तामणि by रामकृष्ण of Benares (C. P. cat. No. 6073). Probably the same as संस्कारगणपति.

संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

संस्कारदीधिति- vide संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

संस्कारदीधिति (pr. at Benares).

संस्कारनिर्णय.

(1) by चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमणभट्ट, son of धर्मभट्ट. Based on आपस्तम्बगृह्य. Treats of संस्कारs from गर्भाधान. Names ज्योतिर्निबन्ध, माधवीय, हरदत्त and सुदर्शन on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगरत्न. One ms. (I. O. cat. p. 98 No. 467) is dated śake 1607 (1685). Between 1575-1650 A. D.

(2) by तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, surnamed गह्वर; for आश्वलायनs. In 1776 A. D. he composed his संग्रहदीपिका on आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र.

(3) by नन्दपण्डित- a part of स्मृतिसिन्धु. Vide sec. 105.

संस्कारनृसिंह by नरहरि (C. P. cat. No 6076). Pr. at Benares in 1894.

संस्कारपद्धति by अमृतपाठक, son of सखाराम (for माध्यन्दिनीयs). Mentions हेमाद्रि, धर्माब्धिसार, प्रयोगदर्पण, प्रयोगरत्न, कौस्तुभ, कृष्णभट्टी, गदाधर.

संस्कारपद्धति by आनन्दराम याज्ञिक.

संस्कारपद्धति by कमलाकर. Vide संस्कारकमलाकर above.

संस्कारपद्धति by गङ्गाधरभट्ट, son of राम. Vide संस्कारगङ्गाधरी.

संस्कारपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

संस्कारपद्धति by भवदेव. The same as छन्दोगकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति. Vide sec. 73.

C. रहस्य by रामनाथ. Composed in śake 1544 (1622-23 A. D.). N. VI. pp. 237-238.

संस्कारपद्धति by शिङ्गय.

संस्कारप्रकाश.

(1) a part of प्रतापनारसिंह.

(2) a part of वीरमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र.

संस्कारप्रदीप.

संस्कारप्रदीपिका by विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित.

संस्कारप्रयोग.

संस्कारभास्कर.

(1) by खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर अयाचित. Based on कर्क and

गङ्गाधर. Divides संस्कारs into ब्राह्म (गर्भाधान and others) and दैव (पाकयज्ञ and others). D.C. No. 611 of 1882-83.

(2) by ऋषिबुध or- भट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed शौच (शौचे). Pr. by Venk. P. ; follows कर्क, वासुदेव and हरिहर on पारस्करगृह्य and mentions प्रयोगदर्पण. Vide BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 236 No. 739.

संस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायण. Same as ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी.

संस्कारमयूख.

(1) by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. In many mss. ascribed to his son शङ्कर. Pr. at Gujrati P. and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

(2) ,, or संस्कारभास्कर by सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्कर. He was a nephew of नीलकण्ठ. Flourished between 1630-1670 A. D. Treats of 25 संस्कारs and gives at the end of the work a complete list of गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

संस्कारमार्तण्ड by मार्तण्डसोमयाजी ; contains two chapters on स्थालीपाक and नवग्रह. Pr. at Madras.

संस्कारमुक्तावली of तानपाठक.

संस्काररत्न by खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायण ; m. in his कृत्यरत्न. Later than 1400 A. D. His family was patronised by विदर्भ king.

संस्काररत्न from the अनूपविलास or धर्माम्बोधि of मणिराम.

संस्काररत्नमाला.

(1) by गोपीनाथभट्ट (pr. at Ānan. P. and in Ch. S. series).

(2) by नागेशभट्ट.

संस्काररत्नाकर (पारस्करीय).

संस्काररत्नावलि of नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट, of कण्वशाखा and resident of प्रतिष्ठान.

संस्कारवादार्थ (deals with the proper times for such संस्कारs as जातकर्म &c.). N. vol. I. p. 150

संस्कारविधि or गृह्यकारिका by रेणुक.

संस्कारवीचि- a portion of the गोविन्दार्णव compiled by शेषनृसिंह.

संस्कारसागर by नारायणभट्ट (on स्थालीपाक).

संस्कारसार- part of the नृसिंहप्रसाद. Vide sec. 99.

संस्कारसौख्य.

संस्कारामृत of सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर ; vide संस्कारमयूख above. Refers to द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट of his father.

संस्कारोद्द्योत- a portion of the दिनकरोद्द्योत.

संस्थापद्धति or संस्थावैद्यनाथ by वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव ; in 4 मानs. Ulwar cat. extract 63. On the rites performed in आवसथ्य fire according to कात्यायनगृह्य.

संहितादीप m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

संहिताप्रदीप m. in नि. सि. An astrological work.

संहितासारावलि m. in संस्कारमयूख.

संहिताहोमपद्धति by भैरवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 335).

सकलकर्मचिन्तामणि.

सकलदानफलाधिकार.

सकलदेवताप्रतिष्ठा.

सकलपुराणसमुच्चय m. by अल्लाडनाथ.

सकलप्रमाणसंग्रह.

सकलशान्तिसंग्रह.

सङ्करस्मृततिथिनिर्णय.

संकल्पकौमुदी of रामकृष्ण (N. IV. p. 222-23).

संकल्पचन्द्रिका by रघुनन्दन (N. I. p. 166).

संकल्पश्राद्धप्रयोग.

संकल्पस्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा of नवद्वीप (about the सङ्कल्पs to be made in the beginning of all काम्य rites). Divided into four parts on तिथि, मास, काम्यकर्मणिसङ्कल्प, व्रत. N. vol. II. pp. 329-330.

संकष्टहरचतुर्थीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

संकेतकौमुदी (probably a purely astrological work) by शम्भुनाथाचार्य.

संकेतकौमुदी by शिव.

संकेतकौमुदी by हरिनाथाचार्य m. by रघु० in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

संक्रान्तिकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 198) dated śake 1540 (1618 A. D.).

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by गोपालशर्मन्यायपञ्चानन in 3 parts.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय- a portion of the स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय Ano.; mentions भीमपराक्रम, दीपिका, कृत्यचिन्तामणि.

संक्रान्तिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 at p. 394. N. VI. p. 205.

संक्रान्तिव्यवस्थानिर्णय. Ano. (N. II. p. 313).

संक्रान्तिशान्ति.

संक्रान्त्युद्यापन.

संक्षिप्तनिर्णयसिन्धु. Briefly describes religious rites from चैत्र to फाल्गुन. Expressly says that it is based on निर्णयसिन्धु; ms in Bik. cat. p. 454 is dated śake 1514 (1592 A. D.), which is a misreading, if निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकर is meant.

संक्षिप्तशाक्तार्चपद्धति.

संक्षिप्तसार- m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु०

संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार by रामभट्ट.

संक्षिप्ताह्निकपद्धति by चण्डीदास, son of दुर्गादत्त, written at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर.

संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार by गोकुलजित्, son of हरिजित् in 1633 A. D.

संक्षेपपूजापद्धति (Ulwar cat. 2412) by रघुनन्दनठक्कुर.

संक्षेपरुद्रपद्धति (Ulwar cat. 1513).

संक्षेपसिद्धिव्यवस्था.

संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकरभट्ट, Same as आह्निकचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर above.

संख्यापरिमाणसंग्रह of केशवकवीन्द्र, who wrote in Benares and was the principal Pandit in the pariṣad of the king of तीरभुक्ति (modern Tirhut). Dilates upon the weights, numbers and measures required in स्मृति rules (such as size of tooth brush, number of sacred threads for ब्राह्मण's यज्ञोपवीत). N. vol. V pp. 161-162.

संग्रह or स्मृतिसंग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

संग्रहचिन्तामणि (C. P. cat. No. 6153).

संग्रहवैद्यनाथीय by वैद्यनाथ.

संग्रामसाहीय- vide विवेकदीपक above.

सच्चरितपरित्राण by वीरराघव of वाधूलगोत्र on the duties of वैष्णवs. Mentions स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

सच्चरितरक्षा by वेङ्कटनाथ on शङ्खचक्रधारण, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण and भगवन्निवेदितोपयोग (3 प्रकरणs).

सच्चरितरक्षा by रामानुजाचार्य.

C. सच्चरित्रसारदीपिका by himself.

सच्चरितसुधानिधि by वीरराघव (नैध्रुव), who bows to several teachers of the विशिष्टाद्वैत system, viz. नाथ, राममिश्र, यामुनमुनि, रामानुज, रङ्गराज, वेदान्तदेशिक, पराङ्कुश, श्रीनिवास &c.

सच्छूद्राह्निक.

सज्जनवल्लभा by जयराम- a com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र ; m. in मुहूर्तदीपक of महादेव.

सत्कर्मकल्पद्रुम.

सत्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

सत्कर्मचिन्तामणि

सत्कर्मदर्पण.

सत्क्रियाकल्पमञ्जरी (Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V p. 2212, vol. VI. p. 2308).

सत्क्रियासारदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट for वैष्णवs. He wrote हरिभक्तिविलास also. Flourished about 1500-1565 A. D. Names भवदेव, अनिरुद्ध, भीम, गोविन्दानन्द and नारायण.

सत्यव्रतस्मृति m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत°, अपरार्क, स्मृतिच°, श्राद्धतत्त्व.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका or संप्रदायप्रदीप- an account of the principal वैष्णव teachers.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका by गदाधर.

सत्स्मृतिसार by जानकीराम सार्वभौम on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 210.

सदाचार.

सदाचारक्रम by रामपति.

सदाचारक्रम attributed to वसिष्ठ.

सदाचारचन्द्रिका (D. C. ms. No. 108 of 1869-70 copied in संवत् 1787 माघ i. e. February 1731 A. D.). Inculcates कृष्णभक्ति. Mentions रूपगोस्वामी, सनातनगोस्वामी, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, हरिभक्तिविलासटीका, हरिभक्तिसुधोदय and its टीका.

सदाचारचन्द्रोदय- vide आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश.

सदाचारनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट.

सदाचारप्रकरण by शङ्कराचार्य (for योगिन्).

सदाचाररहस्य by अनन्तभट्ट, son of वाईभट्ट, composed at Benares at the desire of संग्रामसिंह, son of अमरेश, son of जयसिंह. About 1715 A. D. (vide Stein's cat. p. 317-318).

सदाचारविवरण by शङ्कर.

सदाचारसंग्रह by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

सदाचारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटनाथ. Vide under स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

सदाचारसंग्रह by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट (I. O cat. p. 590 No. 1800). Probably a spurious work. In N. vol. I p. 103 author's name is wanting, though the first verse is same as in I. O. cat. p. 590.

सदाचारसंग्रह by श्रीनिवासपण्डित in three काण्डs on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त.

सदाचारसमुच्चय.

सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ. In 40 verses.

C. by तृहरि, pupil of मध्व. Baroda O. I. No. 1884.

C. by रामाचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 2619.

सदाचारस्मृति by नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ. In Bik. cat. p. 449 the work is styled °स्मृतिटीका. So also in Stein's cat. p. 107.

सदाचारस्मृति by राघवेन्द्रयति on आह्निक (C. P. cat. 6193).

सदाचारस्मृति by श्रीनिवास (C. P. cat. 6192).

सदाचारस्मृतिव्याख्या श्रीरसिन्धु (Baroda Oriental Institute No. 1880). Mentions प्रयोगपारिजात.

सद्धर्मचन्द्रोदय m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

सद्धर्मचिन्तामणि m. in आचारमयूख.

सद्धर्मतत्त्वाख्याह्निक by हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश of मथुरा. In 62 verses. He wrote आचारतत्त्व also.

सद्वृत्तरत्नमाला.

सनत्कुमारसंहिता m. in त्रिस्थलीसेतु and नि. सि.

संतानदीपिका- gives astrological reasons for a man's being issueless.

संतानदीपिका by केशव.

संतानदीपिका by महादेव.

संतानदीपिका by हरिनाथाचार्य.

संदर्भसूतिका com. on हारलता q. v.

संध्यार्कमरिका by सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर.

संध्यात्रयभाष्य by परशुराम (Baroda O. I. 6463). Also called द्विजकल्पलता.

संध्यादिब्रह्मकर्मन्.

संध्यानिर्णय.

संध्यानिर्णयकल्पवल्ली by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित and लक्ष्मी in four गुच्छs. Hultzsch R. I. No. 442 extract p. 80.

संध्यापद्धति m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघु°.

संध्याप्रयोग N. vol. X. p. 343.

संध्यारत्नप्रदीप by आशाधरभट्ट in 3 किरणs. Baroda O. I. No. 29.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य or संध्याभाष्य by आनन्दतीर्थ.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदैवज्ञ, in four chapters (BBRAS. cat. p. 237).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभट्ट and लक्ष्मी, and pupil of मुकुन्दाश्रम and कृष्ण. Hultzsch's R. I p. 58. This is also called संध्यावन्दनपद्धति. Pr. in Anan. P.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by चौण्डपार्य, son of चिक्कयार्य and कामाम्बा (for आश्वलायनीयs); composed at request of चामुण्डि, son of भानु.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by तिर्मलयज्वन् or तिरुमल°.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by नारायणपण्डित, who composed 60 works.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by रामाश्रमयति, pupil of महादेव ; composed at Benares in शके 1574 (1652-53 A. D.).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by विद्यारण्य (on ऋग्वेदिसन्ध्या and तैत्तिरीयसंध्या).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by वेङ्कटाचार्य (on ऋक्संध्या).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by व्यास, pupil of नृसिंह. Stein's cat. p. 256.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by शङ्कराचार्य ?

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by शत्रुघ्न (Ulwar cat. No. 1514).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ.

संध्यावन्दनमन्त्र- there are several works with this title for the followers of the different Vedas.

संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका by वनमालिमिश्र, pupil of भट्टोजि. Stein's cat. p. 256. About 1650 A. D.

संध्यारत्नप्रदीप by आशाधरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 29).

संध्यावन्दनविवरण- from the द्विजकल्पलता.

संध्याविधिमन्त्रसमूहटीका by रामानन्दतीर्थ.

संध्यासूत्रप्रवचन by हलायुध.

संन्यासकर्मकारिका.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of जनार्दनभट्ट.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by शङ्कराचार्य.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति attributed to शौनक

संन्यासग्रहणरत्नमाला by भीमाशङ्करशर्मन् (Baroda O. I. 12305).

संन्यासग्राह्यपद्धति alias संन्यासप्रयोग alias सप्तसूत्री ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (on rites when a person enters order of संन्यास).

संन्यासदीपिका by अग्निहोत्रिगोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. 10057).

संन्यासदीपिका by सच्चिदानन्दाश्रम pupil of नृसिंहाश्रम (Ulwar cat. extract 363.

संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह by अच्युताश्रम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by वल्लभाचार्य in verse.

C. by same.

C. विवरण by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर. D. C. ms. No. 175 of 1884-86.

C. by रघुनाथ, pupil of विट्ठलदीक्षित, BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 327.

C. by विट्ठलेश.

संन्यासपद्मञ्जरी by वरदराजभट्ट.

संन्यासपद्धति m. in नि. सि., आचारमयूख.

संन्यासपद्धति by अच्युताश्रम.

संन्यासपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, the founder of the माध्वमत (1119-1199 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 318 for extract.

संन्यासपद्धति by निम्बार्कशिष्य.

संन्यासपद्धति by ब्रह्मानन्दिन्. Baroda O. I. No. 1676 is a संन्यासपद्धति following ब्रह्मानन्दीयपद्धति.

संन्यासपद्धति by रुद्रदेव (extracted from प्रतापनारसिंह).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (I. O. cat. p. 521 No. 1642).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शौनक (N. vol. II. p. 101).

संन्यासभेदनिर्णय.

संन्यासरत्नावलि by पद्मनाभभट्टारक (according to माध्व tenets).

संन्यासरीति.

संन्यासवरण by वल्लभाचार्य. N. vol. X. p. 178.

संन्यासविधि by विष्णुतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8512).

संन्यासाह्निक.

संन्यासिपद्धति (for वैष्णवs) I. O. cat. p. 523.

संन्यासिमरणोत्तरविधि Stein's cat. p. 107.

संन्यासिसन्ध्या.

संन्यासिसमाराधन.

संन्यासिसापिण्ड्यविधि by वेदान्तरामानुज तातदास, on the ascetic's son performing सपिण्डीकरण for his father.

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धार by कृष्णतात (on the necessity of सपिण्डीकरण for यतिs).

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धारखण्डन (Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. VI p. 2314 No. 3093).

सपिण्डनिर्णय.

सपिण्डीकरण.

सपिण्डीकरणखण्डन.

सपिण्डीकरणविधि.

सपिण्डीकरणश्राद्ध.

सपिण्डीकरणान्तकर्म.

सपिण्डीकरणान्वष्टका.

सपिण्डीश्राद्ध by रघुवर (C. P. cat. No. 6221).

सप्तपाकयज्ञभाष्य.

सप्तपाकयज्ञशेष. Divided into four प्रश्नs, each प्रश्न being divided into अध्यायs. N. vol. II. pp. 122-125.

सप्तपाकसंस्थाविधि by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, on श्रवणाकर्म, सर्पबलि, आश्वयुजी, आग्रयण, अष्टका and पार्वणश्राद्ध. Names हेमाद्रि and कौस्तुभ.

सप्तमठाम्नायिक- vide मठाम्नायादिविचार.

सप्तर्षिमत or -स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति in 36 verses (I. O. cat. p. 402). The seven sages are नारद, वसिष्ठ, कौशिक, पैङ्गल, गर्ग, कश्यप, कण्व.

सप्तर्षिस्मृतिसंग्रह.

सप्तव्यसनकथासमुच्चय by सोमकीर्ति आचार्य (N. VIII. p. 144).

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by बालकृष्ण, son of महादेव.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग from the राजधर्मकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट.

सप्तसूत्रसंन्यासपद्धति. Rules for ordination of saṁnyāsins and for the ten orders (तीर्थ, आश्रम, अरण्य, गिरि, पर्वत, सागर, सरस्वती, भारती and पुरी) and account of the ten great teachers from ब्रह्मा to शंकराचार्य and the latter's disciples. N. vol. VI. p. 295.

समापत्तिलक्षण.

समयकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

समयकल्पतरु by पन्तोजीभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट. Vide Bik. cat. p. 451 (which gives only एकादशीनिर्णय out of it).

समयनय by विश्वेश्वर, son of दिनकर, for शम्भुराज (the Maratha king Sambhaji) in 1681.

समयनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट on times proper for religious rites; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 205) dated śake 1602 (1680–81 A. D.).

समयनिर्णय- the 5th part of the प्रतापमार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र. Composed at the order of king प्रताप(रुद्रदेव). About 1500-1525 A. D.

समयप्रकाश by मुकुन्दलाल.

समयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्रयज्वन्. Vide N. vol. VIII. p. 213.

समयप्रकाश by विष्णुशर्मा described as स्वराट्सम्राडग्निचित्स्थपतिमहायाज्ञिक. It is a part of a digest called कीर्तिप्रकाश; composed by order of कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह, born in गौर family. His बिरुद्s are 'कोदण्डपरशुराममानोन्नत' which are the same as those of मदनसिंहदेव under whom मदनरत्न was compiled. It is probably this work that is mentioned by श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु० as समयप्रकाश.

समयप्रदीप by विठ्ठलदीक्षित (C. P. cat. 6284).

समयप्रदीप by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89. C. जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनठक्कुर.

समयप्रदीप by हरिहरभट्टाचार्य, composed in śake 1481 (शाके महीमण्डलवेदचन्द्रसंख्यागते) i. e. 1559-60 A.D. Doubtful whether he was father of रघु०. N. vol.III. pp. 55-56 and Baroda O. I. No. 10120. It deals with astrological मुहूर्तs for religious rites.

समयमनोरमा (C. P. cat. 6286).

समयमयूख or कालमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 106. Pr. by Mr. Gharpure.

समयमयूख by कृष्णभट्ट.

समयरत्न by मणिराम.

समयालोक by पद्मनाभभट्ट. Vide दुर्गावतीप्रकाश.

समयोद्योत- part of मदनरत्न.

समरसार by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास. Deals with astrological calculations from names of belligerents &c.

C. by भरत younger brother of author. Stein's cat. p. 174.

C. by शिवदास, son of सूर्यदास and विशालाक्षा. He calls the author his गुरु. N. II. pp. 204-206.

समस्तकालनिर्णयाधिकार.

समानप्रवरग्रन्थ- Stein's cat. p. 107.

समावर्तनकालप्रायश्चित्त.

समावर्तनप्रयोग by श्यामसुन्दर.

समुदायप्रकरण by जगन्नाथसूरि.

समुद्रकरभाष्य on श्राद्धसूत्र m. in आह्निकतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०.

समुद्रयानमीमांसा.

संप्रदायप्रदीप by गदाद्विवेदिन्; composed at वृन्दावन in संवत् 1610 (1553-4 A. D.); in five प्रकरणs; gives परम्परा of विष्णुभक्तिमार्ग from पुरुषोत्तम, ब्रह्मा, नारद, कृष्णद्वैपायन, शुक; speaks of the तिरोधान of the path and then of वल्लभ, his son विट्ठल, his sons गिरिधर and others who were living when work was composed; mentions the five things (वस्तुपञ्चक) on which वल्लभ dwelt (viz. गुरुसेवा, भागवतार्थ, भगवत्स्वरूपनिर्णय, भगवत्सेवा, नैरपेक्ष्य); narrates stories of कुमारपाल and हेमचन्द्र, शङ्कराचार्य and सुरेश्वर, मध्वाचार्य, रामानुज and निम्बादित्य and of birth of वल्लभ while his parents were running away from Kāśī. D. C. ms. No. 176 of 1884-86.

संबन्धगणपति by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्करसूरि, on auspicious times for marriage, forms of marriage etc. About 1685 A. D.

संबन्धचूडामणि Ano.; on prohibited degrees of relationship in marriage

संबन्धतत्त्व m. in नि. सि.

संबन्धनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चाननभट्टाचार्य on relationship that allowed or disallowed marriage between the parties (such as सपिण्ड, समानोदक, सगोत्र, समानप्रवर, बान्धव).

संबन्धप्रदीपिका by विद्यानिधि (Baroda O. I. 10106).

संबन्धरहस्य m. in स्मृतिरत्नावली.

संबन्धविवेक by भवदेवभट्ट m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व. Vide sec. 73.

संबन्धविवेक by शूलपाणि; m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व, who mentions a परिशिष्ट thereto in संस्कारतत्त्व. Vide sec. 95 and N. (new series) vol. I preface p. X.

संबन्धविवेकपरिशिष्ट of धनञ्जय m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व (p. 891 of रघु०). This is probably a परिशिष्ट to भवदेव's work.

संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश or उद्वाहव्यवस्था (N. II. p. 334, different from उद्वाहव्यवस्था above).

सरटपतनशान्ति.

सरला (seems to be a भाष्य on गोभिलगृह्य) m. by रघु० in उद्वाहतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व and छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व.

सरस्वतीदशश्लोकी.

सरस्वतीविलास by प्रतापरुद्रदेव of the गजपति dynasty of Orissa. Vide sec. 100.

सरोजकलिका by भास्वत्कविरत्न. Contains dissertations on topics of धर्म such as श्राद्ध, आशौच, शुद्धि, गोत्र for purposes of marriage. Mitra regards it as ancient, as it names no work (N. vol. VI. p. 39).

सरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार by कृष्णभट्ट. Ulwar cat. extract No. 370. Peterson seems to be wrong in saying that सरोजसुन्दर is the author (Ulwar cat. No. 1537).

सर्पबलि.

सर्वतीर्थयात्राविधि by कमलाकर.

सर्वदेवताप्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 219.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by a son of रामचन्द्रदीक्षित.

सर्वदेवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Vide धर्मप्रकाश.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका of वल्लभ in 426 verses on रामभक्ति in various months and तिथिs and connected festivals and rites such as मदनोत्सव on चैत्रद्वादशी, क्षीराब्धिशयनोत्सव on आषाढशुक्लद्वादशी, मुद्राधारणविधि, चातुर्मास्यव्रतविधि (D. C. ms. 331 of 1887-91).

सर्वपुराणसार by शङ्करानन्द.

सर्वपुराणार्थसंग्रह by वेङ्कटराय.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदेव.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्रिन or बालसूरि, son of शेषभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट कागलकर. Wrote under Tanjore king, Śarabha, son of Tulaja.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तलक्षण.

सर्वव्रतोद्यापन by अनन्तदेव.

सर्वव्रतोद्यापनप्रयोग.

सर्वशान्ति.

सर्वशान्तिप्रयोग- quotes हेमाद्रि (Bik. cat. p. 459).

सर्वशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by कमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 744 (ms. dated śake 1637) and Bik. cat. p. 459.

सर्वसंस्कारसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.

सर्वसारसंग्रह by भट्टोजि. Between 1600-1650.

सर्वस्मृतिसंग्रह by सर्वक्रतुवाजपेययाजिन्.

सर्वाग्रयणकालनिर्णय.

सर्वाद्भुतशान्ति.

सर्वारिष्टशान्ति.

सर्वोपयुक्तकारिका- Ano. ; in 14 verses on श्राद्ध,

C. Ano. (by one familiar with Marathi as he translates कोद्रव as पाकड, यावनाल as जोंधळा, राजमाष as अलसंदा). Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection. The colophon at end says that कारिकाs follow भट्टोजि's work. The first verse on तिलतर्पणनिषिद्धदिन is भौमेर्के 'भृगुजे मघायुहनिशासतम्यनक्षाह्वया नन्द्राजन्मदिनेषु संधियुगेल नो तर्पणं स्यात्तिलैः। नोद्वाहव्रतचौलवृद्धिषु समार्धार्धकमासं क्रमान्नो दुष्येषु सुतौ महालयगयापुण्याहतीर्थादिषु ॥'.

सहगमनविधि or सतीविधान ascribed to गोविन्दराज (I. O. cat. p. 578 No. 774). In 66 verses.

सहगमनश्राद्ध.

सहचारविधि on ceremonies performed when a wife burnt herself on her husband's pyre.

सहचारविधि or सहगमनविधि- D. C. Ms. No. 183 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1686.

सहस्रचण्डीविधान by कमलाकर.

सहस्रचण्डीविधि (Ulwar cat. 1528, extract 365).

सहस्रचण्डीशतचण्डीविधान.

सहस्रचण्ड्यादिविधि by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Refers to निर्णयसिन्धु as his own work (N. IX. pp. 203-204). About 1612 A. D.

सहस्रभोजनविधि. Stein's cat. p. 107.

सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या by भास्करराय, son of गम्भीररायदीक्षित (Ulwar cat. extract 28). The original sūtras are बौधायन's.

सहानुमरणविवेक by अनन्तराम विद्यावागीश, son of रामचरण न्यायालङ्कार. Mentions शुद्धितत्त्व, विवादभङ्गार्णव. About 1800 A. D. (N. vol. VII. p. 223).

सद्वय by हरि on आचार. N. vol VII. p. 281.

सांवत्सरिकश्राद्ध.

सांवत्सरिकैकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धप्रयोग according to यजुर्वेद. N. II. p. 66.

सागर- several works are so called viz. अद्भुतसागर, दानसागर, स्मृतिसागर.

सागारधर्मामृत.

सागरसंहिता m. by हेमाद्रि II. p. 852.

साग्निकविधि rules for funeral ceremonies of agnihotrins.

सांख्यायनगृह्यसूत्र- vide शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र.

सांख्यायनगृह्यसंग्रह by वासुदेव. Vide शाङ्खायन° ; (pr. in Ben. S. series).

साधनचन्द्रिका by केशवेन्द्रस्वामी on observances of वैष्णवs.

साधनीद्वादशी (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 110 b).

साधारणप्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग- according to यजुर्वेद (N. II. p. 632).

सापिण्डीमञ्जरी by नागेश.

सापिण्ड्यकल्पलता or- लतिका by सदाशिवदेव alias आपदेव, son of श्रीपति, son of नीलकण्ठ, in 24 verses (or 25 in some mss.), on सापिण्ड्य for marriage. He was a resident of देवालयपुर (D. C. ms. 613 of 1882-83 copied in śake 1760). The author was pupil of विट्ठल. The work takes सपिण्ड to mean connected by particles of the same body. Vide N. (new series) vol. III preface pp. VIII-IX and p. 222 where the verses are said to be 36.

C. by नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव (pr. in सरस्वतीभवन series, 1927, with text). He was the author's grandson and pupil of नागेश. Mentions मस्करि-सतर्षि, वीरमित्रोदय, सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप of his teacher नागेश, द्वैतनिर्णय.

सापिण्ड्यतत्त्वप्रकाश of धरणीधर, son of रेवाधर (Baroda O. I. 12783).

सापिण्ड्यदीपिका by नागेश. Same as सापिण्ड्यमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

सापिण्ड्यदीपिका or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट (Bhadkamkar collection). Mentions प्रवरनिर्णय. Probably it is this that is mentioned in नि. सि. He was the grand-uncle of कमलाकर and so flourished about 1520-1580 A. D. D. C. ms. 208 of A 1882-83 is called अनुकल्प सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय and discusses certain views of श्रीधर about तृतीय कन्यापरिणयन. D. C. Ms. 129 of 1895-98 is dated संवत् 1647 (1590 A. D.).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट. Names नन्दपण्डित, अनन्तदेव, गोविन्दार्णव, वासुदेवभट्ट (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated śake 1725).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय of भट्टोजि. D. C. Ms. No. 622 of 1883-84 begins 'अथ सप्तमीपञ्चमीनिर्णयः'.

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण (C. P. cat. No. 6378-80).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by रामभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 5032).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट ; m. by व्य.म. The same as सापिण्ड्यदीपिका (D. C. ms. 128 of 1895-98).

सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप of नागेश ; m. in com. on सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सापिण्ड्यमीमांसा m. in नि. सि. Probably the same as सापिण्ड्यदीपिका of श्रीधर.

सापिण्ड्यविचार by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 1947).

सापिण्ड्यविषय by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

सापिण्ड्यसार by धरणीधर, son of रेवाधर (Baroda O. I. 12784).

सापिण्ड्यश्राद्धविधि.

सामगव्रतप्रतिष्ठा by रघुनन्दन.

सामगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघु०. Vide वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व above.

सामगाह्निक- vide छन्दोगाह्निक.

सामगृह्यपरिशिष्ट- vide गोभिलगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

सामगृह्यवृत्ति by रुद्रस्कन्द.

सामवेदीयदशकर्म of भवदेव- vide कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति of भवदेव. Sec. 73.

सामवेदीयसंस्कारपद्धति by वीरेश्वर, son of देवादित्य. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 221). About 1300 A. D.

सामान्यक्रमवृत्ति.

सामान्यप्रघट्टक (part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

सामान्यहोमपद्धति.

सायणीय- m. in नि. सि. This is probably the प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सायण.

सायंप्रातरौपासन.

सारग्राहकर्मविपाक. Composed by the eldest son of काह्नडदेव, son of पद्मनाभ, a नागरब्राह्मण and compiled in संवत् 1440 (1384 A. D.) at नन्दपद्रनगर under the patronage of कर्णसिंह, minister of king दुर्गसिंह, son of मण्डलपाल. Author says he bases his work on कर्मवि-

पाक of मौलगिकृप or मौलिगि°, from which he borrowed matter of the extent of 1200 श्लोकs, while his own work extends to 4900 श्लोक units, the author borrowed 276 श्लोक units from विज्ञानेश and 500 from बौधायन. There are 55 प्रकरणs and 45 अधिकारs. Vide I.O.cat. p. 573 No. 1767, Baroda O. I. No. 9459 and 9082 and Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83 p. 63. There are quotations from दानखण्ड and आचारदीपक. The Baroda Ms. 9082 was copied in संवत् 1496 (1439 A.D.).

सारमञ्जरी- com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश by श्रीनाथ.

सारसंग्रह- vide under चाणक्यनीति.

सारसंग्रह m. in मद्. पा., तिथितत्त्व, दीक्षातत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु°, सं. कौ.

सारसंग्रह. Ano. on auspicious and inauspicious days for religious rites in 881 verses. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 535 No. 1679) dated संवत् 1774 (1717-18 A. D.)

सारसंग्रह by मुरारिभट्ट.

सारसंग्रह by राघवभट्ट m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु°.

सारसंग्रहदीपिका by रामप्रसादद्वेवशर्मन्.

सारसंग्रह by शम्भुदास.

सारसमुच्चय m. in हेमाद्रिदानखण्ड and शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक.

सारसागर.

सारार्थचतुष्टय by वरदाचार्य.

सारावलि m. by अपरार्क p. 872 (on विष्कम्भयोग). Probably an astrological work, such as that of कल्याणवर्मन्, which is mentioned even by Alberuni and so was earlier than 1000 A. D.

सारावलि- vide स्मृतिसारावलि.

सारासारविवेक.

सारोद्धार (com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीविवरण) by शम्भुभट्ट.

सिंहस्थपद्धति- (on merit by bathing in गोदावरी when Jupiter is in Leo). N. vol. X. p. 348. Based on हेमाद्रि.

सिद्धान्तचिन्तामणि m. by रघु° in मलमासतत्त्व.

सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना by धनिराम (C. P. cat. 6521).

सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक by कमलाकर. Vide तत्त्वविवेक.

सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय by शिवनन्दन (C. P. cat. 6522).

सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by रघुराम.

सिद्धान्तपीयूष by विश्वपति written for Colebrooke.

सिद्धान्तबिन्दु on श्राद्ध (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 143 b).

सिद्धान्तमञ्जरी- vide दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by मोहनमिश्र.

सिद्धान्तशेखर m. in the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघु°. Probably a तान्त्रिक work. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

सिद्धान्तशेखर by विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर.

सिद्धान्तसन्दर्भ m. by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

सिद्धान्तसुधोद्धार m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

सीमन्तकर्मपद्धति.

सीमन्तनिर्णय.

सुकृत्यप्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र on आचार, आशौच, श्राद्ध and असत्परिग्रह (acceptance of gifts from improper persons). N. vol. II. p. 136..

सुगतिसोपान by गणेश्वरमिश्र, son of देवादित्य. He was uncle of चण्डेश्वर. Vide pp. 370-371 above. Author styles himself महाराजाधिराज and says he was assisted by देवादित्यसांधिविग्रहिक (his father) ; m. by रघु° in शुद्धितत्त्व and by चक्रधर. About 1st half of 14th century.

सुज्ञानदुर्गोदय by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकरभट्ट, on 16 संस्कारs. Composed about 1675 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 475).

सुदर्शनकालप्रभा by रामेश्वरशास्त्री.

सुदर्शनभाष्य- com. of सुदर्शनाचार्य on आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र ; m. by भट्टोजि in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान, नि. सि.. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. अच्छविला by ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ ; m. in नि सि.

सुदर्शनमीमांसाविवेक (Baroda O. I. 4085). Justifies तप्तचक्रादिपञ्चायुधधारण by वैष्णवs ; ms. copied in संवत् 1834.

सुधीचन्द्रिका.

सुधीमयूख.

सुधीविलोचन m. in श्राद्धप्रयोग of गोपालसूरि and in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, in वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

सुधीविलोचन by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

सुधीविलोचनसार.

सुन्दरराजीय m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

सुप्रभा- com. by अनन्त, son of सिद्धेश्वर, on the कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द; composed in 1692 A. D.

सुबोधिनी प्रयोगपद्धति- pr. in Kāśi S. series (कृष्णयजुर्वेदीया and सामवेदीया).

सुबोधिनी (होमपद्धति) by अनन्तभट्ट on the pacification of the नवग्रहs.

सुबोधिनी (com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी) by अनन्त, son of कमलाकर. 1610-1660 A. D.

सुबोधिनी by महादेव.

सुबोधिनी by रत्नपाणिशर्मन्, son of सञ्जीवेश्वर. Compiled under orders of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला. A स्मृति digest on ten संस्कारs, श्राद्ध, daily religious duties. (N. VI. p. 47).

सुबोधिनी com. on the मिताक्षरा by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 93. Text on व्यवहार and translation pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सुबोधिनी (प्रयोगपद्धति) by शिवराम, son of विश्राम, for students of सामवेद. Mentions his own कृत्यचिन्तामणि. About 1640 A. D.

सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्र- Vide sec. 29 and Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

1919-22 pp. 5160-62 for a prose सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्र.

सुमन्तुस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क.

सूतकदीपिका- vide under त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

सूतकनिर्णय (also called अष्टकाशौचभाष्य on the margin). The first verse is नाम्न:प्राग्दन्तजातेकपनयनविधेरापूर्वोढस्त्रिरात्रं &c.'; ms. in Stein's cat. (p. 319) is dated संवत् 1466 (1409-19 A. D.).

सूतकनिर्णय of भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर (in Bhadkamkar collection) Mentions माधव, हरदत्त, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

सूतकसार.

सूतकसिद्धान्त by देवयाज्ञिक.

सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका by जयनारायणतर्कपञ्चानन.

सूरिसंतोष m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व.

सूर्यनमस्कारविधि.

सूर्यप्रकाश by हरिसामन्तराज, son of कृष्ण. A comprehensive digest on धर्मशास्त्र. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only व्रतखण्ड.

सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव, on the installation of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु in a temple.

सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति by महादेवभट्ट.

सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति by माधव, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1580.

सूर्यार्णवकर्मविपाक (Ulwar cat. extract No. 293) pr. in Bombay.

सूर्योदयनिबन्ध m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति of नारायण.

सेतुयात्राविधि.

सोदकुम्भश्राद्ध.

सोमनाथीय by सोमनाथभट्ट, son of सूरभट्ट and younger brother of वेङ्कटाद्रियज्वन्, of the निगल family.

सोमवारव्रतोद्यापन.

सोमवारामावास्याव्रतकालनिर्णय.

सोमशेखर (निबन्ध) m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०. सरस्वतीविलास p. 422 (Mysore ed.) quotes सोमशेखर on दायभाग.

सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम by अच्युत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).

सौचनिर्णय.

सौचप्रकरण.

सौधर्मकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट, m. in विधानपारिजात.

सौधर्मपद्धति by त्र्यम्बक.

सौपुनरुद्भवखण्डनमालिका by रामचेन्द्र.

सौशूद्रदिनचर्या.

स्थालीपाक (आपस्तम्बीय).

,, (आश्वलायनीय).

स्थालीपाकनिर्णय.

स्थालीपाकप्रयोग (आश्वलायनीय).

स्थालीपाकप्रयोग by कमलाकर. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 236.

स्थालीपाकप्रयोग by नारायण.

स्थावरप्राणप्रतिष्ठा.

स्थिरलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा.

स्नानविधिसूत्रपरिशिष्ट or स्नानसूत्र or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र by कात्यायन.

C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by कर्क.

C. स्नानसूत्रदीपिका by गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव.

CC. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by काम याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि.

C. by त्रिमल्लनाथ (केशव ?).

C. by महादेवाग्निचित् (N. vol. VII. p. 304).

C. स्नानपद्धति or स्नानविधिपद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by हरिजीवनमिश्र. Says that he follows in this work his भाष्य.

C. स्नानव्याख्या and पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिहरिहर.

स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानक्रमविवरण by चण्डूक. (Baroda O. I. 296 dated संवत् 1593).

स्मार्तकुतूहल.

स्मार्तगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर (C. P. cat. No. 6710).

स्मार्तदिनमणि (Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75).

स्मार्तदीपिका Ano.; follows आश्वलायन. Burnell's Tanj. cat. 139a.

स्मार्तपदार्थसंग्रह from प्रयोगपद्धति of गङ्गाधर.

स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका by द्वैपायनाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 6986).

स्मार्तपरिभाषा m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of कृष्णपण्डित.

स्मार्तप्रदीपिका (Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75).

स्मार्तप्रयोग by बोपण्णभट्ट.

„ (हिरण्यकेशीय).

C. वैजयन्ती.

स्मार्तप्रयोगकारिका.

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त by तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालम्भट्ट, surnamed गहर.

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग or प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल (काळे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्ण, father of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1660-1680 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 745).

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार- same as स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग and प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार of दिवाकर.

स्मार्तमार्तण्डप्रयोग by मार्तण्डसोमयाजिन्.

स्मार्तव्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथसार्वभौम, son of मथुरेश, composed at the order of king रत्नेश्वरराय, in śake 1583 (i. e. 1661-62 A. D.). Divided into sections on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, अधिकारि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, दाय. (D. C. ms. No. 305 of 1886-92 on तिथि, N. II. p. 76 on उद्वाह, N. I. p. 284 on दाय).

स्मार्तसमुच्चय of नन्दपण्डित, son of देवशर्मन्. Vide sec. 105 p. 431. Refers to दत्तकमीमांसा as his.

स्मार्तस्फुटपद्धति of नारायणदीक्षित. (C. P. cat. No. 6717).

मार्तण्डविला.

स्मार्ताधानपद्धति by **गोविन्द**.

स्मार्ताधानप्रयोग of **पीताम्बर**, son of **काश्यपाचार्य**. (BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 747). Mentions **मदनरत्न**. Vide under **धर्मार्णव**. Between 1500 and 1675 A. D.

स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति of **अनन्तभट्ट**, son of **विश्वनाथ**. Also styled **अनन्तभट्टी**. A manual of initiatory rites with the prayers required therein. Vide under **प्रयोगरत्न**. According to **आश्वलायन**. (I. O. cat. p. 515).

स्मार्तोपासनपद्धति from the **प्रयोगरत्न**.

स्मार्तोल्लास by **शिवप्रसाद**, son of **श्रीनिवास** of **पुष्करपुर** (Baroda O. I. 11958). Ms. dated **शके** 1610. Mentions **मदनरत्न**, **टोडरानन्द**. Between 1580-1680 A. D. On **आधानकाल**, **मुहूर्तविचार**, duties of **अग्निहोत्रि**, on difficult points about **रजस्वला** &c.

स्मृतिकदम्ब by **कञ्च पेद्दुभट्ट**. Hultzsch R. I. No. 657.

स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम by **शुक्ल ईश्वरनाथ**. C. by author. Stein's cat p. 108.

स्मृतिकोशदीपिका by **तिम्मणभट्ट** (Baroda O. I. 2008 on **आह्निक** only).

स्मृतिकौमुदी by **देवनाथठक्कुर**. A digest on **चातुर्वर्ण्य**, **आचार**, **आह्निक**, **संस्कार**, **श्राद्ध**, **आशौच**, **दायभाग**, **व्रत**, **दान**, **उत्सर्ग**. (N. vol. V. p. 237).

स्मृतिकौमुदी by **मदनपाल**. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384. Also styled **शूद्रधर्मोत्पलद्योतिनी**.

स्मृतिकौमुदी by **रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य** (N. VI. p. 140).

स्मृतिकौमुदीटीका by **कृष्णनाथ**.

स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of **अनन्तदेव**. Sec. 109. Divided into 12 **दीधिति**s.

स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by **वेङ्कटाद्रि**. Vide **आशौचनिर्णय**.

स्मृतिग्रन्थराज by **सार्वभौम**.

स्मृतिचन्द्र m. in **संस्कारमयूख** of **सिद्धेश्वर**.

स्मृतिचन्द्र by **भवदेवन्यायालङ्कार**, son of **हरिहर**, composed in 1720-22 A. D. and divided into 16 **कला**s on **तिथि**, **व्रत**, **संस्कार**, **आह्निक**, **श्राद्ध**, **आचार**, **प्रतिष्ठा**, **वृषोत्सर्ग**, **परीक्षा**, **प्रायश्चित्त**, **व्यवहार**, **गृहयज्ञ**, **वेदमख**, **मलिम्लुच**, **दान**, **शुद्धि**. Mentions **श्रीदत्त** and **संवत्सरप्रदीप**. Imitates **रघु**°.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by **आपदेवमीमांसक**. On **काल**, **मलमास**, **व्रत**, **आह्निक**, **विवाह** and other **संस्कार**s, **स्त्रीधर्म**, **आश्रमधर्म**, **अन्त्येष्टि**, **आशौच**, **श्राद्ध**. (N. VI. 301).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by **कुबेर** (m. in **दत्तकचन्द्रिका**).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by **केशवादित्यभट्ट** (Bik. cat. 465). This entry is wrong, as the introductory verses and the verses at the end show that this is the same as **देवण्णभट्ट**'s work.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by **देवण्णभट्ट**, son of **केशवादित्यभट्ट**. Sec. 85 (pr. by Mr. Gharpure and in Mysore G. O. L. series)

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वामदेवभट्टाचार्य (N. IX. p. 137).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by शुकदेवमिश्र, son of विट्ठलमिश्र. On तिथिनिर्णय, शुद्धि, आशौच, व्यवहार. (I. O. cat. p. 471).

,, Ano. (N. vol. VIII. p. 153).

स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय by गणेशभट्ट (C. P. cat. No. 6723-24).

स्मृतिचरण by भवानीशङ्कर.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणि by गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र. Mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, and is mentioned in नृसिंहप्रसाद (I. O. cat. p. 444 on व्यवहार, which is 2nd परिच्छेद). About 1450-1500.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणिसंग्रह (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4978 on आह्निक).

स्मृतिचूडामणि or- मणिसंग्रह of वरदाचार्य, of the वात्स्यगोत्र.

स्मृतितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. It is the name of his digest containing 28 तत्त्वs. Sec. 102.

स्मृतितत्त्वप्रकाश by श्रीदेव.

स्मृतितत्त्वविनिर्णय or व्यवस्थार्णव by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Mentions शूलपाणि. 1500-1550 A. D. N. (new series) I. p. 413.

स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश and गौरी and judge at the court of भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला. About 1450-1500 A. D. On आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. N. vol. V. p. 184..

स्मृतितत्त्वसार (B. O. cat. vol. I No. 440).

स्मृतितत्त्वामृत of वर्धमान, son of भवेश and गौरी. N. vol. VI. p. 12 contains शान्तिकपौष्टिकावलि. Dealing with rites for propitiating adverse deities and portents and for consecrating works of public utility. N. VI. p. 57 is styled तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार (व्यवहारावलि) and in the concluding verses वर्धमान says that he composed four कुसुमs on आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. So स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक and तत्त्वामृ° are the same. It was completed under राम, son of भैरवेन्द्र.

स्मृतिदर्पण m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता, नृसिंहप्रसाद, शूद्रकमलाकर, विधानपारिजात. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिदर्पण (Baroda O. I. No. 10916 is an incomplete ms. in 598 verses). Names 36 स्मृतिकारs, कलिवर्ज्य (such as पुनर्विवाह).

स्मृतिदीपिका m. in सं. कौ., संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर. Earlier than 1650 A. D.

स्मृतिदीपिका of वामदेव उपाध्याय on times for श्राद्ध and other rites (N. vol. V. p. 157 and VII. 125).

स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन by चन्द्रशेखर- vide दुर्गभञ्जन.

स्मृतिनवनीत of वृषभाद्रिनाथ, son of नारसिंह, pupil of रामचन्द्र and श्रीनिवास.

स्मृतिनिबन्ध by नृसिंहभट्ट. An extensive digest on धर्मलक्षण, वर्णाश्रमधर्म, विवाहादिसंस्कार, सापिण्ड्य, आह्निक, आशौच, श्राद्ध, दायभाग, प्रायश्चित्त (N. VIII p. 174).

स्मृतिपरिभाषा by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय; contains general rules regarding ceremonial observances and proper seasons for them and on स्नान, ग्रहण, तिथिद्वैध, दान &c. Names स्मृतिमहार्णव, हरिहरमिश्र; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु०. About 1450-1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रकाश by भास्करभट्ट or हरिभास्करभट्ट, son of आयाजिभट्ट (or आपाजि-), son of हरिभट्ट (Bik. cat. p. 467 deals with portion on श्राद्ध).

स्मृतिप्रकाश by वासुदेव रथ (one facsicule pr. in B. I. series) on कालनिरूपण, संवत्सर, संक्रान्ति. Mentions माधवाचार्य and दिवाकरवाजपेयी. Later than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रदीप m. by हेमाद्रि (काल० p. 355).

स्मृतिप्रदीप by चन्द्रशेखरमहामहोपाध्याय on तिथि, आशौच, श्राद्ध.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका- vide धर्मदीपिका of चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका m. by भट्टोजि in his com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिप्रामाण्यवाद.

स्मृतिभास्कर m. by स्मृतिच०, प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, नृसिंहप्रसाद. Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2043 Nos. 2786-87 contains portions on यतिधर्म and शूद्रधर्म from a स्मृतिभास्कर.

स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ (N. vol. V. p. 108). From the introductory verses it appears to be the शान्तिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

स्मृतिभूषण by कोनेरिभट्ट, son of केशव. A digest of rituals for माध्व followers.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by गोविन्दराज. Sec. 76 pp. 311-313.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by रत्नधरमिश्र.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी Ano. (D. C. ms. No. 184 of 1884-86 on श्राद्ध).

स्मृतिमञ्जूषा m. in कालादर्श, स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ, छन्दोगाह्निक of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

स्मृतिमहाराज by कृष्णराज (Baroda O. I. No. 8023). It mentions मदनरत्न. Begins with गोदान and ends with मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठापन. It is styled कृष्णपद्धति also.

स्मृतिमहार्णव or स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि. Vide महार्णव and p. 308 above.

स्मृतिमहोदधि by परमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती.

स्मृतिमीमांसा by जैमिनि, m. by अपरार्क p. 206. A स्मृतिमीमांसा is m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, in the स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, by हेमाद्रि in व्रतखण्ड and परिशेषखण्ड and by नृसिंहप्रसाद.

स्मृतिमुक्ताफल of वैद्यनाथदीक्षित. A very popular स्मृति digest in southern India. Printed several times in Southern India at Chidamba-

ram, 1908, Kumbhakonam &c. On वर्णाश्रमधर्म, आह्निक, आशौच, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, काल. About 1600 A. D.

स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह by चिदम्बरेश्वर.

स्मृतिमुक्तावली of कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारनृसिंहभट्ट, son of विजयीन्द्रभट्ट; in 10 प्रकरणs.

स्मृतिरत्न m. by कालादर्श, सं. कौ., संस्काररमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

स्मृतिरत्न of रघुनाथभट्ट. Ms. (N. VII. p. 253) is dated शके 1699.

स्मृतिरत्नकोश.

स्मृतिरत्नमहोदधि by श्रीपरमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती. Contains षट्कर्मविचार, आचार, आशौच &c. Quotes माधवीय. (Vide Madras Govt. mss. cat. pp. 2055-57 Nos. 2802-4).

स्मृतिरत्नविवेक m. by चण्डेश्वर and by शूलपाणि in his श्राद्धविवेक. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by नागयार्य (Baroda O. I. 9919).

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by ताम्रपर्णाचार्य.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by भट्टोजि (on प्रायश्चित्त and आशौच). Vide Mad. Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2059 No. 2806.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विठ्ठल, son of केशव, a resident of विठुरपुर. Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 135a. From the place of residence and contents, it appears that this is the same as the preceding.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशव, residing at विठुरपुर; on आह्निक, 16 संस्कारs, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहण, दान, तिथिनिर्णय, प्रायश्चित्त, आशौच, नित्यनैमित्तिक (vide D. C. ms. No. 52 of 1866-68). Bik. cat. p. 467 gives शिवभट्ट as father's name.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेङ्कटनाथ, son of श्रीरङ्गनाथाचार्य, son of सरस्वतीवल्लभ, surnamed वैदिकसार्वभौम. आह्निक portion pr. Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara Press at Kalyan. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, स्मृतिच°, अखण्डादर्श, माधवीय, स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय and इतिहाससमुच्चय. Also called सदाचारसंग्रह.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेदाचार्य in 15 chapters on नित्यनैमित्तिकाचार, गर्भाधानादिसंस्कार, तिथिनिरूपण, श्राद्ध, शान्ति, तीर्थयात्रा, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य, व्रत, प्रायश्चित्त, आशौच, अन्त्येष्टिकर्म; written under patronage of कामरूप king. Quotes भवदेव (on प्रायश्चित्त), जीमूतवाहन, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, आचारसागर, दानसागर, महार्णव. It is this that is probably m. in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु°. Between 1250-1500 A. D. I. O. cat. pp. 473-474, N. VII. 45 (the colophon says that the प्रायश्चित्त section is the 18th परिच्छेद).

स्मृतिरत्नावलि m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट, नि. सि., शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित.

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by मधुसूदनदीक्षित, son of महेश्वर. (Bik. cat. p. 467 contains श्राद्ध portion only).

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति. Composed in 1657 A. D.; vide under दायभागविवेक. Stein's cat. p. 109.

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by वेणुराम. N. VII. p. 228.

स्मृतिरहस्य.

स्मृतिविवरण by आनन्दतीर्थ. Same as सदाचारस्मृति.

स्मृतिविवेक by मेधातिथि. Sec. 63 pp. 274-275.

स्मृतिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Sec. 95.

स्मृतिव्यवस्था by चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य of गौडदेश; ms. of शुद्धव्यावस्था (N. IV. 130) dated śake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.).

स्मृतिव्यवस्थार्णव (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 433).

स्मृतिशेखर or कस्तुरिस्मृति by कस्तुरि, son of नागय, on आचार. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 136a).

स्मृतिसंस्कारकौस्तुभ. Probably the same as संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

स्मृतिसंक्षेप by नरोत्तम on आशौच, सहमरण, षोडशदान. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 225 and vol. I. p. 414.

स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार by रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन्, son of मधुसूदनतर्कवागीश. On उद्वाह, उद्वाहकाल, गोत्र, प्रवर, सपिण्ड, समानोदक &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 225.

स्मृतिसंग्रह or संग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

स्मृतिसंग्रह.

(1) by कृष्णारि नारायण, m. by his son in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

(2) by दयाराम.

(3) by नीलकण्ठ (D. C. ms. No. 373 of 1875-76).

(4) by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य or नवद्वीप on अनध्याय, तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त, शुद्धि, उद्वाह, सापिण्ड्य. Also called व्यवस्थाविवेचन or व्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

(5) attributed to सायण and माधव.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by विद्यारण्य (Hultzsch R. I. No. 591.).

स्मृतिसंग्रह alias विद्यारण्यसंग्रह (in margin) a large work in 7000 ग्रन्थ (Baroda O. I. 11248).

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश. Is it same as स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ?

स्मृतिसंग्रह by हरदत्त.

स्मृतिसंग्रह- same as परमेश्वरीदासाब्धि.

स्मृतिसंग्रह on व्यवहार (Cal. S. College ms. cat. vol. II. p. 137 No. 141).

स्मृतिसंग्रहरत्नव्याख्यान- a com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत by रामचन्द्र, son of नारायणभट्ट (I. O. cat. p. 475). Seems to be the same as भट्टोजि's com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिसंग्रहसार of महेशपञ्चानन, founded on रघुनन्दन's स्मृतितत्त्व. N. VI. p. 235.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (ms. in Bombay University Library) in about 500

verses on आह्निक, शौच, स्नान, एकादशी &c. Quotes गरुडपुराण.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (from आचारतिलक or लघ्वाचारतिलक) in 321 verses on दन्तधावन, स्नान, संध्या, daily duties, श्राद्ध, एकादशी &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 7331).

स्मृतिसमुच्चय of विश्वेश्वर. It is said in JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII. that it is this work that is m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत°, हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III. 2. 686, दिव्यतत्त्व of रघु°, तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि.

स्मृतिसरोजकलिका by विष्णुशर्मन् in 8 sections (खण्ड s) on स्नान, पूजा, तिथि, श्राद्ध, सूतक, दान, यज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त. Enumerates 28 स्मृतिकार s by name (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4360 No. 2997).

स्मृतिसरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार. Vide सरोजसुन्दर.

स्मृतिसर्वस्व by नारायण of कृष्णनगर in the Hughli District. (I. O. cat. p. 448). Earlier than 1675 A. D. He speaks of a क्षयमास as yet to occur in śake 1603 (1681 A. D.).

स्मृतिसागर by कुल्लूकभट्ट; vide गोविन्दार्णव; m. in शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु°.

स्मृतिसागरसार m. in प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह of नारायणभट्ट and in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु°.

स्मृतिसार by केशवशर्मन् in 1359 verses on rites to be performed on several तिथि s.

स्मृतिसार by नारायण.

स्मृतिसार by महेश. On impurity due to birth and death. N. vol. III. p. 48.

स्मृतिसार by मुकुन्दलाल.

स्मृतिसार by याज्ञिकदेव in 311 verses culled from स्मृति s on दायभाग, श्राद्ध, यज्ञोपवीत, मलमास, आचार, स्नान, शुद्धि, सापिण्ड्य, आशौच. D. C. ms. No. 181 of 1895-1902 is dated संवत् 1652 (1595-96 A. D.).

स्मृतिसार by यादवेन्द्रभट्ट on the performance of festivals and rites on certain तिथि s such as कृष्णजन्माष्टमी, रामनवमी, and on दुर्गोत्सव, श्राद्ध, आशौच, प्रायश्चित्त; m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति. I. O. cat. p. 477; N. vol. IV. p. 213 (ms. dated śake 1619).

स्मृतिसार by श्रीकृष्ण.

स्मृतिसार by हरिनाथ. Sec. 91. The work is also called स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय.

स्मृतिसार or आशौचनिर्णय- a com. on a work by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिसारप्रदीप m. by रघुनन्दन.

स्मृतिसारव्यवस्था by विद्यारत्नस्मार्तभट्टाचार्य.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by कृष्णभट्ट.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by पुरुषोत्तमानन्द, pupil of परमहंसपूर्णानन्द, on आह्निक,

शौच, स्नान, त्रिपुण्ड्र, क्रमसंन्यास, श्राद्ध, विरजाहोम, स्त्रीसंन्यासविधि, क्षौरपर्वनिर्णय, यतिपार्वणश्राद्ध.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by महेश. Vide व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by याज्ञिकदेव. Seems to be same as स्मृतिसार with additions. Here the verses are 459. Vide D. C. ms. No. 344 of 1886-92.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वाचस्पति; mentions रघु° (I. O. cat. p. 450).

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विद्यानन्दनाथ.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, कल्पतरु, विद्याकरपद्धति. (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4264 No. 2944).

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ.

स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय on domestic observances; gives extracts from 28 sages on शौच, ब्रह्मचारि, आचार, दान, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त. Vide I. O. cat. p. 477 No. 1550 and Ulwar cat. extract 372, where it is said to have been compiled by धर्मशास्त्ररुचि (a lover of धर्मशास्त्र).

स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by हरिनाथ. Same as स्मृतिसार above.

स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व by वेङ्कटेश. Same as आशौचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारसागर m. in तिथितत्त्व of रघु°.

स्मृतिसारावलि m. in नि. सि.

स्मृतिसारोद्धार vide सत्यनारायणीयनिबन्ध. Pr. at Benares.

स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by इन्द्रदत्त उपाध्याय.

स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्रबुध, a com. on अपराजपद्धति.

स्मृतिसिन्धु by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

स्मृतिसिन्धु by श्रीनिवास, pupil of कृष्ण (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 135a) for वैष्णवs.

स्मृतिसुधाकर or वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध by ओझाशङ्कर, son of सुधाकर. N. vol. IV p. 271.

स्मृतिसुधाकर of शङ्करमिश्र. About 1600 A. D. (JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. X).

स्मृत्यधिकरण.

स्मृत्यर्थनिर्णय (on व्यवहार).

स्मृत्यर्थरत्नाकर alias स्मृत्यर्थसार.

स्मृत्यर्थसागर by छलारि नृसिंहाचार्य, son of नारायण. Based on मध्वाचार्य's सदाचारस्मृति; divided into four तरङ्गs on आह्निक, काल, आशौच and शुद्धि (Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 52 and BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 748 and Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. 285b). He says मध्वाचार्य was born in śake 1120. Mentions कमलाकर and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Later than 1675 A. D.

स्मृत्यर्थसार by नीलकण्ठाचार्य (C. P. cat. No. 6733).

स्मृत्यर्थसार by मुकुन्दलाल.

स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर. Sec. 81.

स्मृत्यर्थसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. 4088) summaries of the views

of 28 sages are given on शौच, आचमन, दन्तधावन, &c.; ms. dated संवत् 1743. The 28 sages are मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, विश्वामित्र, अत्रि, कात्यायन, वसिष्ठ, व्यास, उशनस्, बौधायन, दक्ष, शङ्ख, लिखित, आपस्तम्ब, अगस्त्य, हारीत, विष्णु, गोभिल, सुमन्तु, मनुस्वायंभुव, गुरु, नारद, पराशर, गर्ग, गौतम, यम, शातातप, अङ्गिरस्, संवर्त.

स्मृत्यालोक (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 449).

स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार by अनन्तराम. On ownership of property.

स्वत्ववाद (Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4782).

स्वत्वविचार N. (new series) vol. II. p. 226.

स्वत्वव्यवस्थार्णवसेतुबन्ध by रघुनाथसार्वभौम, in 6 परिच्छेदs on विभागनिरूपण, स्त्रीधन, स्त्रीधनाधिकारि, अपुत्रधनाधिकार.

स्वर्णवाद on स्वर्णवाद, प्रतिष्ठावाद, मणिपद्मीकरणवाद. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 229.

स्वर्गसाधन by रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. Appears to be different from the great रघुनन्दन. On श्राद्धाधिकारि, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, आशौचनिर्णय, वृषोत्सर्ग, षोडशश्राद्ध, पार्वणश्राद्ध &c. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 417.

स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति by जीवराम.

हनुमत्प्रतिष्ठा.

हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्र a वैष्णव work concerned with the consecration of images of gods and building temples; m. by रघु°, नि. सि. and हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

हरितालिकाव्रतनिर्णय.

हरितोषण by वेदान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

हरिदिनतिलक (on एकादशी fast) by चण्डमारुतस्वामिन्.

हरिदिनतिलक by वेदान्तदेशिक. C. (vide cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2368 No. 3153). According to it the author वेदान्तदेशिक flourished after स्मृतिच°, हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श and कालनिर्णय and held that the views of all these were अशास्त्र and आसुर.

हरिपूजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ मार्गव. Stein's cat. p. 109.

हरिभक्ति m. by रघु° in आह्निकतत्त्व and एकादशीतत्त्व.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलता by विष्णुपुरी m. in कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका by कृष्णसरस्वती divided into 14 स्तबकs.

हरिभक्तिदीपिका by गणेश. N. vol. V. pp. 189-190.

हरिभक्तिभास्कर (सद्वैष्णवसारसर्वस्व) by भुवनेश्वर, son of श्रीमानन्द, in 12 प्रकाशs; composed in संवत् 1884.

हरिभक्तिरसायन.

हरिभक्तिरसायनसिन्धु.

हरिभक्तिरहस्य.

हरिभक्तिलता.

हरिभक्तिविलास by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द. He was ordered to write this work by चैतन्य; vide under भगवद्भक्तिविलास. Composed about 1562 A. D.; m. by रघुनन्दन.

हरिभक्तिविलास (लघु) by सनातनगोस्वामिन्. C. by सनातनगोस्वामिन्, m. in

वैष्णवतोषिणी. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 190-93 for an account of his family.।

हरिभक्तिसार.

हरिभक्तिसुधोदय.

C. m. by सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

हरिवंशविलास by नन्दपण्डित, divided into कौतुकs on आह्निक, कालनिर्णय, दान, संस्कार. Vide sec. 105.

हरिवासरनिर्णय by त्र्यम्बकेश (Baroda O. I. 8793).

हरिहरदीक्षितीय.

हरिहरपद्धति by हरिहर. The same as is appended to his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र ; m. by हेमाद्रि, श्राद्धसौख्य of टोडरानन्द, उद्वाहतत्त्व and other तत्त्वs of रघु०. Vide sec. 84.

हरिहरभाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य by हरिहर.

हलायुधनिबन्ध m. in आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त.

हलायुधीय m. in आचारमयूख. Probably the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध.

हारलता by अनिरुद्ध. Sec. 82.

C. मन्दर्भसूतिका by अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन्, son of हरिदासतर्काचार्य.

C. विवरण m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता.

हारीतस्मृति. Vide sec. 11 and 56.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि ; vide p. 71 above.

C. by तकनलाल.

हारीतस्मृति (Baroda O. I. 8185) in four अध्यायs on नित्य and नैमित्तिक rites of वर्णs and आश्रमs, eight नारीधर्मs, नृपधर्म, जीवपरमात्मस्वरूप, मोक्षसाधन, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्र. There is व्यवहाराध्याय also.

हिरण्यकामधेनुदान.

हिरण्यकेशाह्निक.

हिरण्यकेशि (सत्याषाढ) गृह्यसूत्र in two प्रश्नs, each divided into पटलs (ed. by Dr. Kirste at Vienna, 1889 and tr. in SBE. vol. 30).

C. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती by महादेव.

C. by मातृदत्त (extracts in Kirste's edition).

हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 8 p. 46 above.

C. उज्ज्वला by महादेव (p. 49 above).

हिरण्यश्राद्ध.

हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप or संग्रह by भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide Baroda O. I. No. 5480.

हेमाद्रिनिबन्ध the same as चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

हेमाद्रिप्रयोग by विद्याधर.

हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप by भजीभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 110).

हेमाद्रिगर्भप्रायश्चित्त by रामसूरि.

होमकालातिक्रमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमनिर्णय by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर. About 1620-1680 A. D.

होमपद्धति by माधव (part of his मन्त्रतिलक). Mentions रूपनारायण ; Ulwar cat. extract 375.

होमपद्धति by लम्बोदर.

होमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

होमविधान by बालकृष्ण (ऋग्वेदीय). Baroda O. I. 8354.

होमसिद्धान्त ano.

होरिलस्मृति m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF AUTHORS ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

While preparing this list, great difficulties were experienced in stating all the works composed by an author. In the case of such names as Ananta, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṅgādhara, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Śaṅkara, which are extremely common, the only method that could be followed, in the absence of materials to identify the authors bearing these names, was to place the same name several times in the list against the work composed by that author. Since the authors themselves very often convey no more information than their own names and since some of the reports on the search for mss. do not give even what little information about the author can be gathered from the ms. of his work, Aufrecht also was compelled to follow this method. In order to avoid repetition and save space, I have not repeated in this list the information that was given under the works contained in the list A. Dates are given principally under the names of authors and sometimes under works also. For further information readers will have in many cases to refer to the works put down as composed by an author. In the case of authors who have written on several śāstras, their works on dharmaśāstra alone have been mentioned. Wherever possible parentage has been noted and dates assigned. In a few cases information which became available after list A was prepared has been incorporated here.

अखण्ड a. of **अखण्डादर्श**.

अखण्डानन्दमुनि, disciple of **अखण्डानुभूति**; a. of **महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति**.

अगस्त्य a. of **अगस्त्यसंहिता**.

अघोरशिवाचार्य a. of **आशौचदीपिका**.

अङ्गिरस् a. of a **स्मृति**. Sec. 39. Vide also **मध्यमाङ्गिरस्** and **बृहदङ्गिरस्**.

अचल, son of **वत्सराज**, son of **गोविन्द**, resident of **आनन्दपुर**; a. of **आह्निकदीपक** and **निर्णयदीपक** (composed in **संवत्** 1575 i. e. 1518-19 A. D.), **महारुद्रपद्धति**, **शाङ्खायनाह्निक** or -**दीपिका**.

अच्युत a. of **सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम**.

अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन्, son of **हरिदासतर्काचार्य**; a. of **दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुदचन्द्रिका** (com. on **दायभाग** of **जीमूतवाहन**), **सन्दर्भसूतिका** (com. on **हारलता** of **अनिरुद्ध**), **श्राद्धविवेकटिप्पनी** (m. in his com. on **दायभाग**). About 1500-1550 A. D.; ms. of **दायभागसिद्धान्तकुमुदचन्द्रिका** in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 205 p. 120 is dated **शके** 1581 (1669 A. D.).

अच्युतानन्द, pupil of **आनन्दगिरि**, a. of **एकादशीनिर्णयव्याख्या**.

अच्युताश्रम, disciple of **परमानन्दाश्रम** or **चिदानन्दाश्रम**; a. of **रामार्चनचन्द्रिका**, **विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति** (or **यतिधर्मसंग्रह**), **संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह**, **संन्यासपद्धति**. In **विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति**, the **ज्ञानार्णव** is mentioned and the ms. No. 12548 Baroda O. I. was copied in **संवत** 1887 (1830-31 A. D.).

अजयपाल m. in **शूद्रकमलाकर**.

अण्णादीक्षित a. of **अण्णादीक्षितीय**.

अत्रि. Vide sec. 16.

अनन्त a. of **शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि**.

अनन्तदीक्षित, son of **विश्वनाथ**, surnamed **यज्ञोपवीत**. Later than 1575 A. D. and earlier than 1750; a. of **प्रयोगरत्न** or **स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति** (for **आश्वलायनीय**s), **महारुद्रपद्धति**, **सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग**.

अनन्तदेव, son of **आपदेव**. Vide sec. 109; a. of **स्मृतिकौस्तुभ** (divided into 12 parts on **तिथि**, **संस्कार** &c.), **भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय** or -**विवेक**, **मथुरासेतु**, **प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका**, **अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति**, **अग्निग्रहणनिर्णय**, **दत्तकपुत्रविधान**.

अनन्तदेव a. of **चलार्चापद्धति**.

अनन्तदेव a. of **राज्याभिषेकपद्धति**.

अनन्तदेव a. of **व्रतप्रकाश**.

अनन्तदेव, son of **उद्धवद्विवेदिन्**. Later than 1640 A. D.; a. of **गयाश्राद्धपद्धति**, **वृद्धिश्राद्धदीपिका** (**वृद्धिश्राद्धपद्धति**), **यजुःसंध्या**, **रुद्रकल्पद्रुम**, **सर्वव्रतोद्यापन**, **वृद्धिश्राद्धविनिर्णय**.

अनन्तदेव a. of **श्राद्धकल्पसूत्रपद्धति**, a com. on the **श्राद्धसूत्र** of **कात्यायन**.

अनन्तदेव a. of **गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि**, **उत्सर्गपद्धति**.

अनन्तदेव a. of **कृष्णोदपोतदर्शन**.

अनन्तदैवज्ञ, son of **केशवदैवज्ञ**, resident of **नन्दिग्राम**; a. of **कालनिर्णयावबोध**. Bik. cat. p. 399 gives Śake 1488 (1566-7 A. D.) as date but it is not clear whether it is of composition or copying.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1640-1670; a. of रामकल्पद्रुम, सुबोधिनी (com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी).

अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट; a. of ग्रहयज्ञविधान, वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of दाईभट्ट; a. of सदाचाररहस्य (composed at the desire of संग्रामसिंह). About 1715 A. D.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट or नागदेवभट्ट, son of जह्नु, of काण्वकुल; a. of आह्निकपारिजात, दानपारिजात, विधानपारिजात (composed in 1625 A. D.) and other works ending in पारिजात (शान्तिपारिजात), ग्रहयज्ञविधान.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट; a. of आह्निकसंग्रह. Probably the same as the preceding.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of बापुभट्ट, a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of महादेव; a. of तिथिनिर्णय or निर्णयबिन्दु (ms. dated 1526-7 A. D. in Baroda O. I. No. 10611). It is this author that is probably mentioned as अनन्तभट्ट in नि. सि. and नृसिंहप्रसाद. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of समयनिर्णय.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of सदाचारनिर्णय.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of गृह्यपरिशिष्ट; m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I p. 54) and कुल्लूक.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of रघुभट्ट. About 2nd quarter of 17th century; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर (at the request of अनूपसिंह).

अनन्तभट्ट, son of सिद्धेश्वर; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान, of com. प्रभा or सुप्रभा on कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द (com. composed in 1692-93 A. D. at पल्लीपत्तन, probably modern Pali in the Bhor State).

अनन्तभट्ट a. of दानसागर.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of आज्ञोपयोगिवचन.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of सुबोधिनी होमपद्धति (for nine planets).

अनन्तभट्टमहामहोपाध्याय a. of दत्तकदीधिति (probably the same as दत्तकपुत्रविधान of अनन्तदेव).

अनन्तमिश्र a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति.

अनन्तयज्वन, son of कृष्ण; a. of com. on पितृमेधसूत्र of गौतम.

अनन्तयाज्ञिक a. of व्यवहारदर्पण, शुद्धिदर्पण.

अनन्तराम a. of विवादचन्द्रिका, स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार. Later than 1600 A. D.

अनन्तराम, a. of वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा.

अनन्तराम, son of रामचरणन्यायालङ्कार. About 1810 A. D.; a. of सहानुमरणविवेक.

अनन्तरामशास्त्रिन a. of विवाह्यकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.

अनन्तालवार a. of जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद.

अनिरुद्धभट्ट Vide sec. 82; 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century A.D.; a. of पितृदयिता or कर्मोपदेशिनीपद्धति and हारलता.

अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय a. of मन्त्रकौमुदी. Said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. Earlier than 1795 A. D.

अनूपसिंहदेव, son of कर्णसिंह, a Rathor prince. About 1673 A.D.; (reputed)a. of अनूपविवेक, श्राद्धप्रयोगचिन्तामणि.

अन्धुकभट्ट. About 1030-1050 A. D.; m. in the कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

अपरार्क or अपरादित्य Sec. 79; a. of com. called याज्ञवल्कीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध. Between 1115-1130 A.D.

अपिपाल, son of देहणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्दपाल; a. of अपिपालकारिका and अपिपालपद्धति (शूद्रपद्धति). M. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन. One ms. (N. vol. V. p. 302) was copied in शके 1442 (1521 A. D.). So earlier than 1500 A. D. In the colophon the work is described as कारित by अपिपाल.

अप्पय्यदीक्षित a. of नग्नमुण्डखण्डन; about 1520-1592 A. D.

अप्पयदीक्षित (मायूर) a. of प्रायश्चित्तविधि. Probably the same as अप्पादीक्षित native of गौरीमायूर.

अप्पयदीक्षित a. of शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका, शैवकल्पद्रुम. He is probably the the same as the a. of तप्तमुद्राखण्डन.

अप्पादीक्षित a native of गौरीमायूर; a. of आचारनवनीत (composed about 1700 A. D.) under Tanjore king Shahaji.

अप्पावाजपेयिन् a. of नीतिकुसुमावलि.

अभिनवधर्मभूषणाचार्य a. of न्यायदीपिका.

अमरेश्वर a. of शिवार्चनपद्धति.

अमृतनाथमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय, son of श्रीमाणिकशर्मन्; a. of कृतिसारसमुच्चय or कृत्यसार०, प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासार, वादसारसमुच्चय (on 18 व्यवहारपद s); vide B.O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 77 p. 74 for कृत्यसारसमुच्चय, which appears to be only a part dealing with व्रत and प्रायश्चित्त from the larger work called सारसमुच्चयार्णव and No. 319 p. 358 for वादसारसमुच्चय.

अमृतपाठक, son of सखाराम; a. of संस्कारपद्धति. Later than 1680 A. D.

अमृतानन्दतीर्थ a. of तारकोपदेशव्यवस्था.

अल्पयम m. in हरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार.

अल्लाडनाथसूरि, son of सिङ्गलक्ष्मण. Between 1250-1500 A. D.; a. of निर्णयामृत (composed at the desire of prince सूर्यसेन, ruler of एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna). Vide under निर्णयामृत.

अष्टावक्र com. of मानवगृह्यसूत्र and of बौधायनसूत्र.

असहाय Vide sec. 58. About 700-750 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on नारदस्मृति, of भाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and probably of com. on मनुस्मृति.

अहोबल, a. of असगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा and असपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहविधि, पुरश्चरणकौस्तुभ (Bik. cat. p. 600).

आउचाशुक्लदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तसार.

आङ्गिरस a. of आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आत्माराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

आत्रेय a. of **स्मृति** ; m. by **विश्वरूप**.

आदित्यदर्शन a. of com. on **काठकगृह्यसूत्र**.

आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ, pupil of **विश्वेश्वराचार्य**. Between 1200-1325 A. D.; a. of **कालनिर्णय** or **कालादर्श**.

आदित्यभट्ट a. of **व्रतकालनिर्णय**.

आदित्याचार्य or **कौशिकादित्य**. About 1400-1500 A. D. ; a. of **षडशीति** or **आशौचनिर्णय**.

आनन्द son of **प्रभाकर** of the **दक्षपुत्र** family ; a. of **आह्निक**.

आनन्द a. of **धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका**.

आनन्दचन्द्र a. of **प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह**, **बालबोधक** (on **प्रायश्चित्त**), **प्रायश्चित्तौचसार** (probably same as the preceding).

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of **विष्णुतत्त्वनिर्णय**.

आनन्दतीर्थ son of **जनार्दनभट्ट** ; a. of **संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति**, **अनुयागपद्धति**, **पूजापद्धति**.

आनन्दतीर्थ भार्गव a. of **हरिपूजापद्धति**.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of **प्रणवकल्प**.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of **सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य**.

आनन्दतीर्थ, the founder of the **माध्व** sect. Said to have flourished between 1118-1198 A.D. But there are varying views. One of his pupils **अक्षोभ्यतीर्थ** is said to have defeated **विद्यारण्य** in polemical discussions. If this be correct, then **आनन्दतीर्थ** must have flourished about 1250-1300. Dr. Bhandarkar (in Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism p. 59) accepts 1198 and 1276 A. D. as the years of his birth and death ; a. of **कर्मनिर्णय**, **कृष्णामृतमहार्णव**, **जयन्तीनिर्णय**, **संन्यासपद्धति**, **सदाचारस्मृति** or **स्मृतिविवरण**. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 207 for 37 works attributed to him and E. I. vol. VI pp. 261-263 for the age of **आनन्दतीर्थ** and his pupils. **आनन्दतीर्थ** is said to have been the son of **मध्यगेह**.

आनन्दरामयाज्ञिक a. of **संस्कारपद्धति** or **षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति**.

आनन्दराय वाजपेययज्वन्, minister of Tanjore king Shahaji and Sarfoji (first quarter of 18th century), a. of **आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रविवृति**.

आनन्दवन, pupil of **मुकुन्दवन**. Earlier than 1650 A. D. ; a. of **रामार्चनचन्द्रिका**. If it is this work that is quoted in the **तिथितत्त्व**, then the author is earlier than 1550 A. D.

आनन्दशर्मन्, son of **रामशर्मन्** ; a. of **व्यवस्थादर्पण**, **कृत्यदर्पण**.

आनन्दानन्द, a. of **यतिनित्यपद्धति**.

आन्ध्रयति (probably **सरस्वतीतीर्थ** or **नरहरि**) a. of **स्मृतिदर्पण**.

आपदेव, alias **सदाशिवदेव**, son of **श्रीपति** ; a. of **सापिण्ड्यकल्पलता** or **-लतिका**. About 1700 A. D. His grandson was a pupil of **नागोजिभट्ट**.

आपदेव a. of **खेटपीठमाला**, **तिथितत्त्वसार**.

आपदेव, son of अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. He was father of अनन्तदेव a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and so flourished about 1600-1650 A. D.; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, रुद्रपद्धति.

आपदेव a. of आह्निक.

आपदेव a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (ms. No. 1870 of Baroda O. I. dated शके 1673).

आपस्तम्ब Vide sec. 7; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and धर्मसूत्र and पितृमेधसूत्र.

आर्याम्बरीन्द्र a. of com. on अनुयागपद्धति.

आर्ष्टिषेण a. of a स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

आशादित्य or आशार्क or आशाधर, son of चक्रधर; a. of com. on कर्मप्रदीप and of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट; m. in आचारसार of लक्ष्मण. So earlier than 1600 A.D.

आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन्, a. of मन्त्रकोश.

आशाधरभट्ट a. of सन्ध्यारत्नप्रदीप.

आश्वलायन. Vide also लघ्वाश्वलायन and बृहदाश्व०; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति (m. in मिताक्षरा and हेमाद्रि).

इन्द्रगणिट सूर्यनारायण- see under सूर्यनारायण.

इन्द्रदत्त उपाध्याय, a. of स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह.

इन्द्रपति, son of रुचिपति and रुक्मिणी and pupil of गोपालभट्ट; a. of मीमांसापल्वल.

ईशान, elder brother of हलायुध. Latter half of 12th century; a. of द्विजाह्निकपद्धति (according to ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व) m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व. An ईशानन्यायाचार्य is m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 135).

ईशाननाथ a. of नयज्ञान (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 240 p. 262).

ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मन् a. of व्यवस्थासेतु.

ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय; a. of मुहूर्तरत्न (also called मुहूर्तरत्नाकर).

ईश्वरनाथ or शुद्धेश्वरनाथ a. of स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम.

उतथ्य a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

उपंगगार्ग्य m. in नि. सि.

उत्पल a. of ज्ञानमाला.

उदयकर, com. of मनुस्मृति; m. in विवादरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (pp. 455, 583, 590).

उदयंकर a. of पारस्करश्राद्धसूत्रवृत्त्यर्थसंग्रह.

उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. Flourished between 1450-1525 A. D.; (reputed) a. of रूपनारायणीय (पद्धति).

उद्ग्राहमल्ल m. in the दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन.

उपकात्यायन m. by हेमाद्रि III. 2. 657.

उपमन्यु a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 260), by हरदत्त (on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 11).

उपाध्याय- a com. of मनुस्मृति m. by मेधातिथि (on मनु II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147).

उमानाथ a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

उमापति Earlier than 1575 A. D.; a. of प्रतिष्ठाविवेक, शुद्धिनिर्णय, श्राद्धनिर्णय.

उमापति a. of स्मृतिदीपिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 516, no. 441).

उमाशङ्कर a. of com. on दायभाग and of शुद्धिसेतु.

उशनस् Vide sec. 17; a. of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a धर्मसूत्र.

ऋजु a. of a com. on मनुस्मृति, m. by मेधातिथि (on मनु VIII. 152).

ऋषिपुत्रक- quoted as a writer on अर्थशास्त्र in the com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

ऋषिबुध or ऋषिभट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर, surnamed शौच; a. of संस्कारभास्कर.

ऋषिभट्ट a. of षोडशकर्मपद्धति.

ऋष्यशृङ्ग a. of a स्मृति; sec. 40.

एक an author m. in आप. ध. सू. I.6. 19. 7.

एकराज (prince Ekoji of Tanjore who ruled from 1676 A. D. to 1684 A. D.) a. of प्रपञ्चामृतसार or प्रपञ्चसारामृत or राजरञ्जनपुराण.

ओझाशङ्कर- vide under शङ्कर.

औदुम्बरर्षि a. of व्रतनिर्णय.

औपकायन a. of स्मृति, m. by अपरार्क (p. 1195), हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड).

औपजङ्घनि, an author m. in बौ.ध.सू. II. 2. 33.

कण्व m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 1 and I. 6. 19. 3. Vide sec. 18.

कण्व a. of स्मृति m. in हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 3 and 11.

कनकसभापति a. of सूत्रकारिका (बौधायनीय), बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग.

कनकसभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ of मौद्गल-गोत्र; a. of कारिकामञ्जरी and com. प्रयोगादर्श. This seems to be the same as the preceding, since in the बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग the author refers to कारिकामञ्जरी as his own work. Vide Hultzsch's R. II. no. 972.

कपर्दिन् a. of भाष्य on भारद्वाजगृह्य, of कारिकाs on आपस्तम्बगृह्य, of com. on आपस्तम्बपितृमेधसूत्र and of com. on प्रवरखण्ड and on (आपस्तम्बीय) अपरसूत्र.

कपिपुत्र m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

कपिल a. of स्मृति in 10 अध्यायs.

कमण्डलुभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in श्राद्धसागर.

कमलाकर a. of आचारदीपिका. Probably same as above.

कमलाकर, a. of प्रवरदर्पण.

कमलाकर a. of मन्त्रकमलाकर.

कमलाकर a. of मुक्तिप्रकरण.

कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Sec. 106. First half of 17th century; a. of कर्मविपाकरत्न, कलिधर्मनिर्णय, कार्तवीर्यपद्धति, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय or- दर्पण, दानकमलाकर, तीर्थकमलाकर or सर्वतीर्थविधि, निर्णयसिन्धु, नीतिकमलाकर, पूर्तकमलाकर, प्रायश्चित्तरत्न, बह्वृचाह्निक, भक्तिरत्न, शूद्रपद्धति, विवादताण्डव, व्रतकमलाकर, शान्ति-

कमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न, शूद्रकमलाकर or शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व, संस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारप्रयोगकमलाकर, शाक्ततत्त्वकौतूहल or तत्त्वकमलाकर. Parts of his works (such as parts of the निर्णयसिन्धु and दानकमलाकर) are very frequently entered in the catalogues as separate works.

कमलाकरभट्ट, a resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon) on the Godāvari; a. of आचारदीप or -प्रदीप and आह्निकप्रयोग.

कमलाकरभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in श्राद्धसागर as भाष्यकार.

कम्भालूरनृसिंह a. of आशौचदीपिका. Later than 1400 A. D.

कपर्दिभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक.

करुणाशङ्कर (probably same as दयाशङ्कर) a. of वास्तुचन्द्रिका, शुद्धिश्राद्धविधि.

करुणाशङ्कर a. of नीतिविवेक.

कर्क m. by त्रिकाण्डमण्डनभास्कर, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of com. on आप. गृ. सू. and on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, on स्नानसूत्र of कात्यायन and on श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र of कात्यायन.

कलाधरभट्ट a. of कर्मप्रकाश.

कल्याण a. of तिथिकल्पद्रुम.

कल्याणभट्ट revised असहाय's भाष्य on नारदस्मृति.

कल्याणवर्मन्, a prince; a. of com. on विवाहवृन्दावन of केशवार्य and a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

कल्याणशर्मन् a. of शिवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति (at the bidding of king राघवसिंह).

कवष a. of a स्मृति, m. in मस्करि's भाष्य on गौ. ध. सू. and in पराशरमाधवीय.

कविकान्तसरस्वती a. of विश्वादर्श q. v.; flourished between 1100-1200 A. D.

कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 419 p. 495). Earlier than 1600 A. D.

कविराजगिरि a. of कविराजकौतुक.

कवीन्द्र a. of शान्तिचन्द्रिका.

कश्यप a. of a धर्मसूत्र and a स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.

कश्यप a. of शूद्रपञ्चसंस्कारविधि.

कस्तूरि, son of नागण; a. of कस्तूरिस्मृति or स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

काण्व a. of a धर्मसूत्र and of a स्मृति. Sec. 18; m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

कान्व, an author, m. in बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 45.

कात्यायन a. of कर्पोलारोपितपद्धति (ms. No. 9470 Baroda O. I.).

कात्यायन a. of आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

कात्यायन a. of a स्मृति in verse. Sec. 38; a. of a गृह्यसूत्र, श्राद्धसूत्र, of मूल्याध्याय, स्नानसूत्र or स्नानविधिसूत्र or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र.

कात्यायन a. of कर्मप्रदीप.

कान्हदेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति.

कामदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णय.

कामदेवदीक्षित. Later than 1500 and earlier than 1660 A. D.; a. of **प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति**, **पारस्करगृह्यपरिशिष्टपद्धति** and of **कर्मप्रदीपिका** (a **पद्धति** to **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र**), of a com. on **मूल्याध्याय**.

कामदेवमहाराज a. of **दानसागर**. Later than 1200 A. D.

कामन्दक or -कि, a. of **कामन्दकीयनीतिसार**. Referred to by **भवभूति** (in the character **कामन्दकी** in **मालतीमाधव**) and by **वामन** in his **काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति** and in the **महाभारत**. Earlier than 650 A. D. and probably flourished in 3rd or 4th century A. D.

कामरूपपति a. of **गूढार्थप्रकाशिका** com. on **शारदातिलक**.

कामेश्वरयज्वन् a. of com. called **हितधर्म** on **पराशरस्मृति**. Mentions **माधवाचार्य**. So later than 1400 A. D.

कार्ष्णाजिनि a. of a **स्मृति** quoted in **कालविवेक** of **जीमूतवाहन**, **मिताक्षरा** (on **याज्ञ**. III. 265).

कालिदास a. of **उत्तरकालामृत**.

कालिदास a. of **शुद्धिचन्द्रिका**.

कालिदास, son of **बलभद्र**; a. of **कुण्डप्रबन्ध** (D. C. ms. No. 42 of A 1882-83). The work was composed in **शके** 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. (**शाकेऽब्देऽब्धिमितेथ भूततिथयो मासे मधुसंज्ञके**).

कालिदासचयनिन्, m. in the plural in **कालसार** of **गदाधर**.

कालीचरण a. of **दुर्गार्चामुकुर**.

कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार a. of **स्मृतिमञ्जरी** (composed in 1834 A. D.).

कालेसि महामहोपाध्याय, a. of **दशकर्मपद्धति**.

काशीदीक्षित, son of **सदाशिवदीक्षित** a. of **प्रयोगरत्न**, **रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति** (or **महारुद्रपद्धति** or **रुद्रपद्धति**), **सप्तविधानपद्धति** and **श्राद्धप्रयोगपद्धति** or **श्राद्धदीपिका**, **आह्निकप्रयोग**, **प्रयोगरत्न**.

काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार a. of com. on **तिथितत्त्व** and **प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व** of **रघुनन्दन** (N. I. p. 105) and **प्रायश्चित्तशब्दसारसंग्रह**.

काशीनाथ भट्ट a. of **आपस्तम्बाह्निक** and **ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका**.

काशीनाथ a. of **मुहूर्तमुक्तावली**.

,, a. of com. on **शारदातिलक**.

,, a. of **श्राद्धकल्प**.

काशीनाथ उपाध्याय (or **पाध्ये**), son of **अनन्त**, son of **काशुपाध्याय**. Sec. 112; a. of **धर्मसिन्धु** (or -**सार** composed in 1791 A. D.), **प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर**, **विट्ठलऋङ्मन्त्रसारभाष्य**, **कुण्डदिक्पाल** with com.

काशीनाथ, son of **जयराम** (surnamed **जड़े**); a. of **शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी**.

काशीनाथभट्ट (also called **शिवानन्दनाथ**); son of **जयरामभट्ट**, son of **शिवरामभट्ट**; a. of **कालनिर्णयदीपिका**, **तिथिदीपिका**, **पुरश्चरणदीपिका**, **गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका**, **चण्डिकार्चनदीपिका**, **त्रिस्थलीसेतु**.

काशीराम वाचस्पतिभट्टाचार्य, son of **राधावल्लभ**, son of **रामकृष्ण**; a. of commentaries on the various

parts of the स्मृतितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (such as उद्वाहतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व, तिथितत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्त°, मलमास°, शुद्धितत्त्व, छन्दोगश्राद्धतत्त्व). He is different from काशीनाथतर्कालङ्कार, who also commented on तिथितत्त्व (compare N. I. p. 150 with N. II. p. 84).

काश्यप a. of स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.

काह्नदेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 244 p. 267).

कुणिक m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

कुत्स m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

कुथुमि a. of स्मृति m. by अपरार्क (p. 548), कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि. Also कौथुमि.

कुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत (vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 and 496 of 1886-92), a huge work composed under संग्रामसिंह.

कुबेरोपाध्याय m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I. p. 298) of रघुनन्दन.

कुबेरोपाध्याय (reputed) a. of दत्तकचन्द्रिका. Said to have been composed by a pandit of Colebrooke, about 1800.

कुमार a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 253), अपरार्क (p. 1070), स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ, शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 550).

कुमारस्वामिन a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका. Later than 1000 A. D.

कुमारस्वामिविष्णु a. of प्रयोगसारपीयूष.

कुलनिधि a. of नित्यधर्मप्रकाशिका.

कुलमणिशुक्ल a. of com. on अङ्गिरःस्मृति, com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति and of आह्निकचन्द्रिका, of रामार्चनचन्द्रिका.

कुलमुनि a. of नीतिप्रकाश and of शान्तिचिन्तामणि.

कुलार्क m. by the सरस्वतीविलास (p. 281) in the same breath with विज्ञानेश्वर and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Before 1500 A. D.

कुल्लूकभट्ट, son of भट्टदिवाकर. Sec. 88. About 1250 A. D.; a. of मन्वर्थमुक्तावली; com. on मनुस्मृति and of श्राद्धसागर, आचारसागर and विवादसागर.

कृपाराम pupil of जयराम; 2nd half of 18th century; a. of सत्यधर्मप्रदीप.

कृपाराम a. of com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व and of वास्तुचन्द्रिका.

कृपाराम (a Gauda prince), son of यादवराज. First half of 17th century; (reputed) a. of रामप्रकाश.

कृष्ण, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप or -दीपिका.

कृष्ण, author of लघुपद्धति. Between 1350 and 1500 A. D.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1422) dated संवत् 1592 and the author names चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार and स्मृत्यर्थसार; flourished between 1350 and 1500 A. D.

कृष्ण of शेष family, son of नृसिंह or नरसिंह; about 1500 A. D.; a. of

शुद्राचारशिरोमणि (where he claims गोविन्दार्णव as his own work), श्लोकचतुर्दशी.

कृष्ण of the होसिंग family; a. of शास्त्रसारोद्धार. Later than 1450 A. D.

कृष्ण आचार्य, a. of कुण्डार्क.

कृष्ण आचार्य, son of कुमारनृसिंहभट्ट; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.

कृष्ण आचार्य a. of प्रभा, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका.

कृष्णकान्तशर्मन a. of com. on दायभाग.

कृष्णगोविन्दपण्डित a. of जातिविवेक (part of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका).

कृष्णचन्द्र a. of व्रतविवेकभास्कर.

कृष्णतर्कालङ्कार- vide under श्रीकृष्णतर्का°.

कृष्णतात. a. of मन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धार.

कृष्णताताचार्य, a. of धर्मनिर्णय, वैष्णवलक्षण.

कृष्णदत्त, son of आश्रमिक ब्रह्मदत्त; a. of कर्मकौमुदी.

कृष्णदत्तमिश्र alias वनमालिमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि; a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. About 1650 A. D.

कृष्णदास a. of भक्तिरमार्णव.

कृष्णदीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर; a. of और्ध्वदेहिकप्रयोग.

कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य; a. of वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति, नृसिंहपरिचर्या and विष्णुमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

कृष्णदेवस्मार्तवागीश, son of नारायण; a. of कृत्यतत्त्व *alias* प्रयोगसार, प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी or -विवेक, शुद्धिप्रदीपिका and प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

कृष्णद्वैपायन, a. of स्मृति, m. in मिताक्षरा.

कृष्णनाथ a. of com. on अत्रिस्मृति, of com. on दक्षस्मृति, of com. on मनुस्मृति and व्यासस्मृति, of com. on संस्कारतत्त्व of रघु°, of com. on स्नानसूत्रदीपिका of गोपीनाथ, of स्मृतिकौमुदीटीका, स्मृतिसारटीका.

कृष्णपण्डित a. of धर्मागमानुबन्धिश्लोक.

कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदैवज्ञ; a. of मन्दपाभाष्य.

कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभद्र and लक्ष्मी; a. of सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य and सन्ध्यानिर्णयकल्पवल्ली.

कृष्णपण्डित महापात्र, grandson of गदाधर, author of कालसार; a. of नीतिरत्नाकर. About 1450 A. D.

कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ; a. of कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति, कालनिर्णयदीपिका. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायण; a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग (composed in 1759 A. D.).

कृष्णभट्ट a. of श्राद्धदीपिति.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of कविरहस्य.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यसंचय.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of समयमयूख.

कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे (or आरड), son of रघुनाथ of Benares; a. of रत्नमाला alias दीपिका on निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट.

कृष्णभट्ट मौनिन, son of रघुनाथभट्ट, son of गोवर्धन; a. of कालचन्द्रिका, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका and सरोजसुन्दर (vide N. I. p. 14 for शुद्धिचन्द्रिका).

कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of नित्यानन्द; a. of श्राद्धकाशिका, a com. on श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन. Composed in संवत् 1505 (1448-9 A. D.).

कृष्णमिश्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त; a. of कालमार्तण्ड, तिथिनिर्णयमार्तण्ड and कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रेतप्रदीप, श्राद्धप्रदीप and of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

कृष्णमिश्र, of the कौत्सगोत्र, a. of कालसर्वस्व.

कृष्णराज, a king who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the गोदावरी; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप, a large work.

कृष्णराज a. of स्मृतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न.

कृष्णराम a. of कर्मकालप्रकाशिका or -प्रकाश, उत्सर्गनिर्णय, दानोद्योत, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल.

कृष्णराम (of काश्मीर), a. of महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

कृष्णविप्र a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

कृष्णशर्मन्, son of नरसिंह; a. of शुद्धिप्रकाश (composed at the bidding of छोटराय).

कृष्णशेष a. of प्रवरदीपिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

कृष्णसरस्वती a. of हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका.

कृष्णाचार्य a. of com. प्रभा on शुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास.

कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारनृसिंहभट्ट; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.

कृष्णानन्द a. of ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी.

कृष्णानन्द वागीश्वरभट्टाचार्य a. of षट्कर्मदीपिका.

कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती a. of अनुयागपद्धति.

केदार, m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार. Earlier than 1150 A. D.

केदारनाथदत्त a. of दत्तककौस्तुभ.

केशव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

केशव a. of केशवार्णव.

केशव, son of सोमेश्वर; a. of कौशिकगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

केशवकवीन्द्र a. of संख्यापरिणामसंग्रह. He was the chief pandit of the परिषत् of a king of Tirhut.

केशवजीवानन्दशर्मन्, a. of श्राद्धकारिका.

केशवतर्कपञ्चानन a. of ज्योतिषरत्न.

केशवदास, son of जीवनराम. About 1770-1790 A. D.; a. of अहल्याकामधेनु and रामार्चनरत्नाकर.

केशवदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव; a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

केशवदैवज्ञ of नन्दिग्राम. About 1500 A. D.; a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय or -मञ्जरी.

केशवदैवज्ञ, son of कमलाकर of नन्दिग्राम; a of मुहूर्ततत्त्व and कायस्थादिधर्मपद्धति. About 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the preceding.

केशवभट्ट a. of अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग हिरण्यकेशीय (from his प्रयोगमणि), प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्ट son of अनन्त, of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntambe) on the गोदावरी; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

केशवभट्ट a. of आचारप्रदीप (probably same as that m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०), कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप and शुद्धिप्रदीप.

केशवभट्ट a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

केशवभट्ट son of गोपालदीक्षित; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधि.

केशवभट्ट, son of नारायण अभयंकर; a. of प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्टगोस्वामी a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

केशवमिश्र a. of छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट.

केशवमिश्र a. of द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट. वाचस्पतिमिश्र was his परमगुरु. So about 1540 A. D.

केशवराय, son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of धर्मचन्द्र. Mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार and पारिजात. Ms. dated संवत् 1810 (Baroda O. I. no. 5860).

केशवशर्मन् a. of स्मृतिसार.

केशवस्वामिन् a. of बौधायनगृह्यपद्धति; m. in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Before 1100 A. D.

केशवाचार्य or केशवभट्ट काश्मीरिक a. of क्रमदीपिका, (pr. Ch. S. series). About 1500 A. D.

C. विवरण by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. Ch. S. series).

केशवादित्यभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

केशवार्य, son of राघव; a. of विवाहवृन्दावन. (Ms. dated 1398-99 A. D.). The com. is by गणेश, son of केशवदैवज्ञ.

केशवीकार m. in निर्णयसिन्धु and भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्त (probably केशव, the author of the जातकपद्धति or केशवी).

केशवेन्द्रस्वामिन् a. of साधनचन्द्रिका.

कैलासपति a. of त्रैवर्णिकसंन्यास.

कोकिल a. of मात्रादिश्राद्धनिर्णय (No. 641 of Viśrāmbāg collection I and D. C. No. 104 of 1895-1902). He mentions कर्कोपाध्याय, चिन्तामणि, कामधेनु, स्मृतिप्रदीप, मञ्जरी, चन्द्रिकादिनिबन्ध, विज्ञानेश्वर. Later than 1400 A. D.

कोण्डभट्ट a. of व्रतराज.

कोनेरिभट्ट a. of तत्त्वसंग्रह.

कोनेरिभट्ट, son of केशव; a. of स्मृतिभूषण.

कोलाप्पाचार्य a. of दत्तकचन्द्रिका.

कोशधर a. of शुद्धिप्रदीपिका (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 380 p. 435).

कोकिल (reputed) a. of a स्मृति (D. C. No. 223 of 1879-80 is a different work on श्राद्ध from above).

कौण्डिन्य m. in व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन (prose passage on limitation for recovering a debt) and in श्राद्धमयूख.

कौत्स m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 4 and 7 and I. 10. 28. 1 and in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 304).

कौथुमि m. in हेमाद्रि, कालमाधव (p. 76).

कौशिक a. of स्मृति ; m: in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि.

कौशिक आदित्य Vide under आदित्याचार्य.

क्रतु a. of स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 28), अपरार्क (pp. 487, 1086, 1187), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

क्षेमङ्कर a. of विवाहरत्नसंक्षेप.

क्षेमङ्कर a. of निर्णयसार.

क्षेमराज a. of रामपूजापद्धति.

क्षेमराम, son of श्रीमदनन्द, son of बापू called द्विपञ्चाशद्ग्रन्थिन ; a. of प्रेतमुक्तिदा, रामनिबन्ध (composed in 1720 A. D.). Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1431.

क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोकमणि, son of दीक्षित बापू लक्ष्मीकान्त (who is styled पञ्चाशद्ग्रन्थिसोमयाजि) of Kanoj; colophon of श्राद्धपद्धति gives this pedigree, but the verse before it says that the parents of क्षेमराम were श्रीमदमण्डन and पद्मिनी. So this man may be the same as above.

क्षेमराम a. of आह्निकपद्धति for Sāmavedins (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 33 p. 32).

क्षेमराम a. of मुहूर्तसंचय.

क्षेमवर्मन a. of क्षेमप्रकाश composed in 1512 A. D. when he was a a governor of वीरसिंहपुर. Aufrecht (II. pp. 26-27) is wrong in saying that he composed the work in 1612.

क्षेमेन्द्र 2nd and 3rd quarter of 11th century; a. of नीतिकल्पतरु and नीतिलता, चारुचर्या, लोकप्रकाश.

क्षेमेन्द्र a. of दानपारिजात.

खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed अयाचित ; a. of संस्कारभास्कर, रुद्रानुष्ठानप्रयोग.

खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित. Between 1400-1600 A. D.; a. of परशुरामप्रकाश, first part of which is आचारोल्लास.

खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायण, who belonged to महोपाध्यायवंश honoured by the king of विदर्भ ; a. of कृत्यरत्न or कृत्यरत्नाकर. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव, रत्नाकर. So later than 1400 A. D. Also wrote संस्काररत्न.

खादिर a. of द्राह्यायणगृह्य.

गङ्गादत्त a. of चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार.

गङ्गादास द्विवेदिन a. of तिथिप्रकाश.

गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र ; a. of स्मृतिचिन्तामणि. About 1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधर a. of आचारतिलक or आह्निक. (The D. C. ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 though described as आचारतिलक appears to be a different work. It quotes आचारतिलक (folio 6a) and explains sacrificial terms like प्रणीता, प्रोक्षणी and sacrificial materials like कुश.

गङ्गाधर a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति, प्रयोगपद्धति (बौधायनीय).

गङ्गाधर a. of आह्निक, काठकाह्निक.

गङ्गाधर a. of कायस्थोत्पत्ति, चातुर्वर्ण्यविवरण.

गङ्गाधर a. of आशौचगङ्गाधरी, संस्कारगङ्गाधरी.

गङ्गाधर a. of तिथिनिर्णय, दायभागटीका.

गङ्गाधर a. of निर्णयमञ्जरी.

गङ्गाधर a. of उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी (composed in 1632 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर a. of प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि and प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय.

गङ्गाधर a. of विधिरत्न.

गङ्गाधर a. of षोडशकर्मपद्धति.

गङ्गाधर a. of तीर्थकाशिका.

गङ्गाधर, son of नारायण. About 1600 A. D.; a. of मनोरमा, a com. on कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण of his father.

गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव दैवज्ञ; a. of मुहूर्तभैरव, मुहूर्तालङ्कार (composed in 1633. A. D.).

गङ्गाधर, son of अग्निहोत्रिराम; a. of संस्कारपद्धति.

गङ्गाधर, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of प्रवासकृत्य (composed at Khambayat or Cambay in 1606-7 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर son of सदाशिव महाडकर; a. of प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक (ms. dated 1784 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर चक्रवर्तिन् a. of com. भावार्थदीपिका on श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

गङ्गाधर दीक्षित a. of संस्कारगङ्गाधरी; probably same as preceding.

गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसरस्वती; a. of प्रकाश com. on प्रणवकल्प.

गङ्गाभट्ट a. of धर्मप्रदीप.

गङ्गाभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

गङ्गाराम, son of सदाशिव महाडकर; probably the same as गङ्गाधर महाडकर above; a. of आगमादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

गङ्गाराम a. of com. on दायभाग.

गङ्गाराम a. of निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध.

गङ्गाराम a. of युद्धजयोत्सव.

गङ्गाविष्णु, patronised by त्रिविक्रम; a. of आचारदीपक. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

गङ्गेश्वर m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक.

गजानन a. of चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण.

गणपति, son of धीरेश्वर (वीरेश्वर?); a. of गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी; says his grandfather was patronised by king नान्य of मिथिला. If नान्य is identical with the कार्णाट king of मिथिला of that name, then गणपति flourished about 1350 A. D. Vide B. O. mss cat. No. 86 p. 88.

गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर रावल; a. of पर्वनिर्णय (composed in 1685-86 A.D.), मुहूर्तगणपति, शान्तिगणपति and संबन्धगणपति, ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति, दशकर्मपद्धति.

गणपति a. of com. on राजमार्तण्ड of भोज.

गणेश m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर, son of महादेव, son of लालभट्ट; a. of तिथिमञ्जरी.

गणेश a. of हरिभक्तिदीपिका.

गणेशदत्त a. of ऐन्द्रवमासनिर्णय, क्षयाधिकमासविवृति.

गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशव, of नन्दिग्राम; about 1520 (in which year he composed his ग्रहलाघव); a. of मङ्गलनिर्णय, of a com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व and on विवाहवृन्दावन.

गणेश पाठक a. of प्रयोगकौस्तुभ.

गणेशभट्ट a. of उद्वाहविवेक.

गणेशभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय.

गणेशभट्ट a. of दायभागव्यवस्थासंक्षेप (part of व्यवस्थासंक्षेप) or दायसंक्षेप.

गणेशमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय a. of प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात (N. vol. V. p. 222).

गणेशाचार्य a. of निर्णयदर्पण.

गणेश्वर मन्त्रिन्, son of देवादित्य (who was father of वीरेश्वर) and uncle of चण्डेश्वर; m. in हरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार, श्रीदत्त's आचारादर्श; about 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of गतिसोपान and गङ्गापत्तलक (B. O. mss. cat. No. 84 p. 85).

गणेश्वर (महामहोपाध्याय महत्तक) a. of आह्निकोद्धार for वाजसनेयशाखा. B. O. mss. cat. vol I No. 38, p. 36. Probably same as the preceding.

गद, surnamed द्विवेदिन्; a. of संप्रदायप्रदीप composed in संवत 1610 (1553-54 A. D.) in वृन्दावन, while गिरिधर and other grandsons of वल्लभाचार्य were living.

गदाधर a. of रायसिंहप्रकाश.

गदाधर a. of सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका.

गदाधर a. of कृत्यकल्पद्रुम; m. by वाचस्पति. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गदाधर, son of वामन; later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on आश्वकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र, of com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र; mentions कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, मदनपारिजात, रामवाजपेयिन्, हरिहर.

गदाधर, son of राघवेन्द्र; a. of तन्त्रप्रदीप a com. on शारदातिलक; about 1450. A. D.

गदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर. About 1450-1500 A. D.: a. of कालसार (pr. in B. I. series), आचारसार, व्रतसार, शुद्धिसार.

गदाधर a. of ग्रहयागपद्धति (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 113).

गदाधर a. of वासिष्ठीशान्ति.

गदाधर a. of com. लघुदीपिका on रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवन.

गदाधर दीक्षित a. of व्रतार्क.

गयदेवल, m. in. प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

गयविष्णु, m. in. नि. सि.

गयव्यास, m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

गभस्ति a. of a स्मृति; m. by अपरार्क (p. 549), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 50).

गर्ग a. on politics; m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

गर्ग a. of a स्मृति; m. in अपरार्क (pp. 124, 196, 368), in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

गर्ग a. of. गर्गपद्धति on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

गर्ग, a. of **एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति**.

गागाभट्ट— Vide under **विश्वेश्वरभट्ट**.

गार्ग्य a. of a **स्मृति** ; sec. 20.

गालव a. of a **स्मृति** ; m. by **हेमाद्रि**.

गिरिभट्ट, son of वल्लभभट्ट ; a. of **संस्कारकौमुदी**.

गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र a. of com. on **प्रपञ्चसार**.

गीर्वाणेन्द्र सरस्वती, pupil of **विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती** ; a. of **गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि**.

गुणविष्णु, son of **दामुक**; a. of **छान्दोग्यमन्त्रभाष्य** ; m. by **रघुनन्दन** in **उद्वाहतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व**.

गुरुनाथ vide **पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ**.

गुरुप्रसादशर्मन् a. of **मलमासार्थसंग्रह**.

गुरुप्रसाद न्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य a. of com. on **शुद्धितत्त्व**.

गूदडमल्ल a. of **विवाहपद्धति**.

गोकुलचन्द्रशर्मन्, a. of **आह्निकचन्द्रिका**.

गोकुलजित्, son of **हरिजित्**; a. of **संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार** (composed in 1632-33 A. D.).

गोकुलदेव, son of **अनन्तदेव**; a. of **तीर्थकल्पलता, गयाश्राद्धविधि**.

गोकुलनाथ महामहोपाध्याय, son of **विद्यानिधि** ; a. of **कुण्डकादम्बरी** and **कुण्डकादम्बरीसारोद्धार** (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 65-66 pp. 59-60), of **प्रदीप** or **कादम्बरी** a com. on **द्वैतनिर्णय** of **वाचस्पति** and of **मासमीमांसा** (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No 54 p. 50 gives **कादम्बरीप्रदीप** as the name of the com.).

गोविन्दमिश्र, son of **हरपति** under king **वासुदेव** son of **रविकर** (of **मिथिला**); a. of **शूद्राचारविवेकपद्धति**; ms. copied in **ल. सं.** 592 (1611 A. D.),

गोपाल a. of **आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली**.

गोपाल a. of **कामधेनु**. Vide pp. 294-296 above.

गोपाल, m. in **श्राद्धकल्पतरु** of **श्रीदत्त** ; probably the same as the author of the **कामधेनु**.

गोपाल a. of **गोपालपद्धति**.

गोपाल a. of **सत्क्रियासारदीपिका** ; between 1500–1565 A. D.

गोपाल, a. of **कुण्डमुद्गर**.

गोपाल a. of **मूल्यनिरूपण**, a. of com. on **मूल्याध्याय** of **कात्यायन**.

गोपाल a. of **आचारनिर्णय, आशौचनिर्णय** (composed in 1613 A. D.), **तिथिनिर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय**.

गोपाल a. of **आचारकौमुदी**.

गोपाल a. of **चातुर्मास्यकारिका**.

गोपाल, son of **हरिवंशभट्ट**, a **द्राविड**; a. of **कालकौमुदी**.

गोपाल a. of **प्रायश्चित्तकारिका** or **प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका**.

गोपाल a. of **रत्नाकर**.

गोपालजित् a. of com. on **मूल्याध्याय** of **कात्यायन**.

गोपालदेशिकाचार्य, son of **आत्रेय कृष्णार्य**. Later than 1620 A. D. ; a. of **आह्निक** and **जयन्तीनिर्णय, नृसिंहजयन्तीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, श्रवणद्वादशीनिर्णय**.

गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन a. of **सदाचारसंग्रह** (according to **रामानुज**).

गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन About 1570-1620; composed com. on the **तत्त्वs** of

रघुनन्दन called निर्णय viz. आचारनिर्णय, उद्वाहनिर्णय, कालनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णय, दायनि०, दुर्गोत्सवनि०, प्रायश्चित्तनि०, विचारनिर्णय, विवादनि०, शुद्धिनि०, श्राद्धनि०, संक्रान्तिनि०, संबन्धनि०, and प्रायश्चित्तकर्मनि०.

गोपालपण्डित a. of गृह्यभाष्य.

गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट, surnamed उदास ; a. of शूद्रपद्धति (Vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 8975). He quotes शुद्धितत्त्व and मयूख. Later than 1650 A. D.

गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द; a. of हरिभक्तिविलास (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 454 p. 534) and a. of भगवद्भक्तिविलास. About 1560 A. D.

गोपालभट्ट a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका.

गोपालयज्वन् (गार्ग्य) a. of पितृमेधसार, पितृमेधव्याख्या or- भाष्य.

गोपालव्यास a. of नवरात्रनिर्णय.

गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1640 A. D.; a. of आशौचमाला.

गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of व्यवहारालोक, विवादव्यवहार.

गोपालाचार्य a. of पितृपद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

गोपालानन्द a. of नित्याचारपद्धति.

गोपीनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव ; a. of दीपिका com. on स्नानसूत्र of कात्यायन.

गोपीनाथ a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ a. of उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ, son of शार्ङ्गधर, son of विश्वनाथव्यास of वासिष्ठगोत्र who was one of the four sons of सामराज and resident of प्रत्यग्रपुर; a. of जातिविवेक. Earlier than 1600 A. D. Ulwar cat. No. 1323 and I. O. cat. p. 518 cause confusion and make it appear that there were two writers of जातिविवेक of the same name.

गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिन् a. of संन्यासदीपिका.

गोपीनाथदीक्षित a. of श्रावणीकर्म (हिरण्यकेशीय).

गोपीनाथपाठक, son of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक, son of काशीपाठक ; a. of प्रणवोपासनविधि.

गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of निर्णयरत्नाकर.

गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका, तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति, प्रेतदीपिका, मासिकश्राद्धपद्धति, संस्काररत्नमाला.

गोपीनाथमिश्र a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण ; a. of निर्णयामृत (written at the bidding of prince सूर्यसेन). Probably there is some confusion. The author of निर्णयामृत was अल्लाडनाथसूरि who wrote under सूर्यसेन.

गोभिल a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति (also called कर्मप्रदीप of कात्यायन). Vide pp. 218-220 above).

गोभिल (reputed) a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

गोभिलपुत्र a. of गृह्यासंग्रह.

गोवर्धन उपाध्याय a. of उद्वाहचन्द्रिका.

गोवर्धन कविमण्डन a. of आपस्तम्बाह्निक.

गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास ; a. of छन्दोगाह्निक.

गोवर्धन पाठक a. of पुराणसर्वस्व (compiled in शके 1396 under Bengal Zamindar श्रीसत्य).

गोविन्द, son of बृहस्पत्याचार्य, son of वासुदेव; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

गोविन्द, son of मदाशिवमिश्र ; a. of संग्रहरत्नाकर.

गोविन्द a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in दीक्षातत्त्व. Probably the same as the next.

गोविन्द a. of प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of केशव. Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in the दीक्षातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. He wrote पूजाप्रदीप at the bidding of भवानन्दराय (B. O. mss. cat, No. 264 p. 287 dated ल. सं. 432 i. e. 1551 A. D.).

गोविन्द a. of स्मार्तावामपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of लक्षहोमपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a. of पीयूषधारा com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि of राम who was his uncle ; com. composed in शके 1550.

गोविन्द उपाध्याय m. by हेमाद्रि.

गोविन्ददत्त, son of गणेश्वरमान्त्रिक, who was younger brother of वीरेश्वर and son of देवादित्य who was minister of king हरसिंह ; a. of मानसोल्लास (?). A work called गोविन्दमानसोल्लास is mentioned in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 822) and एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 12) of रघुनन्दन. (Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. pp. 107-109). About 1300-1370 A. D.

गोविन्द दैवज्ञ, son of गदाधर of the माध्यन्दिनशाखा and गौतमगोत्र ; a. of कृष्णमार्तण्ड (composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A. D.).

गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित; a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

गोविन्दपण्डित a. of श्राद्धदीपिका. Earlier than 1560 A. D.; m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट (on श्राद्ध). Earlier than 1250.

गोविन्दभट्ट m. in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 787) by रघुनन्दन as भाष्यकार of पराशर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग.

गोविन्दभट्ट बुद्धिल a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

गोविन्दराज, son of माधव; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति and of स्मृतिमञ्जरी. Sec. 76. सहगमनविधि is ascribed to him.

गोविन्दराय a. of परशुप्रकरण (composed between 1740-49 A. D.).

गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट a. of दत्तपुत्रविचार.

गोविन्दस्वामिन् a. of com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

गोविन्दानन्द कविकङ्कणाचार्य, son of गणपतिभट्ट. Sec. 101. Flourished between 1500-1540 A. D.; a. of दानकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, शुद्धिकौमुदी, श्राद्धकौमुदी and of अर्थ-

कौमुदी com. on शुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी (com. on शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक).

गोविन्दोपाध्याय a. of मलमासे निषेधविचार (B. O. mss. cat. No. 292 p. 332).

गोस्वामिन् a. of निर्णयसार.

गौतम a. of धर्मसूत्र (sec. 5) and quoted as a writer on politics in the com. to नीतिवाक्यामृत.

गौतम a. of आह्निकसूत्र, पितृमेधसूत्र.

गौतम a. of दानचन्द्रिका.

गौरीकान्त (and others) a. of विवादार्णवभञ्जन.

गौरीदत्त son of रामभद्र ; a. of बाग्मती-तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.

गौरीनाथचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कालमाघ्यनिर्णय, नवान्नभाघ्यनिर्णय.

गौरीपति son of दामोदर ; a. of com. on आचारदर्श of श्रीदत्त. Composed at Benares in 1640 A. D.

गौरीशभट्ट son of दामोदर, son of नायकपण्डित. दामोदर was born in महाराष्ट्र on the banks of a holy river in Yajñabhūmi, but studied at Benares and was honoured at the court of Akbar. गौरीशभट्ट wrote अनुमरणप्रदीप. He composed it after 67 years of Akbar's era (अकब्बरमहीन्द्रस्य गतैर्मुन्यर्तुवत्सरैः । पूरितः कार्तिकेऽष्टम्यां काश्यां गौरीशशर्मणा), i. e. 1609 A. D. He mentions बालोक (बालक ?), जिकन, शूलपाणि, मदनपारिजात, अनुमरणविवेक and several other works. He mentions also विट्ठलविलास of his father. Vide D. C. Ms. 76 of 1892-95.

गौरीशङ्कर a. of विवाहपद्धति.

ग्रहेश्वरमिश्र m. as a jurist in विवादरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (pp. 46, 483) and in वर्धमान's दण्डविवेक where his work seems to be called व्यवहारतरङ्ग. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

घटकर्पर (reputed) a. of नीतिसार.

चक्रधर a. of पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय.

चक्रपाणिपाठक a. of com. on तिथिप्रकाश of मकुन्ददास. Ms. (in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 163 p. 178) is dated शके 1700.

चक्रपाणिमिश्र a. of व्यवहारादर्श.

चण्डमारुतस्वामिन् a of हरिदिनतिलक.

चण्डीदास son of दुर्गादत्त ; a. of संक्षिप्ताह्निकपद्धति (composed at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर).

चण्डुक a. of स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानाधिकरण or चण्डुनिबन्ध (vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593, ज्येष्ठ शु. 93 शुक्रे). He is styled महामात्य and सम्राट्.

चण्डेश्वर ठक्कुर son of वीरेश्वर. Sec. 90; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर (divided into seven parts on कृत्य, गृहस्थ, दान, पूजा, विवाद, व्यवहार and शुद्धि) and of कृत्यचिन्तामणि, राजनीतिरत्नाकर, दानवाक्यावलि and शिववाक्यावलि, शैवमानसोल्लास.

चतुर्भुज a. of गमनित्यार्चनपद्धति.

चतुर्भुज a. of विवाहपद्धति.

चतुर्भुज a. of अद्भुतसागरसार and of महापातकसंस्काराः.

चतुर्भुज a. of **कृष्णपद्धति**.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य m. in **शुद्धितत्त्व** (p. 243) by **रघुनन्दन**.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य a. of **आशौचप्रकाश** and **आशौचसंग्रह** (both works are probably identical). He is probably the same as the **चतुर्भुज** m. by **रघुनन्दन**.

चतुर्भुजाचार्य a. of **गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी**.

चन्द्र a. of **स्मृति**, m. in **निर्णयदीपक**.

चन्द्रचूडभट्ट or **चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन्**, son of **उमापति** (alias **लक्ष्मणभट्ट**), son of **धर्मेश्वर** or **धर्मभट्ट** **पौराणिक**. Between 1575–1650 A. D.; a. of **कालदिवाकर**, **कालसिद्धान्तनिर्णय**, **गृहवास्तुनिर्णय**, **पाकयज्ञनिर्णय** **पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग**, **श्राद्धनिर्णय**, **संस्कारनिर्णय** alias **चन्द्रचूडीय**.

चन्द्रमौलि a. of **आचारसार** or **आचाररत्न**.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of **धर्मविवेक**.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of **पुरश्चरणदीपिका**.

चन्द्रशेखर महामहोपाध्याय a. of **स्मृतिप्रदीप**.

चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of **विद्याभूषण**; a. of **द्वैतनिर्णय** or **-निर्णयसंग्रह**, **धर्मदीपिका** or **स्मृतिप्रदीपिका**, **स्मृतिसारसंग्रह**.

चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन् a. of **दुर्गभञ्जन** or **स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन** or **सङ्कल्पस्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन**.

चक्रधरसिंहयज्वन्, son of **लक्ष्मणभट्ट** ; a. of **षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका**.

चारुदेव m. as a writer on **राजनीति** by **मल्लिनाथ** on **रघु॰** V. 50.

चाणक्य a. of **राजनीतिशास्त्र** in verse (varion recensions) pr. in Dr. N. Law's Calcutta Oriental Series ; and of the **कौटिलीय**. Hultzsch's R. II. No. 993 (and p. 85 extract) is a **चाणक्यसप्तति** the last verse of which is '**श्लोकानामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम् । चन्द्रगुप्ताय चाणक्यः संक्षेपेणोपदिष्टवान्**'. Vide under **चाणक्यनीति** and similar works.

चारायण m. in the com. on the **नीतिवाक्यामृत**.

चारायण a. of **गृह्यसूत्र**.

चित्रपति, son of **नन्दीपति**, son of **मधुसूदन**, a Pandit of Colebrooke ; a. of **व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपीयूष** (composed in 1803 A. D. ; vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 356).

चिदम्बरेश्वर a. of **स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह**.

चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of **स्वयंप्रकाशानन्दनाथ** ; a. of **ललितार्चनपद्धति**.

चिद्घनानन्दनाथ a. of **कर्मपद्धति**.

चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य, a **गौड** ; a. of **स्मृतिव्यवस्था** (divided into parts on **उद्वाह**, **तिथि**, **दाय**, **प्रायश्चित्त**, **शुद्धि** and **श्राद्ध**). Earlier than 1680 A. D.

चूडामणि, son of **राघवेन्द्रभट्ट** ; a. of **ज्ञानाङ्कुर**.

चूडामल्ल (sometimes said to be) a. of **कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय** composed by **दामोदरपण्डित** in the 2nd half of 16th century in Akbars's reign.

चैतन्यगिरि a. of **महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति** and **दत्तात्रेयपद्धति**, **देवीपूजनपद्धति**.

चौण्डपार्य, son of चिक्कपार्य and कामाम्बा and pupil of भारतीतीर्थ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य (आश्वलायन), composed at request of वासुदेव, son of भानु. Bows to भारतीतीर्थ and विद्यातीर्थ as भाष्यकारs and describes them as त्रयीमयमहार्णवौ. Probably flourished about 1350-1375 A. D. Vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4214.

च्यवन Sec. 21; a. of a धर्मसूत्र.

छलारिनारायण a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

छलारि or छल्लारि नृसिंह (or नरसिंह) son of नारायण; a. of स्मृत्यर्थसागर (of which कालतरङ्ग is first part) and आह्निक for माध्वs. Later than 1675 A. D.

छाग याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र.

छागल or छागलेय a. of स्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290, 326), कल्पतरु, स्मृतिच॰, अपरार्क pp. 442, 533, 932.

जगदानन्द a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

जगदीश a. of भावार्थदीप com. on शूलपाणि's श्राद्धविवेक.

जगन्नाथ a. of अनुयोगकल्पतरु.

जगन्नाथ a. of विवाहपद्धति.

जगन्नाथ तर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113; a. of विवादभङ्गार्णव.

जगन्नाथ याज्ञिक, son of शम्भुयाज्ञिक; a. of संस्कारकल्पद्रुम.

जगन्नाथसूरि a. of समुदायप्रकरण.

जनमेजय (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रकाशिका (which is said to have been imparted to him by वैशम्पायन).

जमदग्नि a. of a स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 256 in prose), by हरदत्त, कल्पतरु, अपरार्क (pp. 267, 468, 501, 880, 1064) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

जम्बूनाथ सभापति, son of हेमाद्रि; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति.

जयकृष्ण a. of गङ्गास्नानसङ्कल्पवाक्यदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. No. 90 p. 91).

जयकृष्ण or श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार a. of दीप com. on दायभाग and of दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह.

जयकृष्ण तर्कवागीश a. of श्राद्धदर्पण alias श्राद्धदीप.

जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ; a. of com. on कर्मनिर्णय of आनन्दतीर्थ, of पूजापद्धति. For latter vide ms. No. 8685 of Baroda O. I.

जयतुङ्ग (Is he an author ?) m. in टोडरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चानन a. of मीराजन-प्रकाश (composed for शिवनारायण घोष), सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका.

जयन्त or जयन्तस्वामिन्, son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन्. He was father of अभिनन्द. End of eighth century; a. of आश्वलायनीय गृह्यकारिका and विमलोदयमाला com. on आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र. हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1339) says that हरिहर refuted the view of जयन्तस्वामिन् on the verse अन्वष्टक्ये तु पित्र्यस्य. He is m. by गदाधर in his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य, in श्राद्धकाशिका

of रघुनाथ and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट. For विमलोदय (com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य vide D. C. ms. No. 45 of 1899-1915).

जयराम a. of शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति.

जयराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

जयराम a. of दानचन्द्रिका (abstract of हेमाद्रि's work).

जयराम a. of मुहूर्तालङ्कार.

जयराम, son of बलभद्र, son of दामोदर of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Between 1200-1400 A. D. ; a. of सज्जनवल्लभा (a com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र). In Ulwar cat. extract No. 39 the date (of composition probably ?) is संवत् 1611 (1554-5 A. D.).

जयशर्मन् m. in तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.

जयसिंहदेव, king of गोरक्षपुर. Earlier than 1750 A. D. ; (reputed) a. of जयमाधवमानसोल्लास.

जयस्वामिन् m. in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 782) of रघुनन्दन,

जयानन्द a. of मुहूर्तदीप.

जातूकर्ण्य- vide sec. 22.

जानकीरामसार्वभौम a. of सत्स्मृतिसार.

जाबाल or -लि a. of a स्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 24, 260, 263-64, 315, 322, 326), अपरार्क p. 736.

जिकन Earlier than 1250 A. D.; m. in आचारसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट, in शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक and प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 237 vol. II. refers to his अन्त्येष्टिविधि and अनुमरणविवेक) and in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 774).

जितामित्र Earlier than 1250 A. D. ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 46) of रघुनन्दन as referred to by श्रीदत्त.

जितेन्द्रिय Sec. 66 ; flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.

जीमूतवाहन Sec. 78 ; a. of कालविवेक, व्यवहारमातृका, दायभाग.

जीव a. of दुर्गमसङ्गमनी a com. of भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु.

जीवदेव, son of आपदेव and younger brother of अनन्तदेव; latter half of 17th century; he names निर्णयसिन्धु and मयूख ; a. of आशौचनिर्णय and गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (extracted in संस्कारकौस्तुभ).

जीवनाथ दैवज्ञ a. of वास्तुरत्नावली.

जीवराम a. of स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति.

जैत्रसिंह a. of भैरवार्चापारिजात.

जैमिनि a. of स्मृति m. in मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 20), कालमाधव (p. 259), एकादशीतत्त्व, नि. सि.

जैमिनि a. of स्मृतिमीमांसा (m. by अपरार्क).

जैमिनि a. of गृह्यसूत्र (pr. in Punjab Oriental series).

जोरेश्वर महामहोपाध्याय a. of द्वैतनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol I. No. 225 p. 237.)

जोग्लोक- vide योग्लोक.

ज्ञानभास्कर a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप and आह्निक.

ज्ञानस्वरूप a. of com. on प्रपञ्चसार.

ज्योतिर्गर्ग m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

ज्योतिर्गार्ग्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

ज्योतिर्नारद m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

ज्योतिर्नाथ a. of शैवरत्नाकर.

ज्योतिर्नृसिंह m. by भट्टोजि in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान.

ज्योतिर्बृहस्पति m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 472), in निर्णयदीपक.

ज्योतिर्वसिष्ठ m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

ज्योतिष्पराशर m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, कालमाधव (p. 91), in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिष्पितामह m. in कालमाधव (p. 91).

ज्वालानाथमिश्र a. of सुकृत्यप्रकाश and उदक्याशुद्धिप्रकाश.

झिङ्गण्य कोविद (or झिङ्गण्ण), son of पेद्दल मञ्चनाचार्य; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति (for आपस्तम्बीयs, also called झिङ्गभट्टीय).

टीकाराम a. of दायमुक्तावली.

टीकाकारशर्मन् a. of पिष्टपशुखण्डन (ms. No. 2436 of Baroda O. I.). He was of गार्ग्यगोत्र and followed परानन्दाद्वैतवेदान्त.

टोडरमल्ल Sec. 104; (reputed) a. of टोडरानन्द (several parts of which are separately noted, as कालनिर्णयसौख्य &c.).

डाण्डू (or मिश्रश्रीडोड्डू); a. of श्राद्धविधि for माध्यन्दिनीयs. Mentions कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठ, हलायुध (BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 736).

ढुण्ढि a. of मांसनिर्णय and मासादिनिर्णय.

ढुण्ढिराज son of पुरुषोत्तम and pupil of रामपण्डित father of नन्दपण्डित. About 1600 A. D; a. of कुण्डकल्पलता.

डुण्डु (or ढुण्ढु). Earlier than 1555 A. D.; a. of पद्धति m. in अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट and in श्राद्धतत्त्व.

डोण्डू a. of श्राद्धविधि (माध्यन्दिनीय) Same as डाण्डू above. Between 1200-1500 A. D.

डोडामिश्र son of प्राणकृष्ण; a. of श्राद्धविवेक.

तकनलाल Later than 1686 A. D; a. of com. on अत्रिस्मृति, of com. on आचारार्क, of com. on दक्षस्मृति, com. on दत्तकचन्द्रिका, com. on हारीतस्मृति.

तर्कतिलक vide under मोहनमिश्र.

तातपार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

ताताराम a. of प्रयागगतिदीपिका.

तान्याशास्त्रिन् a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.

तानपाठक a. of संस्कारमुक्तावली.

ताम्रपर्णाचार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तालकान्तनिवासिन् a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रप्रयोगवृत्ति; follows देवस्वामिन्, कपर्दिन्, कुमारसिद्धान्तिन्.

तिगलाभट्ट a. of श्रीस्थलप्रकाश.

तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालम्भट्ट surnamed गड्डर; a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त, संस्कारनिर्णय; wrote संग्रहदीपिका in 1776 A. D.

तिम्मणभट्ट a. of स्मृतिकोशदीपिका.

तिम्मयज्वन् चक्कूरि a. of षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र a. of श्राद्धनिर्णयदीपिका.

तिरुमलयज्वन् a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

तिरुमलसोमयाजिन्, son of अरुमल-यज्वन्; a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका.

तिर्पिलिसूरि a. of प्रयोगमुक्तावली.

तिर्मल of पराशरगोत्र a. of धर्मसेतु.

तुरगवदनपण्डित a. of शालग्राममलक्षण.

तुलजाराम a. of उत्सवनिर्णय.

तुलाजिराज Tanjore king (1765-1788 A. D.): (reputed) a. of आह्निकधर्मसारसंग्रह, राजधर्मसारसंग्रह. He is said to have composed स्मृतिसारामृत also.

तोटकाचार्य a. of कालनिर्णय.

तोळप्पर, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य; a. of दत्तकचन्द्रिका.

त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (भास्कर). Between 1100 and 1250 A.D; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका (pr. in B. I. series) m. by हेमाद्रि, मदनपारिजात and he wrote प्रवरनिर्णय. Mentions कर्क, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामोदर, भवभाष्य, रुद्रदत्त, वामन.

त्रिलोचनमिश्र earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of धर्मकोश.

त्रिलोचनशिव a. of प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

त्रिविक्रम. Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of त्रिविक्रमपद्धति or त्रैविक्रमी or प्रतिष्ठापद्धति (on the consecration of idols &c.) m. in टोडरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

त्रिविक्रम a. of न्यासपद्धति.

त्रिविक्रमभट्ट, pupil of श्रीरामभारती; a. of गूढार्थदीपिका (or सुगू°) com. on शारदातिलक.

त्रिविक्रमसूरि, son of रघुसूरि; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका; m. in टोडरानन्द. Probably the same as above.

त्रैवियवृद्ध a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग.

त्र्यम्बक, pupil of यज्ञेश; a. of गार्हस्थ्यदीपिका.

त्र्यम्बक a. of तत्त्वदीप.

त्र्यम्बक a. of स्त्रीधर्मपद्धति.

त्र्यम्बक, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे; a. of आचारेन्दु. (composed in 1838 A. D.), प्रतिष्ठेन्दु.

त्र्यम्बक, son of राम, surnamed ओक; a. of आचारभूषण (composed in 1819 A. D.).

त्र्यम्बक पण्डित, son of नारायण of the आङ्गिरसमुद्गलगोत्र; about 1760 A.D.; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

त्र्यम्बकभट्ट मौल्ह, son of कृष्णभट्ट; a. of जातिविवेक, प्रायश्चित्तसार, प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

दक्ष sec. 43; a. of स्मृति.

दत्त vide गौरीदत्त.

दत्तपण्डित a. of चूडाकर्म.

दत्तात्रेय m. in. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, अपरार्क (p. 971), मदनपारिजात, निर्णयसिन्धु.

दयाराम a. of दानप्रदीप, पद्यचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसंग्रह

दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर; a.of उपाकर्मविधि, और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति, तिथिनिर्णय, दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग, दानप्रदीप, नीतिविवेक, प्रयोगदीप (or -रत्नाकर), शाङ्खायनगृह्य, शुद्धिरत्न, श्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धप्रयोग.

दलपतिराज, son of वल्लभ; sec. 99; a. of नृसिंहप्रसाद (several parts of which are separately noted in

the catalogues, such as आह्निकसार, कालनिर्णयसार).

दशपुत्र (probably this is only the surname) a. of मलमासनिर्णय.

दादा, son of माधव son of नृसिंह, surnamed Karajgi. He was a माध्व and of वसिष्ठगोत्र and resided at Nasik ; mentions मयूख and कौस्तुभ ; a. of दत्तार्क (composed in शके 1691 शशिग्रहरसभूयुक्शाककेब्दे). Aufrecht is wrong in giving the date as 1661.

दामोदर a. of दृष्टिकाल.

दामोदर a. of लघुकालनिर्णय.

दामोदर a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of मांसविवेक.

दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट and eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ. About 1610 A.D.; a. of कलिवर्ज्यनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट.

दामोदर गार्ग्य a. of प्रयोगपद्धति (alias संस्कारपद्धति) following पारस्करगृह्य. Names कर्क, गङ्गाधर and हरिहर.

दामोदर ठक्कर Earlier than 1575 A.D.; a. of दिव्यनिर्णय (compiled under संग्रामसिंह) and विवेकदीपक; N. vol. V. p. 282 speaks of दिव्यदीपिका (compiled under श्रीमत्साहभूपाल), while N. vol. VI p. 40 says that दिव्यनिर्णय was compiled under संग्रामसाह ; but the works appear to be the same.

दामोदरठक्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 276 p. 313?).

दामोदरपण्डित. Latter half of 16th century ; a. of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय (under the patronage of सूरजमल्ल).

दामोदरीय m. in शुद्धिमयूख and निर्णयदीपक.

दारिल a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र.

दाल्भ्य a. of धर्मशास्त्र (D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91) in verse (with a few prose passages about प्रयोग) on प्रेतक्रिया, एकादशाहश्राद्ध, नवकश्राद्ध, सपिण्डीकरण, वृषोत्सर्ग (मैत्रेय asks दाल्भ्य) and of a पद्धति.

दाल्भ्य a. of नारायणबलिपद्धति.

दिनकर son of नृसिंह from the दशार्ण country. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of गोपालपद्धति.

दिनकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य.

दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट ; a. of कर्मविपाकसार, प्रायश्चित्तसार, शान्तिसार, दिनकरोद्द्योत (completed by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट). Between 1575-1640 A. D.

दिवाकर son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. His maternal grand-father was नीलकण्ठ author of the twelve मयूखs ; a. of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of which अन्त्येष्टिप्रकाश, आचारार्क (composed in 1686 A. D.), दानहीरावलिप्रकाश, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका, तिथ्यर्क, प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली, सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति and others were parts. Aufrecht (part I. p. 253) confounded

this with the next, but corrected himself (part II. p. 54).

दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल (काळे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, father of कमलाकर. About 1620-1670 A.D.; a. of दानचन्द्रिका (or दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका), आह्निकचन्द्रिका or संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका, स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार, पतितत्यागविधि, पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग.

दिवाकर, son of दिनकर ; a. of दानदिनकर.

दिवाकरभट्ट a. of त्रिवेणीपद्धति.

दिवोदास Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of दिवोदासप्रकाश; m.by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर and seems to be the same as दिवोदासीय m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानपारिजात, शुद्धिमयूख.

दिव्यसिंह महापात्र a. of कालदीप (or-प्रदीप), श्राद्धदीप and of दिव्यसिंहकारिका (which summarises the two preceding).

दीक्षित About 1050-1100 A. D.; m. by दायभाग (on daughter's succession) and कालविवेक (pp. 92, 102, 237, 264, 541). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

दीनदयालु पाठक a. of मुहूर्तभैरव.

दीर्घतमस् m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 260) and by मस्करिन् (on गौतमधर्मसूत्र).

दुःखभञ्जन a. of मुहूर्तकल्पाकर, शुद्धजयप्रकाश.

दुर्गदत्त a. of शुद्धदीपिका.

दुर्गय, son of वासुदेव ; a. of com. on दायदशश्लोकी or दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशक.

दुर्गासहाय a. of मुहूर्तरचना.

दूलाल a. of दूलालीय.

देवकीनन्दन a. of एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय.

देवजानि (?) a. of देवजानीयभाष्य on निर्णयदीपक.

देवण्णभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट. Sec. 85; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son o अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र and honoured by मालव king; between 1250-1500 A.D.; mentions कल्पतरु, कर्क, अर्णव (महार्णव), मिताक्षरा, स्मृतिसार, विश्वादर्श ; a. of देवदासप्रकाश or सद्ग्रन्थचूडामणि, तिथिनिर्णय. निर्णयामृत and विधानपारिजात mention a देवदासीय which is probably the देवदासप्रकाश.

देवनाथ ठक्कुर. Earlier than 1620 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकौमुदी. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 60 p. 54 is a कालकौमुदी of देवनाथ, which is probably a part of the स्मृतिकौमुदी.

देवपाल, son of हरिपाल ; a. of भाष्य on काठकगृह्यसूत्र.

देवबोध a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 236).

देवभद्र a. of पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग (for वाजसनेयs).

देवभद्र पाठक a. of दशसहस्रकोटिहोमप्रयोग.

देवभद्र पाठक, son of बलभद्र ; a. of प्रयोगसार (कात्यायनीय).

देवयाज्ञिक vide याज्ञिकदेव.

देवयाज्ञिक a. of सूतकसिद्धान्त.

देवयाज्ञिक a. of a पद्धति (यजुर्वेदीय); pr. in Kashi S. series.

देवराज a. of com. on नीतिमञ्जरी of द्याद्विवेदिन्.

देवराज a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह (compiled under orders of prince चेतसिंह of Benares, 1770-1781 A. D.).

देवराज a. of मुहूर्तपरीक्षा.

देवराज a. of श्राद्धाशौचीयदर्पण.

देवरात a.of a work on धर्मशास्त्र (probably a निबन्ध) m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका for the view that दुहितरः in याज्ञवल्क्य's verses on inheritance means पुत्रिका. The सरस्वतीविलास (p. 414, Mysore ed.) attributes the same view to him along with धारेश्वर, देवस्वामिन् and श्रीकर.

देवराम a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

देवराम a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

देवल vide sec. 23.

देवस्वामिन्. Vide sec. 65. About 1000-1050 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on आश्वलायनगृह्य and of a निबन्ध on धर्मशास्त्र.

देवीदास a. of राजनीति.

देवीरामपण्डित a. of कर्मविपाकचिकित्सामृतसागर.

देवेन्द्राश्रम, pupil of विबुधेन्द्राश्रम. Earlier than 1696 A. D.; a. of पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका (D. C. ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1753).

धातुमिश्र a. of प्रेतमञ्जरी.

द्याद्विवेदिन्, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अग्नि, son of मुकुन्द of आनन्दपुर ; a. of नीतिमञ्जरी and com. thereon (composed in 1494 A. D.). Aufrecht (I. p. 263) said that द्याद्विवेदिन् composed in 1054 but corrected himself later (II. p. 56).

द्रविड m. as an author in the स्मृत्यर्थसार of श्रीधर.

द्राह्यायण a. of द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्र (attributed to खादिर).

द्रोण Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of रत्नकरण्डिका.

द्वारकानाथयज्वन्, son of टीकाभट्ट; a. of उपाकर्मप्रयोग.

द्वैपायन (reputed) a. of दमकदर्पण.

द्वैपायनाचार्य a. of स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका.

धनञ्जय Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of धर्मप्रदीप and सम्बन्धविवेकपरिशिष्ट. m. in संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I p.891) of रघुनन्दन). In उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 145) we have only सम्बन्धविवेक of धनञ्जय.

धनपति, son of कविपति, son of विश्वनाथ, son of रतिधर of खोजाल्वंश ; a. of श्राद्धदर्पण. The author resided at बेओलि and is later than 1500 A. D.

धनराम son of गोवर्धन ; a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

धनिराम a. of सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना.

धरणीधर Earlier than 1250 A. D; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति m. by कुल्लूक.

धरणीधर son of रेवाधर; a. of सापिण्ड्यतत्त्वप्रकाश (probably same as next).

धरणीधर, son of मुरारि; a. of एकादशीनिर्णयसार composed in शाके 1408 (1492 A. D.); ms. No. 12052 (Baroda O. I.) was copied in संवत 1620 मार्गशीर्ष (Dec. 1553 A. D.). It recites that the work was composed during the reign of king बीसलदेव and mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, अनन्तभट्ट, विश्वरूप and बोपदेवपण्डित.

धरणीधर पन्थ a. of com. on कालनिर्णय (of माधव), of चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन, of चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था.

धर्म a. of भाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 747).

धर्मकरोपाध्याय a. of तडागादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति, पुष्करिणीपत्तलक (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 263 p. 286). Both works are probably the same.

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र; a. of वृत्तरत्नाकर. Later than 1650 A. D.

धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of मुहूर्तशिरोमणि.

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति; m. in शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक. (p. 529).

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on चमत्कारचिन्तामणि of नारायणभट्ट.

धवल Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 134, 264, 543).

धवल a. of a निबन्ध; धवलनिबन्ध is m. in the अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट, in निर्णयामृत. Probably the same as the preceding.

धारेश्वर. Vide sec. 64.

धीरमति (queen of नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला) reputed author of दानवाक्यावली (real author being विद्यापति) and दानार्णव. About first half of 15th century.

धीरेन्द्रपक्षीभूषण, son of धर्मेश्वर; a. of नित्यकर्मलता.

धौम्य a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290).

नन्द, son of देवशर्मन; a. of ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय, स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दन a. of श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

नन्दन, younger brother of लक्ष्मण; a. of नन्दिनी, com. on the मानवधर्मशास्त्र.

नन्दनमिश्र a. of रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध.

नन्दपण्डित *alias* विनायकपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित धर्माधिकारिन्. Sec. 105; a. of काशीप्रकाश, तत्त्वमुक्तावली, तीर्थकल्पलता, दत्तकमीमांसा, नवरात्रप्रदीप, प्रमिताक्षरा (com. on मिताक्षरा), विद्वन्मनोहरा (com. on पराशरस्मृति), वैजयन्ती alias केशववैजयन्ती (com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र), शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (com. on षडशीति of कौशिकादित्य), श्राद्धकल्पलता, स्मृतिसिन्धु (of which संस्कारनिर्णय is a part), हरिवंशविलास (of which

कालनिर्णयकौतुक is a part). He probably composed ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय and स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दभट्ट a. of विवाहनिरूपण.

नन्दरामामिश्र, son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र; a. of निर्णयसार (composed in 1780 A. D.).

नरराज vide under नवराज.

नरसिंह a. of ब्रह्मयज्ञशिरोरत्न.

नरसिंह a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रकारिकावृत्ति; composed in 1614 A. D.

नरसिंह vide छलारि नृसिंह.

नरसिंह a. of तुलसीकाष्ठमालाधारणनिषेध.

नरसिंह or नृसिंह ठक्कुर About 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of प्रमाणपल्लव (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 270 p. 209).

नरसिंहदेव (reputed) a. of दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी or दुर्गापद्धति. About 1425-50 A. D.

नरसिंहभट्ट a. of यजुर्वेदचिन्तामणि.

नरसिंह वाजपेयिन्, son of मुरारि of कौत्सवंश. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of नित्याचारप्रदीप. Pr. in B. I. series.

नरसिंह सोमयाजिन्, son of माधवाचार्य; a. of विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण.

नरहरि a. of विवाहपद्धति.

नरहरि a. of संस्कारनृसिंह.

नरहरि उपाध्याय a. of द्वैतनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 223 p.236).

नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि a. of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन and com. प्रकाशिका thereon and of a work on सापिण्ड्य; m in com. on सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका.

नरोत्तम a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेप.

नरोत्तमदास a. of प्रातःपूजाविधि (for followers of चैतन्य).

नरोत्तमदेव a. of श्राद्धप्रकरण.

नवरसौन्दर्यभट्ट a. of शूद्राचारसंग्रह or सच्छूद्राचार.

नवराज, son of देवसिंह of the द्रोण family; a. of दानपञ्जी and व्रतपञ्जी and दानवाक्यावलि. The real author was सूर्यकर. Often read as नरराज in the catalogues; vide Peterson's 5th Report p. 177 extract and B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 195 p. 210 where we have both नरराज and सूर्यकर.

नागदेव flourished before 1435 A.D.; a. of आचारदीप or -प्रदीप (ms. No. 3858 Baroda O. I. copied in 1491 शके माघे) and निर्णयतत्त्व; m. in आचारमयूख and शूद्रकमलाकर.

नागदेव a. of मुहूर्तसिद्धि and मुहूर्तदीपक.

नागदेव, son of शिव. Later than 1612 A. D.; a. of तिथिनिर्णय based on निर्णयसिन्धु.

नागदेवज्ञ, son of शिव; a. of निर्णयतत्त्व (which is an abstract of निर्णयसिन्धु), आचारप्रदीप, प्रचिततिथिनिर्णय. Most probably the same as the preceding.

नागेश, son of वेङ्कटेश of Haldipur in North Canara; about 1741-1782 A. D.; a. of आगमग्रन्थ, तान्त्रिकमुक्तावलि, स्मृत्यर्थमुक्तावलि.

नागेशभट्ट or नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Sec. 110; a. आचा-

रेन्दुशेखर, आशौचनिर्णय, आशौचेन्दुशेखर, कृष्णपद्धति, तिथीन्दुशेखर, तिथिनिर्णय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु or- सारसंग्रह, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, चण्डीप्रयोग, तीर्थेन्दुशेखर, प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर, प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह, श्राद्धेन्दुशेखर, संस्काररत्नमाला, सापिण्डीमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्यदीपिका, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय (probably same as preceding).

नाडीजङ्घ m. as a स्मृतिकार in नित्याचारप्रदीप (p. 20).

नारद Sec. 36.

नारद (reputed) a. of मयूरचित्रक or मेघमाला.

नारायण a. of a. स्मृति m. in अपरार्क pp. 135, 146, 500, 508. In the Mad. Govt. Oriental Library there is a नारायणस्मृति in 9 chapters, where नारायण asks दुर्वासस् about sins.

नारायण m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट.

नारायण, son of अनन्त, son of हरि; a. of कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण (composed in 1578 A. D.) and of मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड and its com. मार्तण्डवल्लभा (composed in 1572 A. D.).

नारायण a. of a पद्धति; m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (p. 616) and मलमासतत्त्व (p. 746) of रघुनन्दन.

नारायण, son of कृष्णजीद्विवेदिन्, son of श्रीपति. Probably earlier than 1570 A. D. He was from श्रीपाटलपुरी in गुर्जरदेश; a. of com. गृह्यप्रदीपक on शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र and of a गृह्यपद्धति also.

नारायण a. of प्रदीपभाष्य on पार्वणश्राद्ध.

नारायण Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि.

नारायण Earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of com. अपेक्षितार्थद्योतिनी; m. in मदनरत्नप्रदीप (शान्ति portion).

नारायण, son of महाबल. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on गोभिलगृह्य; m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व and छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, surnamed आरड; a. of गृह्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसार and श्राद्धसागर, श्राद्धपद्धति. Later than 1650 A. D.

नारायण, son of दिवाकर of the नैध्रुवगोत्र; a. of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य. It is probably this नारायण that is m. in पराशरमाधवीय.

नारायण a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रपद्धति.

नारायण a. of चलार्चापद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

नारायण a. of दिनत्रयमीमांसा (for माध्व followers).

नारायण a. of सुबोधिनी.

नारायण a. of स्मृतिसर्वस्व. Before 1675 A. D.

नारायण a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.

नारायण a. of दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय.

नारायण a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर; a. of व्यवहारशिरोमणि. About 1100 A.D.

नारायण a. of नीतिमाला.

नारायण (छलारि) a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह and स्मृतिसार.

नारायण उपाध्याय ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 30), ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (p. 708 where his explanation of the last सूत्र of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र is given), in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक, in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

नारायण उपाध्याय son of गोण ; a. of परिशिष्टप्रकाश com. on कर्मप्रदीप.

नारायणचक्रवर्तिन् a. of शान्तिकतत्त्वामृत.

नारायणठक्कुर a. of ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी or संस्कारमञ्जरी.

नारायणतर्काचार्य a. of दोलायात्रामृत.

नारायणदीक्षित, son of चायम्भट्ट. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

नारायणदीक्षित a. of स्मार्तस्फुटपद्धति.

नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव. He was pupil of नागेश. About 1750-80 A. D.; a. of com. on सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका of his grandfather.

नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथपण्डित, pupil of भट्टनीलकण्ठ. Earlier than 1720 A. D.; a. of पिष्टपशुखण्डनमीमांसा (ms. No. 8831 of Baroda O. I. is पिष्टपशुमीमांसा of नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ), पिष्टपशुमीमांसाकारिका.

नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथसूरि (acc. to Stein's cat p. 107) and son of हितार्थसूरि (acc. to Bik. cat. p. 449); a. of सदाचारस्मृतिटीका.

नारायणपण्डित a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Sec. 103; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, अयननिर्णय, आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति, आतुरसंन्यासविधि, औपचाराग्न्युपयोग, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, प्रयोगरत्न, आहिताग्निमरणदाहादिपद्धति, महारुद्रपद्धति or रुद्रपद्धति, काशीमरणमुक्तिविवेक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णय, तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग, दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति, मांसमीमांसा, कालनिर्णयकारिकाव्याख्या, वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति, लक्षहोमपद्धति, विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति. Portions of his प्रयोगरत्न and other works are separately entered in the catalogues as distinct works.

नारायणभट्ट a. of कुशाकर्मपद्धति.

नारायणभट्ट between 1400-1600 A.D.; a. of धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

नारायणभट्ट a. of जातिविवेक (ms. No. 11147 of Baroda O. I.).

नारायणभट्ट a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

नारायणभट्ट a. of विधानरत्न.

नारायणभट्ट, son of राम, son of नारायण ; a. of काशीरहस्यप्रकाश (composed by order of कामदेव).

नारायणयज्वन् a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न.

नारायणवन्द्योपाध्याय a. of शुद्धिकारिका.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of धर्मसंग्रह.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of व्यवस्थासार (a different work from व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह).

नारायणशर्मसिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह.

नारायणसर्वज्ञ a. of मन्वर्थविवृति com. on मनुस्मृति, of कामधेनुदीपिका, of शुद्धिदीपिका. As रायमुकुट (1431 A. D.) mentions him, he is earlier than 1400 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 62.

नारायणानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनशिरोमणि.

नारायणार्य a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय of अभिनवमाधवाचार्य.

नारोजिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of लक्षणशतक and com. लक्षणरत्नमालिका thereon.

निजानन्द a. of प्रयोगसार.

नित्यानन्द a. of क्रमदीपिका.

नित्यानन्द a. of षट्कर्मव्याख्यानचिन्तामणि.

निधिराम a. of आचारमाला.

निबन्धनकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास (pp. 51, 349).

निम्बार्कशिष्य a. of संन्यासपद्धति.

निरवद्यविद्योद्द्योत m. in the दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन.

निर्बुरिबलवोपाध्याय a. of व्याख्यानदीपिका com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

निर्भयरामभट्ट a. of व्रतोपवाससंग्रह and संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति: a. of दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or-विधान.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट; a. of कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on दायभाग.

नीलकण्ठ a. of प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

नीलकण्ठ a. of निर्णयभास्कर.

नीलकण्ठ son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि. About 1600 A. D.; a. of तिथिरत्नमाला and com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec. 107; a. of भगवन्तभास्कर (divided into 12 मयूखs), व्यवहारतत्त्व, कुण्डोद्द्योत.

नीलकण्ठ son of भास्कर; a. of दानदीधिति.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानचन्द्रिका.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानपरिभाषा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान and कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षित son of अप्पयदीक्षित अद्वैताचार्य, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of अघविवेक.

नीलकण्ठ यतीन्द्र a. of यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी.

नीलकण्ठसूरि a. of परशुप्रकरण.

नीलकण्ठाचार्य a. of स्मृत्यर्थसार.

नीलकमल (लाहाडी) a. of काल्यर्चनचन्द्रिका.

नीलाम्बरभट्ट son of गदाधर (author of कालसार). Before 1500 A. D.; a. of कालकौमुदी; m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (p. 275) of गोविन्दानन्द. He is probably the same as नीलाम्बर m. as भाष्यकार of कात्यायन in the यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (vol. II. p. 496).

नीलासुर (?), son of सङ्कर्षण; a. of com. on श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकासूत्र of कात्यायन. It is probable that नीलासुर is a misreading of नीलाम्बर meaning हलायुध.

नृसिंह (कम्माहुर). Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of आशौचदीपिका and तिथिप्रदीपिका.

नृसिंह a. of निबन्धशिरोमणि.

नृसिंह, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Between 1360-1435 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगपारिजात.

नृसिंह of अत्रिगोत्र, resided on the वसुमती near चन्द्रगिरि in वैराटदेश. Earlier than 1565 A. D. and later than 1300 A. D.; a. of विधानमाला. He mentions चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

नृसिंह a. of श्रौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग.

नृसिंह, son of माधवाचार्य वाजपेययाजिन्; a. of com. on वैखानसधर्मप्रश्न and वैखानससूत्रदर्पण.

नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य surnamed शेष. 1400-1450 A. D.; a. कालनिर्णयदीपिकाविवरण, and of com. on तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह (of रामचन्द्र), तिथिप्रदीपिका, गोविन्दार्णव or धर्मतत्त्वालोक; ms. 10410 (Baroda O. I.) gives date of composition (?) as शशाङ्ककालानलविश्वसंमिते विरोधिवर्षे (i.e. 1330 शके).

नृसिंहठक्कुर a. of प्रमाणपल्लव.

नृसिंहपण्डित a. of गोत्रामृत.

नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट of काण्वशाखा; a. of संस्काररत्नावलि.

नृसिंहभट्ट a. of दत्तकपुत्रविधान.

नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट; a. of विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा.

नृसिंहभट्ट (मीमांसक) a. of स्मृतिनिबन्ध.

नृसिंहभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1500-1600 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

नृसिंहवाजपेयिन् a. of श्रुतिमीमांसा.

नृसिंहारण्य or नृसिंहाचार्य. Earlier than 1440 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84 p. 76; a. of विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय.

नृहरि a. of शास्त्रदीप alias निबन्धसार. Before 1607 A. D.

नृहरि, surnamed पण्ढरपुर; a. of प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.

नृहरि, pupil of मध्व; a. of सदाचारस्मृतिटीका.

नृहरि अग्निहोत्रिन् a. of शास्त्रदीप.

न्यायपञ्चानन (probably गोपाल) a. of दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय.

पक्षधरमिश्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय वटेश्वर. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of तत्त्वनिर्णय (N. vol. V. p. 155).

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Probably he is identical with the preceding.

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिचन्द्रिका; ms. of विष्णुपुराण was copied in 1464 A. D. by him.; probably the same as above (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 145 p. 146).

पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका.

पञ्चानन m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

पञ्चाननसिंह m. in अटमल्लविलास.

पञ्जिकाकारमिश्र m. in कालविवेक (p. 63) of जीमूतवाहन.

पण्डितपरितोषकार m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 481) as refuting गोविन्दराज's view. Between 1075-1225 A. D.

पद्मनाभ a. of माध्यन्दिनीयाचारसंग्रहदीपिका.

पद्मनाभ, son of बलभद्र. Between 1460–1550 A. D.; a. of दुर्गावतीप्रकाश or समयालोक (under दुर्गावती, queen of दलपति, king on the नर्मदा).

पद्मनाभ a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ Earlier than 1700 A. D.; a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ a. of संन्यासरत्नावली (according to मज्जमत).

पद्मनाभदत्त, son of दामोदरदत्त, son of श्रीदत्त. Between 1340–1400 A.D., as he composed his सुपद्मव्याकरण in 1367 A. D.; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका.

पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण, residing on the banks of the प्रवरा at निवासपुर; a. of प्रतिष्ठादर्पण and प्रयोगदर्पण. (Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 355 for both).

पद्मनाभमिश्र a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

पद्मोनीभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; a. of समयकल्पतरु.

परमसुख, son of सीताराम. Later than 1685 A. D.; a. of com. on मुहूर्तगणपति.

परमाचार्य a. of वास्तुपूजनपद्धति.

परमानन्दशर्मन् a. of दुर्गार्चाकौमुदी.

परमानन्द a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय (on मत्स्यादिभक्षणाभक्षण).

परमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती; a. of स्मृतिमहोदधि and प्रयोगरत्नावली.

परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक a. of अमल a com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

परशुराम a. of द्विजकल्पलता or संध्यात्रयभाष्य.

परशुराम a. of भूपालवल्लभ.

परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an उदीच्यब्राह्मण; a. of महारुद्रपद्धति composed in 1458 A. D.

परशुराममिश्र. Later than 1685 A. D.; a. of com. on मुहूर्तगणपति.

पराशर. Sec. 35; a. of स्मृति.

पराशर a. of जातिविवेक.

पराशर or पाराशर m. as an author on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

पशुपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन and son of धनञ्जय. About 1160–1200 A. D.; a. of प्रवराध्याय, दशकर्मदीपिका or दशकर्मपद्धति, श्राद्धपद्धति and पाकयज्ञपद्धति.

पाण्डुरङ्ग, son of चिन्तामणि, surnamed टकले, a. of प्रतिष्ठासारदीपिका (composed in 1780 A. D.) at पञ्चवटी near Nasik and यजुःशाखाभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय.

पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वर भट्ट a. of कालचन्द्रिका.

पारस्कर a. of गृह्यसूत्र.

पाराशर्य m. in the प्रायश्चित्तसमय.

पालकि m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

पितामह. Sec. 44; a. of a स्मृति.

पीताम्बर son of काश्यपाचार्य. Between 1500–1675 A. D.; a. of धर्मार्णव and स्मार्ताधानप्रयोग.

पीताम्बर a. of दानवाक्यावली (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 193 p. 208).

पीताम्बरसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of दाय-कौमुदी and विवादकौमुदी. About 1604 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुराणसर्वस्व.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of उत्सवप्रतान, संवत्सरनिर्णय-प्रतान.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय (D. C. mss. No. 177 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1816 i. e. 1759 A. D.). It deals with उत्सवs from भाद्रपद to श्रावण for the followers of वल्लभाचार्य. Based upon व्रजराज's work.

पुरुषोत्तम son of पीताम्बर. Born संवत् 1724 (1668 A.D.) and died संवत् 1781 (1725 A. D.); a. of शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद, द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका, संन्यासनिर्णयविवरण. He was 7th from the great Vallabhācārya.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संन्यासनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of कर्मसिद्धान्त or कर्म-सिद्धिसिद्धान्त (ms. No. 8361 Baroda O. I.).

पुरुषोत्तम son of देवराजार्य; a. of प्रयोगपारिजात.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of धर्मसार. Earlier than 1675 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम prince of गजपति dynasty; (reputed) a. of मुक्तिचिन्तामणि. About 1500 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तमपण्डित Earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of गोत्रप्रवर-मञ्जरी or प्रवरमञ्जरी and महाप्रवर भाष्य.

पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश a. of प्रयोगरत्न-माला.

पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती pupil of पूर्णानन्द; a. of यतिधर्म, यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण, स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

पुलस्त्य Sec. 45; a. of a स्मृति.

पुलह a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

पुष्कर m. in संस्कारमयूख.

पुष्करसादि m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7. and I. 10. 28. 1.

पृथिवीधरमिश्राचार्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 314) by रघुनन्दन.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son of नागमल्ल; a. of आशौचप्रकाश (part of धर्मतत्त्व-कलानिधि).

पृथ्वीधर a. of वृक्षकर्मपद्धति.

पृथ्वीमल्लराज a. of महार्णव. Probably the same as the महार्णव attributed to मान्धातृ who was a brother of पृथ्वीमल्ल and son of मदनपाल.

पैठीनसि a. of स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 18, a prose passage), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच, Mysore ed. p. 14).

पैठीनसि Sec. 24.

प्रचेतस् Sec. 46.

प्रजापति Sec. 47.

प्रतापरुद्रदेव Sec. 100; (reputed) a. of प्रतापमार्तण्ड or प्रौढप्रताप-मार्तण्ड, सरस्वतीविलास and निर्णय-संग्रह. His कौतुकचिन्तामणि (vide

D. C. ms. No. 981 of 1887-91) is not a work on धर्मशास्त्र, but on erotics and poetic fantasies like चित्रबन्ध, प्रहेलिका and magician's tricks &c.

प्रतिहस्त a. of a पद्धति; m. in कृत्यनिर्णय of वर्धमान.

प्रदीपकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास p. 361. Vide sec. 80.

प्रद्युम्नशर्मन्, son of श्रीधरशर्मन्; a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप. Earlier than 1525 A.D.

प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son of बलभद्र. Latter half of 16th century. He wrote शारदागम or चन्द्रालोकप्रकाश by order of वीरभद्रदेव, a Bundella chief; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश.

प्रभाकर a. of काशीतत्त्वदीपिका and काशीखण्डकथाकेलि and गयापद्धतिदीपिका.

प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ a. of वाक्पुष्पमाला a com. on the गोत्रनिर्णय of केशवदैवज्ञ.

प्रभाकर Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of धर्मसार.

प्रभाकरभट्ट a. of प्रभाकराह्निक.

प्रह्लादभट्ट a. of नवरत्नमाला.

प्रेमनिधि a. of नैमित्तिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर.

प्रेमनिधि ठक्कुर, son of इन्द्रपति, son of कविपति. A कविपति lived under भैरव's reign in मिथिला; a. of धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी (completed in 1410, of what era is rather doubtful; probably संवत्). Vide under धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी.

प्रेमनिधि पन्थ (or पन्त), son of उमापति, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of व्रतदानपद्धति, व्रतप्रदानरत्न, प्रयोगरत्न, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप (composed in शके 1675), शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि com. on शारदातिलक, पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय (D. C. ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 says it was composed in शके 1659).

प्रेमनिधि a. of प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार.

फकीरचन्द्र a. of धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध.

बडिय vide under वचिय or बडिय.

बभ्रु a. of स्मृति.

बलदेव a. of बलदेवाह्निक.

बलभद्र a. of नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति.

बलभद्र m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (p. 33) of गोविन्दानन्द and in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व pp. 690 and 686 (where we have कृत्यचिन्तामणौ बलभद्रः). Earlier than 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the author of आशौचसार.

बलभद्र a. of आशौचसार.

बलभद्र a. of आह्निक.

बलभद्र a. of महारुद्रपद्धति, महारुद्रन्यासपद्धति.

बलभद्रतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of दायभागसिद्धान्त.

बलभद्रशुक्ल, son of स्थावर of the वत्सगोत्र. He came from स्तम्भतीर्थ (modern Cambay); a. of कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप (composed in 1623 A. D.) and com. composed in विक्रम 1699 i. e. 1643 A. D. (vide D. C. mss. No. 204 of 1884-87) and of चातुर्मास्यकौमुदी.

बलभद्रसूरि a. of कुण्डार्कमणिदीपिका.

बल्लालसेन Sec. 83 ; a. of अद्भुतसागर, आचारसागर, दानसागर and प्रतिष्ठासागर.

बसप्पनायक a. of शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर.

बसवोपाध्याय vide under निर्वृति.

बाणेश्वर (and others) ; a. of विवादार्णवसेतु (compiled in 1773 A. D.).

बादरायण a. of स्मृति (m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख) and as a writer on politics in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत.

बादरायण a. of मुहूर्तदीपिका.

बापुभट्ट a. of मल्लाध्याय or मल्लसंग्रह (N. vol. X. p. 238). Mentions गोपालभाष्य.

बापूभट्ट alias अनन्तभट्ट ; a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed केलकर (modern Kelakara) ; a. उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग, प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी (composed in 1814 A. D.) and श्राद्धमञ्जरी (composed in 1810 A. D.). Vide N. vol. IX p. 302 for the first.

बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed केलकर of the चित्पावन caste ; a. of कृत्यमञ्जरी (composed in सर्वेश्वरशाके i. e. śake 1640) at सप्तर्षिक्षेत्र on southern bank of the river कृष्णा. Vide N. vol X. pp. 217-219. Therefore either this date is wrong or there were two बापूभट्ट केलकर, whose father's name also was the same. कृत्यमञ्जरी further says that बापूभट्ट was originally an inhabitant of कणशीग्राम (in the Ratnagiri District). Baroda O. I. No. 8442 gives the date as सर्वेश्वरशाके (i. e. 1740) and seems to be the correct date. This would show that he is the same as the above. In the कृत्यमञ्जरी he refers to श्राद्धमञ्जरी as his work.

बाप्पणभट्ट or बोप्पणभट्ट a. of स्मार्तप्रयोग and of बोपण्णभट्टीय, जातकर्म (आपस्तम्बीय).

बाबदेवभट्ट, surnamed आठले (modern Athlye). About 1740 A. D. ; a. of परशुप्रकरण.

बाबा alias काशीनाथ पाध्ये. Sec. 112. Vide under काशीनाथ पाध्ये above.

बापूदीक्षित, surnamed अढे ; a. of कृष्णमण्डपविधि or- सिद्धि.

बाबादेव a. of शालग्रामदानपद्धति.

बालक. Sec. 67.

बालकृष्ण a. of होमविधान.

बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य residing in गोकुलग्राम ; a. of प्रयोगसार.

बालकृष्ण a. of पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा.

बालकृष्ण a. of बालभूषा com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावलि of नन्दपण्डित.

बालकृष्ण, son of देवभट्ट, surnamed फडनिटकर ; a. of दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

बालकृष्ण a. of श्रौतस्मार्तविधि.

बालकृष्ण, son of महादेव ; a. of सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग.

बालकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन्, son of काशीराम, of the महाराष्ट्र family ; a. of कृष्णमञ्जरी (on प्रायश्चित्त).

बालकृष्णदीक्षित a. of निर्णयार्णव.

बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रङ्गोजिभट्ट ; a. of जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय. Earlier than 1725 A. D.

बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

बालदीक्षित a. of उपाकर्मप्रमाण.

बालम्भट्ट a. of गोत्रनिर्णय.

बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट, surnamed दातार ; a. of आह्निकसारमञ्जरी.

बालम्भट्ट or बालकृष्ण, son of वैद्यनाथ, surnamed पायगुण्ड. Sec. 111 ; a. उपाकृतितत्त्व, बालम्भट्टी (com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर), धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह, जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय.

बालरूप. Sec. 68.

बालशास्त्रिन् कागलकर, son of शेषभट्ट, son of नारायण ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग or सर्वप्राय°.

बालसूरि, son of शेषभट्ट ; a. of कुण्डरचनारीति.

बालसूरि a. of हेमाद्रिसर्वप्रायश्चित्त.

बालाग्निहोत्रिन् a. of द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्रकारिका.

बाष्कल m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 58) and in धर्मप्रदीप of भोज.

बुक्कण a. of निर्णयबिन्दु.

बुद्धिकरशुक्ल a. of द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्गप्रमाणदर्शन (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 222 p. 235).

बुध. Sec. 25 ; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

बृहच्छङ्ख.

बृहच्छातातप m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290).

बृहच्छौनक.

बृहत्कात्यायन m. by व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.

बृहत्कौण्डिन्य.

बृहत्पराशर. Vide sec. 35, pp. 195-196 above.

बृहत्प्रचेतस् m. in मिताक्षरा, by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 22. 18, अपरार्क (pp. 910, 1125, 1171), श्राद्धमयूख.

बृहत्संवर्त m. in मिता° (on याज्ञ. III. 256, 265) and in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

बृहदङ्गिरस् m. in the मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 277).

बृहदाश्वलायन.

बृहद्गर्ग m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

बृहद्गार्ग्य.

बृहद्यम m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध, by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 12, अपरार्क p. 1074, मिता° (on याज्ञ. III. 255).

बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्य m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290), कालमाधव (p.140).

बृहद्योग्लोक m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

बृहद्धारीत m. in मिता. (on याज्ञ. III. 254, 261).

बृहन्नारद m. by रघुनन्दन, in निर्णयसिन्धु.

बृहन्मनु m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III 20), कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, संस्कारमयूख, शान्तिमयूख.

बृहद्वसिष्ठ m. in मिताक्षरा, कालविवेक (p. 386) of जीमूतवाहन, आचारमयूख, कालमाधव (p. 114).

बृहद्विष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. II 135 and III. 20), सरस्वतीविलास, प्रायश्चित्तमयूख, अपरार्क pp. 909, 1070, 1243.

बृहद्व्यास m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290), प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

बृहस्पति a. of ग्रहपूजापद्धति composed at the bidding of king हरिसिंह. (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I, p. 111).

बृहस्पति a. of मुहूर्तस्कन्ध.

बृहस्पति Sec. 26, 37.

बृहस्पति son of भवदेव; a. of मलमासरहस्य composed in 1681 A. D. and मलमासनिर्णय (probably the same as the preceding).

बैजवाप a. of a गृह्यसूत्र: m. in the तन्त्रवार्तिक of कुमारिलभट्ट.

बैजवाप m. in अपरार्क pp. 27, 51, 229, 533, हारलता, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

बोपदेव vide under वोपदेव; a. of आचारदर्पण; m. in पूर्तकमलाकर.

बोपदेवपण्डित a. of श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपकलिका (com. on परशुरामप्रताप), of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय com. on तत्त्वकौस्तुभ, चतुर्विंशतिमत, चतुर्दशश्लोकी.

बौधायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a धर्मसूत्र; sec. 6; a. of a स्मृति; a. of नागप्रतिष्ठा; a. of नक्षत्रशान्ति.

ब्रह्मगर्भ a. of स्मृति; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 262, 268), अपरार्क (pp. 447, 536, 880), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

ब्रह्मदत्त. Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on शाङ्खायनगृह्य; m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 312) as referred to by कल्पतरु.

ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ a. of गृह्यप्रयोग.

ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ a. of नृसिंहार्चनपद्धति.

ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनाशिरोमणि.

ब्रह्मानन्दभारती, pupil of रामराजसरस्वती; between 1420-1554 A. D.; a. of पुरुषार्थप्रबोध.

ब्रह्मानन्दिन a. of संन्यासपद्धति.

ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर; a. of प्रश्नज्ञानदीपप्रश्नाप्रकरण.

ब्राह्मणबल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु; a. of com. on काठकगृह्यसूत्र.

ब्राह्मण m. in मिता° (on याज्ञ. III. 257).

भजीभट्ट a. of हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप (कालनिर्णय, Stein's cat. p. 110).

भट्टगुरु a. of प्रयश्चित्तक.

भट्टस्वामिन a. of com. प्रतिपदपञ्चिका on कौटिलीय.

भट्टाचार्य. Earlier than 1520 A. D.; ms. No. 3883 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत 1579 (1522 A. D.); a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी and com. on आशौचसंग्रह or शौचसंग्रहविवृति (same as the preceding work).

भट्टारिभट्ट a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र.

भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर and brother of रङ्गोजिदीक्षित. About 1575-1650 A.D.; a. of आचारप्रदीप, of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी, आशौचनिर्णय, आह्निक, कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त),

तिथिनिर्णय or तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप, तिथिप्रदीपक, त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसंग्रह, of com. on दशश्लोकी, of धर्मशास्त्रसर्वस्व, प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय, मासनिर्णय, मर्वसारसंग्रह, प्रयोगरत्न, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय, सूतकनिर्णय, हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

भरत, son of सूर्यदास and brother of रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on समरसार by his brother रामचन्द्र.

भरत (reputed) a. of कर्मविपाक.

भरद्वाज. Sec. 27; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a work on politics.

भरद्वाज a. of पितृमेधसूत्र.

भर्तृयज्ञ. Sec. 59; a. of श्राद्धकल्प and of com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

भल्ल m. in निर्णयदीपक.

भवदेव styled बालवलभीभुजङ्ग, which may (apart from what is said on p. 305 above) also mean a young gallant of बालवलभी (possibly the village where भवदेव lived). Sec. 73; a. of कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति or दशकर्मपद्धति, दत्तकतिलक (part of व्यवहारतिलक), प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण, व्यवहारतिलक, सम्बन्धविवेक.

भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवस्मिश्र मैथिल. Earlier than 1635 A. D.; a. of दानधर्मप्रक्रिया or दानप्रक्रिया (composed at bidding of रुद्रदासमैथिल, son of दामोदर). B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 189 p. 203.

भवदेवशर्मन् न्यायालङ्कार, son of हरिहर; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्र (composed in 1720-22 A. D.), its parts being called कला such as श्राद्धकला.

भवनाथ a. of com. on आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 175 p. 186). This is probably a misreading for भट्टाचार्य. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 765 by भट्टाचार्य has the same opening verses and opening words.

भवशर्मन् of the गोपालवंश. First half of 14th century; a. of षोडशमहादानपद्धति (written at the bidding of रामदत्त, minister of king नृसिंह of मिथिला of the कार्णाटवंश). I. O. cat. p. 549. It is probably he who is referred to in the कृत्यसोपान as गणेश्वर's contemporary.

भवानन्दशर्मन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तवारिधि.

भवानीप्रसाद a. of पूजनमालिका.

भवानीशङ्कर a. of स्मृतिचरण.

भागुरिमिश्र a. of जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा and प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.

भागुरि m. in कालविवेक (p. 14) of जीमूतवाहन and वि. र. (p. 104), where he appears to be regarded as earlier than कल्पतरु and even मेधातिथि.

भानुचन्द्रगणि a. of com. on वसन्तराजीय or शकुनार्णव. Between 1550-1600 A. D.

भानुजिद्दीक्षित, son of भट्टोजिदीक्षित. About 1650 A. D.; a. of दानविवेक.

भानुदत्त a. of मुहूर्तसार.

भानुदत्त a. of पारिजात (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 257 p. 278).

भानुनाथ दैवज्ञ, son of चम्बनानन्द, of the भौआलवंश. He was a मैथिल; a. of व्यवहाररत्न (astrology in relation to religious rites, foundation of houses &c.). N. vol. V. p. 191.

भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. 1620-1680 A. D.; a. of एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि, द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह and होमनिर्णय.

भारतीतीर्थ a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

भारद्वाज. Sec. 27; a. of गृह्यसूत्र, of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a स्मृति (in verse on व्यवहार). Possibly these are the compositions of three different authors.

भारुचि. Sec. 61.

भार्गव m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and भाव-मयूख and in the com. of नीतिवाक्यामृत. In some cases भार्गव probably stands for शुक्र's work on politics.

भार्गवराम a. of वर्णसङ्करजातिमाला or पराशरपद्धति.

भालुक (?) भट्ट m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (p. 31) of नन्दपण्डित.

भावधन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

भास्कर a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवर.

भास्कर of the लौगाक्षिगोत्र; a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1680 A. D.

भास्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तविधि, प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी or-प्रदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

भास्कर a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

भास्कर, son of आपाजि or आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट of काश्यपगोत्र; a. of आचारप्रकाश, शक्तिशेषप्रकाश, शुद्धिप्रकाश (composed in 1695-96 A. D.), यशवन्तभास्कर (under the patronage of यशवन्तदेव, king of Bundelkhand), स्मृतिप्रकाश, संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश (part of यशवन्तभास्कर).

भास्करदीक्षित a. of तप्तमुद्राविवरण.

भास्करदीक्षित, pupil of राघवेन्द्रारण्य; a. of पारस्करगृह्यपद्धति and com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

भास्करदीक्षित, son of रामकृष्ण; a. of रुद्रपद्धति (शाङ्खायनीय).

भास्करभट्ट पण्डित a. of वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

भास्करमिश्र त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, son of कुमारस्वामिन्. Between 1000-1200 A.D.; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका and प्रवरनिर्णय.

भास्करराम son of गम्भीररामदीक्षित; a. of सहभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या.

भास्वत्कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका.

भीमनाथ m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व.

भीममहामहोपाध्याय of काञ्जिविल्लीयकुल (in राढा); a. of शुद्धिमुक्तावली, श्राद्धदीपिका.

भीमसेनकवि a. of वृत्तसंग्रह.

भीमाशङ्करशर्मन् a. of संन्यासग्रहणरत्नमाला.

भुजबलभीम said to be a. of अतीचारनिर्णय.

भूपतिमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Mentions हेमाद्रि and भोज. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No 157 p. 171).

भूपाल or राजा refers to भोजदेव. Vide under भोज; m. in समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त, दानरत्नाकर, कृत्यरत्नाकर (as a. of कृत्यसमुच्चय).

भुवनेश्वर son of भीमानन्द; a. of हरिभक्तिभास्कर. About 1827 A. D.

भूधर son of विशालभट्ट; a. of श्राद्धकारिका (सामवेदीय).

भूषण m. in आह्निकतत्त्व (p. 417).

भूषणभट्ट a. of गायत्रीपद्धति.

भृगु sometimes treated as the promulgator of मनुस्मृति. In many works verses are quoted as भृगु's which are not found in the मनुस्मृति; (reputed) a. of कर्मविपाक.

भृगुदेव a. of प्रवराध्याय.

भैयाभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट; a. of धर्मरत्न; ms. No. 12524 (Baroda O. I.) is आह्निकदीधिति from it.

भैरवभट्ट a. of संहिताहोमपद्धति.

भैरवेन्द्र (reputed) a. of महादाननिर्णय or महादानप्रयोगपद्धति (the real author being वाचस्पतिमिश्र) and of विष्णुपूजाकल्पलता (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 340 p. 383). About 1440-1460 A. D.

भोज a. of विविधविद्याविचारचतुरा (ms. dated 1490 A. D.)

भोजदेव Sec. 64; a. of भूपालपद्धति, भूपालसमुच्चय or भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भुजबलभीम, चारुचर्या, युक्तिकल्पतरु, राजनीति, राजमार्तण्ड, शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

भोजदेव son of भारमल्ल, king of कच्छ. Between 1400-1600 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रदीप. Vide p. 279 above.

भोलानाथ a. of वैष्णवामृत.

मञ्जनाचार्य a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिका.

मञ्जरदास a. of धर्मपरीक्षा.

मणिराम a. of अन्त्यक्रियाविधि. Probably the same as the author of अनूपविलास.

मणिराम a. of धर्मसिन्धु or सिन्धुसार. Probably same as author of धर्माम्भोधि above.

मणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गाराम, son of शिवदत्त. About 1630-1660 A. D.; a. of अनूपविलास or धर्माम्भोधि, आचाररत्न (a part of अनूपविलास), शुद्धिरत्न, and समयरत्न, सुखबोधिनी com. on मानवधर्मशास्त्र (Stein's cat. pp. 98, 313).

मणिराम दीक्षित a. of कृतिवत्सर.

मणिरामदीक्षित a. of कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकदीपिका. Later than 1640 A. D.

मणिरामदीक्षित a. of गयायात्राप्रयोग.

मणेश्वर a. of com. on दायभाग.

मथुरानाथ चक्रवर्तिन् a. of शुद्धिरत्नाकर.

मथुरानाथतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of पाणिग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक.

मथुरानाथशुक्ल a. of अघपञ्चविवेचन, अघपञ्चपद्धति, आचारमञ्जरी, आचारार्क, आचारोल्लास, आशौचनिर्णयटीका, कालमाधवचन्द्रिका (com. on कालमाधव), कृत्यसार, क्रियाकौमुदी, तिथि-

निर्णय, विष्णुतत्त्वलघुटीका, दुर्गार्चनासूतरहस्य, मलमासतत्त्वटीका, मिताक्षरा (com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति), युद्धजयोत्सवटिप्पनी, शारदातिलकप्रकाश (com. on शारदातिलक).

मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति.

मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of छन्दोगाह्निक written to please prince माधवसिंह (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I p. 126).

मधुरेश a. of ज्योतिःसागरसार.

मदनपाल Sec. 93 ; (reputed) a. of मदनपारिजात, स्मृतिकौमुदी (or शूद्रधर्मबोधिनी), महार्णवकर्मविपाक, तिथिनिर्णयसार.

मदनमनोहर or मदनमोहन, son of मधुसूदन पण्डितराज, son of रामभट्ट. Both names occur in mss. (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 252 p. 274 and No. 253 p. 275) ; a. of पल्लवीपुष्पलता and श्राद्धप्रदीप. One ms. of पल्लवीपुष्पलता is dated शके 1694 (B. O. mss. cat. No. 253 A p. 275).

मदनसिंह, son of शक्तिसिंह. Sec. 94 ; (reputed) a. of मदनरत्न alias मदनरत्नप्रदीप, the several parts of which such as आचारविवेक are separately entered in the catalogues.

मधुपतिठक्कुर a. of श्राद्धविधि (composed at the bidding of his mother's sister's son हृदयनाथ and based on श्राद्धरत्न and पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी). Later than 1600 A. D.

मधुमिश्र or मधुशर्ममिश्र m. in चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (III. 1. 1134 and 1343).

मधुसूदन a. of नीतिसारसंग्रह.

मधुसूदन a. of श्राद्धदर्पण.

मधुसूदनगोस्वामी, son of व्रजराज ; a. of गोदानविधिसंग्रह, जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था and व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह and तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि, निर्णयसंग्रह, मिताक्षरासार (com. on मिताक्षरा), व्यवहारसारोद्धार or व्यवहारार्थसार. Ulwar cat. extract No. 306 gives for जीवत्पितृकसंग्रह the date संवत् 1812.

मधुसूदन गोस्वामी a. of न्यासपद्धति.

मधुसूदनगोस्वामी a. of पञ्चकशान्तिविधि, मूलशान्तिविधि.

मधुसूदन दीक्षित, son of महेश्वर ; a. of स्मृतिरत्नावली.

मधुसूदनमिश्र a. of मुहूर्तसिन्धु.

मधुसूदनमिश्र ठक्कुर. Later than 1500 A. D. and earlier than 1624 A. D.; a. of द्वैतनिर्णयप्रकाश or द्वैतनिर्णयजीर्णोद्धार and जीर्णोद्धार com. on समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त.

मधुसूदनवाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य a. of अशौचसंग्रह.

मधुसूदन वाचस्पति of the चट्ट family ; a. of आशौचसंक्षेप.

मधुसूदन वाचस्पति a. of दुर्गोत्सवकालनिष्कर्ष, श्राद्धकालनिरूपण, व्रतकालनिष्कर्ष.

मधुसूदनसरस्वती a. of भगवद्भक्तिरसायन.

मधुसूदनानन्द a. of यतिक्षौरविधि.

मध्यमाङ्गिरस् m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).

मध्व vide under आनन्दतीर्थ.

मनु Vide sec. 31.

मनोहरभट्ट son of महादेव; a. of आह्निकप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशीय).

मय a. of वास्तुशास्त्र.

मयारामभिश्र गौड. First half of 18th century; a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय (under orders of जयसिंह), व्यवहारसार, मिताक्षरासार, व्यवहाराङ्गस्मृतिसर्वस्व.

मरीचि Sec. 48.

मल्लारिदीक्षित मौनिन् a. of मासिकश्राद्धमानोपन्यास.

मस्करिन् a. of भाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

महादेव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

महादेव, son of मल्लिनाथ and nephew and pupil of गोविन्द; a. of पितृभक्तिचर्या com. on पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

महादेव a. of तिथिरत्न.

महादेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of निबन्धसर्वस्व (3rd chap. of which is on प्रायश्चित्त).

महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ, of the अगस्त्यगोत्र; a. of आशौचतत्त्व.

महादेव a. of सुबोधिनी.

महादेव a. of धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह.

महादेव दैवज्ञ a. of गोत्रनिर्णय and तिथिनिर्णय.

महादेव द्विवेदिन् a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र of कात्यायन.

महादेवभट्ट a. of सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति.

महादेव राजबक, son of काशीनाथ, who was the guru of हैबतराज (Haibatrao, some Maratha chief); a. of कृष्णप्रदीप and com. thereon, मुहूर्तदीपक (composed in 1661 A. D.) and com. thereon, and of मुहूर्तसिद्धि.

महादेववाजिन्, son of कालजित (which is probably a misreading for कान्हजित); a. of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त (composed in 1652-53 A. D.) and com. thereon. He was honoured by the chief of Girnar and composed the com. at भुजपुर. From these details it appears that he is the same as the next.

महादेव सोमयाजिन् Earlier than 1650 A. D.; a. of com. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती on हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य and of a com. on हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide pp. 49-50 above and BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 189.

महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of वासिष्ठीशान्ति. Bik. cat. p. 490 shows that he only 'revised' or 'restored' the वासिष्ठीशान्ति (खलैर्या दूषिता शान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा प्रशोधिता).

महायशस् a. of भाष्य on गोभिलीयश्राद्धकल्प; m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 213) by रघुनन्दन.

महार्णवप्रकाशकार m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट and in हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1440).

महार्णवोपाख्यान m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट. Probably same as the preceding.

महाशर्मन् a. of आचारपञ्चाशिका.

महीधर a. of अद्भुतविवेक.

महेश a. of अतीचारनिर्णय.

महेश, son of सारस्वत दुर्ग; a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय or माधवप्रकाश.

महेश a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह or व्यवस्थासंग्रह and स्मृतिसार.

महेश, son of महादेव, surnamed वैशम्पायन ; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तप्रयोगरत्न.

महेशठक्कुर a. of तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 149 p. 153).

महेशठक्कुर महामहोपाध्याय a. of दायसार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 206 p. 221) and शुद्धितत्त्व (ibid. No. 372 p. 423). Later than 1500 A. D.

महेशठक्कुर महामहोपाध्याय a. of हरिभक्तिदीपिका (ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 532 No. 451 is dated ल. सं. 546 i. e. 1665-1666 A. D.). Probably the same as above.

महेशपञ्चानन a. of स्मृतिसंग्रहसार.

महेशभट्ट, surnamed दुबे ; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

महेश्वर, son of मनोरथ ; a. of दुर्गनाशक. About 1100-1150 A. D.

महेश्वर Later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on दायभाग.

महेश्वर a. of com. on चतुर्दशश्लोकी (of भट्टोजि ?). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 1488 He mentions आचाररत्न. So later than 1650 A. D. महेश्वर simply says that some noble soul composed these 14 verses.

महेश्वर a. of शुद्धिकौमुदी.

महेश्वरमिश्र a. of आद्यावर्श.

माग्निदेव a. of मठोत्सर्ग.

माणिक्यदेव a. of शुद्धिचन्द्रोदयकाराष्टक.

माण्डव्य m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन. Probably an astronomer.

माण्डव्य a. of work in 12 अध्यायs on the Ganges (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5161).

मातृदत्त a. of com. on हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र.

माधव, son of श्रीकर and pupil of गोपाल ; a. of दिव्यदीपिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 225 No. 208 and No. 209 p. 226, which is dated लक्ष्मणसंवत 508). Mentions मिताक्षरा and रत्नाकर. Between 1350-1600 A. D.

माधव a. of दुर्गार्चनपद्धतिरहस्यी.

माधव. Later than 1500 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रकाश.

माधव a. of होमपद्धति. Later than 1500 A. D.

माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य of भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of ब्रह्मकर्मतिलक of which होमपद्धति is a part.

माधव a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

माधव a. of माधवीशान्ति.

माधवपण्डित a. of व्रतावर्श.

माधवपाठक a. of दुरवगमकर्मनिरूपिका.

माधवभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1570 A. D.; a. of आशौचनिर्णय, सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति.

माधवभट्ट a. of com. on मुहूर्तदर्पण.

माधव महामहोपाध्याय, son of विष्णुशर्मन् ; a. of दानप्रदीप.

माधवमुनि a. of com. बोपण्णभट्टीय.

माधवयज्वन् a. of com. नयचन्द्रिका on अर्थशास्त्र.

माधवशर्मन्, son of रघुनाथ, of the कुमराज्य family ; a. of अद्भुतदर्पण. Later than 1200 A. D.

माधवशुक्ल, son of कृष्ण, son of व्यासनारायण, an औदीच्य ब्राह्मण of काश्यपगोत्र ; a. of कृष्णकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1656 A. D.) and com. thereon.

माधवस्वामिन् m. in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर as explaining a सूत्र of शङ्खलिखित.

माधवाचार्य a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or -माहात्म्य.

माधवाचार्य, son of मायण and श्रीमती. Sec. 92 ; several works are attributed to him, but their authenticity is doubtful ; a. of पराशरमाधवीय and कालनिर्णय, दत्तकमीमांसा, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि, मुहूर्तमाधवीय, स्मृतिसंग्रह, व्रात्यस्तोमपद्धति.

माधवाचार्य (अभिनव) ; a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, अभिनवमाधवीय.

माधवाचार्य a. of सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

माधवाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.

मानसिंह a. of आचारविवेक and मानसागरीपद्धति.

मानेश्वरशर्मन् a. of वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमतमाला or प्रयोगमाला ; ms. dated 1477 A. D. (ह. सं. 358).

मान्धातृ, son of मदनपाल ;(reputed in some mss. as) a. of महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

मार्कण्डेय m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 19).

मार्तण्डमिश्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड. Earlier than 1620 A. D.

मार्तण्डसोमयाजिन् a. of संस्कारमार्तण्ड.

मालजी alias वेदाङ्गराय ; a. of महारुद्रपद्धति. About 1627-1655 A. D.

मित्रमिश्र, son of परशुराममिश्र, son of हंसपण्डित. Sec. 108 ; a. of वीरमित्रोदय (com. on याज्ञवल्क्य) and वीरमित्रोदय (a digest).

मिभिसूरि (?) मिर्थे लि a. of प्रयोगमुक्तावलि. Later than 1650 A. D.

मिसरूमिश्र a. of विवादचन्द्र (composed by order of लछिमादेवी, wife of prince चन्द्रसिंह of मिथिला). Sec. 97.

मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य वझे ; a. of पुरश्चरणकौमुदी.

मुकुन्दलाल a. of तीर्थमञ्जरी, प्रणवार्चनचन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका, मार्तण्डार्चनचन्द्रिका, of com. on मिताक्षरा, समयप्रकाश, श्राद्धमञ्जरी, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार.

मुकुन्दलाल a. of षट्कर्मदीपिका.

मुद्राकरसूरि a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर. Earlier than 1700 A. D.; as it is mentioned in रामनिबन्ध of क्षेमराम.

यशोधर a. of निबन्धचूडामणि. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

यशोधर a. of com. on गोभिलगृह्य ; m. in दानक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 77) and by रघुनन्दन.

याज्ञवल्क्य Sec. 34 ; a. of स्मृति. Also reputed author of अघप्रदीपिका.

याज्ञिकदेव or देवयाज्ञिक son of महादेव alias प्रजापति, son of गङ्गाधर. Earlier than 1595 A. D. ; a. of स्नानविधिपद्धति, com. on the स्नानविधिसूत्र of कात्यायन, of स्मृतिसार, वास्तुपूजनपद्धति, उपाक्रियापद्धति, दाहादिकर्तृपद्धति, श्राद्धक्रम, स्मृतिसारसंग्रह (probably same as स्मृतिसार).

यादवप्रकाश said to have been a disciple of रामानुज ; a. of यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यादवेन्द्रशर्मन् a. of छन्दोगाह्निकाचारसार (under orders of रघुदेव prince of गौड.).

यादवेन्द्रभट्ट or यादवविद्याभूषण Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिसार.

येलुभट्ट (काण्व) a. of स्मृतिकदम्ब.

योगीन्द्र a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

योगीश्वर Earlier than 1537 A. D. ; a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. D. C. ms. No. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत् 1594 ज्येष्ठ ब. 12 Sunday (1537 A. D.).

योगीश्वर (different from याज्ञवल्क्य); m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 237), दानरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर, कृत्यरत्नाकर (pp. 81 and 114 as explaining a passage of the मत्स्यपुराण), मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 820).

योगीश्वर a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. Earlier than 1530 A. D. Probably same as above.

योग्लोक Sec. 69.

योडूराज a. of ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति.

योपनभट्ट (?) a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसार.

रक्षपाल a. of पिष्टपशुमण्डनव्याख्यार्थदीपिका.

रघु दैवज्ञ a. of com. on पीयूषधारा (which is a com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि).

रघुनन्दन a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रघुनन्दन a. of विशुद्धिदर्पण, व्यवस्थार्णव (on pre-emption), सङ्कल्पचन्द्रिका.

रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य a. of स्वर्गसाधन.

रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य, son of हरिहरभट्टाचार्य and pupil of श्रीनाथआचार्यचूडामणि. Sec. 102 ; a. of स्मृतितत्त्व (divided into 28 तत्त्वs, for which see. p. 416 *n* above), com. on दायभाग, तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व, द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व, त्रिपुष्करशान्तितत्त्व, गयाश्राद्धपद्धति and रासयात्रापद्धति.

रघुनन्दनमिश्र. Latter half of 16th century ; a. of टोडरप्रकाश.

रघुनन्दन वैद्य a. of भक्तिप्रकाश.

रघुनाथ a. of जयाभिषेकप्रयोग.

रघुनाथ. Later than 1640 A. D. ; a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथ a. of com. on अनुष्ठानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ a. of जातिविवेक.

रघुनाथ, surnamed नवहस्त (modern Navāthe); a. of प्रयोगरत्नभूषा.

रघुनाथ a. of द्रव्यशुद्धि.

रघुनाथ a. of धर्मसेतु.

रघुनाथ a. of पूर्तमाला.

रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल.

रघुनाथ a. of मुहूर्तरत्न.

रघुनाथ, pupil of विठ्ठलेश ; a. of com. on संन्यासनिर्णय of वल्लभाचार्य.

रघुनाथ a. of यत्यन्तकर्मपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट surnamed अयाचित ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति, मासिकश्राद्धप्रयोग, राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग.

रघुनाथ a. of गृह्यदर्पण com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्य.

रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव ; a. of धर्मामृतमहोदधि.

रघुनाथ, son of भानुजि, of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of प्रयोगतत्त्व (composed at Benares in 1656 A. D.).

रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र ; a. of कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of मगम, of the त्रिसपायन subcaste and शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of मुहूर्तमाला.

रघुनाथ, pupil of रामदयालु ; a. of काशीतत्त्वकौमुदी (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 63 p. 57).

रघुनाथदास a. of काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी.

रघुनाथ दीक्षित a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका.

रघुनाथभट्ट, styled सम्राट्स्थपति, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Flourished between 1545-1625 A. D. ; a. of आह्निकपद्धति, अष्टमहाद्वादशीनिर्णय, आह्निकप्रयोग, कालतत्त्वविवेचन (composed in 1620 A. D.), गयापद्धति, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीविवरण or आशौचनिर्णय, दशश्लोकीटीका (composed in 1578 A. D.), षण्णवतिश्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धपद्धति or दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति, पर्वनिर्णय, रविसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a of प्रतिपन्निर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of स्मृतिरत्न.

रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य a. of यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

रघुनाथवाजपेयिन् a. of प्रयोगपारिजात and com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर (vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 10 for व्यवहार portion)

रघुनाथसार्वभौम a. of स्वल्पव्यवस्थार्णवसेतुबन्ध.

रघुनाथसार्वभौम, son of मथुरेश ; a. of स्मार्तव्यवस्थार्णव (composed in 1661-62 A. D. at the order of king रत्नेश्वरराम).

रघुनाथसूरि a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

रघुनाथेन्द्रशिवयोगिन् a. of काशीतत्त्वप्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार.

रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of काशीतत्त्व.

रघुपति a. of तडागविधि.

रघुपति a. of शुद्धिकल्पिका (composed at the bidding of king रूपसिंह of चम्पादेश). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 369 p. 419.

रघुमणि, said to be the real name of author of **दत्तकचन्द्रिका**. About 1800 A. D.

रघुराम a. of **सिद्धान्तनिर्णय** (probably same as above).

रघुराम, pupil of **रघुमणि** ; a. of **न्याय-मार्गार्थदीपिका**.

रघुरामतीर्थ a. of **कर्मदीपिका**.

रघुरामभट्ट, son of **जयराम**, son of **वैकुण्ठ** ; (collected materials of **कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त**).

रघुवर a. of **सपिण्डीश्राद्ध**.

रघुवीरदीक्षित, son of **विठ्ठल**, son of **ध्रुव** ; a. of **मरीचिमाला** com. on the **कुण्डार्क** of **शङ्कर** and of **मुहूर्तसर्वस्व** (composed in 1635-36 A. D.).

रघूत्तमतर्कशिरोमणि a. of **तिथ्यादिविधि-संग्रह**.

रघूत्तमतीर्थ a. of **दुर्गाभक्तिलहरी**.

रङ्गनाथ a. of **पितृमेधविवरण**.

रङ्गनाथदेशिक a. of **रङ्गनाथदेशिकाह्निक**.

रङ्गनाथसूरि, pupil of **कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती** ; a. of **पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर**.

रङ्गभट्ट a. of **गृह्यप्रयोगवृत्ति** on **भारद्वाज-गृह्यसूत्र**.

रजोमिश्र a. of **तीर्थसामान्यपद्धति** (or rather **तीर्थलक्ष्मीवती**). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 170 p. 186.

रत्नधरमिश्र a. of **स्मृतिमञ्जरी**.

रत्ननाथभट्टाचार्य a. of **चन्दनधेनूत्सर्ग-पद्धति**.

रत्नपाणि a. of **सूतिकाशौचनिर्णय** (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 428 p. 505). He mentions **हरीश्वर**. He was a **मैथिल**.

रत्नपाणिशर्मन्, son of **गङ्गोली सञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मन्**, patronised by **छत्रसिंह** of **मिथिला**. Later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of **आचारसंग्रह**, **एकोद्दिष्ट-मार्गिणी**, **कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका**, **क्षयमासादिविवेक**, **पार्वणचन्द्रिका**, **प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात**, **महादानवाक्यावलि**, **मिथिलेशाह्निक**, **रामचन्द्रप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा**, **लक्ष्मीप्रतिष्ठा**, **व्रताचार** (probably his last work as it was written for **महेश्वरसिंह** grandson of **छत्रसिंह**), **सद्बोधिनी** (composed for **रुद्रसिंह** son of **छत्रसिंह**). In his **रामचन्द्रप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा** (composed at the bidding of **रुद्रसिंह** of **मिथिला**) he says that he follows the **प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व** of **रघुनन्दन**. (Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 300 p. 341).

रत्नाकर a. of **दानवाक्यावली** (based on **दानसागर**). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 196 p. 111. Probably same as above.

रत्नाकर a. of **प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह**, **प्रायश्चित्तरत्नाकर**.

रत्नाकर, son of **देवभट्ट** ; a. of **जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम** (composed in 1713 A. D.). The work is also called **-द्रुमोद्योत**.

रत्नाकरठक्कुर a. of **दानपञ्जी**.

रत्नाकरभट्ट m. in **श्राद्धसागर** of **कुल्लूक**.

रत्नेश्वरमिश्र **महामहोपाध्याय**. N. vol. VII p. 79 ; a. of **आचारचन्द्रिका**.

रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन्, son of **मधुसूदन** ; a. of **स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार**.

रमानाथ a. of com. on नारदस्मृति.

रमानाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

रमापति of the मैथालवंश ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका.

रमापति a. of देवालयप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

रमापति उपाध्यायसन्मिश्र ; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका, आचारवारिधि and विवादवारिधि.

रमापति सिद्धान्त a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

रविनाथमिश्र a. of आचारतरङ्गिणी.

राघवभट्ट a. of निर्णयसार. Mentions रामकौतुक, माधव, निर्णयसिन्धु and हेमाद्रि. Later than 1612 and earlier than 1700 A. D.

राघवभट्ट, son of पृथ्वीधर. About 1493-4 A. D. ; a. of दुर्गातत्त्व and com. पदार्थादर्श on शारदातिलक m. by नन्दन (in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 580).

राघवभट्ट. Later than 1640 A. D. ; a. of तिथिनिर्णय and तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार or लघुतिथिनिर्णय, स्मृतिदर्पण.

राघवभट्ट, pupil of मुकुन्द ; a. of com. called दीप on आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

राघवाचार्य a. of com. प्रकाश on शुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास.

राघवानन्दतीर्थिन्. Earlier than 1600 A.D. ; m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण.

राघवानन्दनाथ a. of शिवपूजापद्धति.

राघवानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of अद्वयानन्द. Later than 1350 A. D. ; a. of मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका com. on मनुस्मृति.

राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ ; a. of रामप्रकाश and of a com. on कालनिर्णयदीपिका also called रामप्रकाश. Flourished in latter half of 17th century.

राघवेन्द्र a. of com. on जयतीर्थ's com. on कर्मनिर्णय and सदाचारस्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

राघवेन्द्र a. of स्त्रीपुनरुद्वाहखण्डनकारिका.

राजकृष्णतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of आशौचचन्द्रिका.

राजचूडामणि, son of रत्नखेट श्रीनिवास दीक्षित ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.

राजनारायण मुखोपाध्याय a. of तुलसीचन्द्रिका.

राजपुत्र a writer on politics ; m. in अद्भुतसागर and in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

राजर्षिभट्ट. Earlier than 1550 A. D. ; a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि.

राजाराम, son of सोमेश्वर. Earlier than 1725 A. D. ; a. of आचारकौमुदी.

राधाकान्तदेव a. of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका

राधाकृष्ण a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति, शिवालयप्रतिष्ठा.

राधानाथशर्मन् a. of आशौचव्यवस्था (part of व्यवस्थादीपिका).

राधामोहन गोस्वामिभट्टाचार्य. About 1800 A. D. ; a. of commentaries on एकादशीतत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व, शुद्धितत्त्व, and of कृत्यराज, of सिद्धान्तसंग्रह a com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

राम a. of अयुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमाः. About 1660 A. D.

राम a. of com. on कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि of विट्ठल.

राम a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

राम a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or -प्रदीपिका.

राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड ; a. of बौधायनगृह्यप्रयोगमाला.

राम Later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी of केशव.

राम a. of com. on प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करमिश्रत्रिकाण्डमण्डन.

राम आचार्य a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

रामकिशोर a. of दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

रामकृष्ण a. of कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह.

रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1540-1590 A. D.; a. of अनन्तव्रतोद्यापनप्रयोग, उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग, कोटिहोमप्रयोग, जीवत्पितृककर्मनिर्णय or -कर्तव्यसमुच्चय, विभागतत्त्व or -तत्त्वविचार, मासिकश्राद्धनिर्णय, वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग, रुद्रस्नानपद्धति, शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

रामकृष्ण a. of आश्वलायनगृह्योक्तवास्तुशान्ति.

रामकृष्ण a. of आह्निकदर्पण.

रामकृष्ण a. of विजयविलास.

रामकृष्ण a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण and श्राद्धप्रभा.

रामकृष्ण a. of श्राद्धाङ्गतर्पणनिर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of com. कौमुदी on शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक.

रामकृष्ण a. of विवेककौमुदी, वृषोत्सर्गकौमुदी, व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी. Relies on हेमाद्रि.

रामकृष्ण a. of सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of सङ्कल्पकौमुदी.

रामकृष्ण, son of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट of भारद्वाजगोत्र. He was patronised by विजयसिंह. Vide I.O. cat. p. 560 footnote ; a. of com. called संस्कारगणपति on पारस्करगृह्य. About 1750 A. D.

रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट, son of प्रयागभट्ट of the भारद्वाजगोत्र residing in विश्वमण्डलपत्तन on the वसिष्ठा river. He was a student of काण्वशाखा ; a. of श्राद्धगणपति or श्राद्धसंग्रह (composed at Benares in 1751 A. D.). Aufrecht treats the two रामकृष्णs as different, but this seems to be incorrect, as the grandfather of both is given as प्रयागभट्ट and कोण्डभट्ट is another form of कोनेर.

रामकृष्ण, son of योगीश्वर, surnamed शौच (modern शौचे) ; a. of विनायकपूजा (composed in 1702 A. D.).

रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र. Between 1500-1545 A. D. ; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद and प्रतापमार्तण्ड.

रामकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन. son of दामोदर. About 1616 A. D. ; a. of com. on गृह्यासंग्रह, of छन्दोगाह्निकपद्धति.

रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण ; a. of माधवीसारोद्धार com. on पराशरस्मृति (composed under लक्ष्मणचन्द्रदेव). About 1575-1600 A. D.

रामकृष्ण न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य ; a. of श्राद्धादिविवेककौमुदी (com. on श्राद्धविवेक and other works of शूलपाणि. N. vol. X. pp. 119-

120). Probably same as the preceding.

रामकृष्णपण्डित a. of धर्मनिबन्ध.

रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of प्रयोगदीपिका.

रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदर्पण.

रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, ग्रहयागकौमुदी.

रामकृष्णाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.

रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्तिन्, son of रामगोपालचक्रवर्तिन् of the यदुवंश and resident of वालिग्रामटग्राम ; a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह (N. new series I. No. 345).

रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of अघविवेचन.

रामचन्द्र a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.

रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका.

रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डोद्धृति.

रामचन्द्र a. of कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय or तीर्थनिर्णय.

रामचन्द्र a. of धर्मावबोध.

रामचन्द्र Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of प्रतिष्ठासार.

रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of नृहरि, son of अनन्ताचार्य of the शेष family. About 1400 A. D. Wrote according to his son नृसिंह three works on कालनिर्णय. रामचन्द्र's गुरु was गोपाल परमहंस ; a. of कालनिर्णयदीपिका (com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव), तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह (a summary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्तभट्ट), वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका.

रामचन्द्र a. of कालनिर्णय (vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 3871).

रामचन्द्र a. of श्राद्धपद्धति. B. O. mss. cat. 399 p. 468.

रामचन्द्र a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रामचन्द्र a. of निर्णयामृत.

रामचन्द्र a. of शारदार्चाप्रयोग.

रामचन्द्र a. of अर्जुनार्चापारिजात, अर्जुनार्चनकल्पलता.

रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति, समरसार, कुण्डाकृति or कुण्डलक्षण and com.

रामचन्द्र a. of कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी.

रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण ; a. of com. on चतुर्विंशतिमतस्मृति.

रामचन्द्र, surnamed जडे ; a. of कृष्णरत्नावलि, composed in śake 1790.

रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the अत्रिगोत्र ; a. of com. on शिवपूजासूत्र.

रामचन्द्र, son of विठ्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed तत्सत. He was daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Between 1610-1690 A. D. ; a. of कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका, कालनिर्णयप्रकाश, कृत्यरत्नावली (composed in 1648-49 A. D.), शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति or आधानपद्धति. Ms. of कालनिर्णयप्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8455) is dated śake 1603 Māgha (1682 A. D.).

रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णु ; a. of कृष्णाद्रिप्रबोधिनीपद्धति.

रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णुभट्ट डजवलकर ; a. of पूजापद्धति. Earlier than 1810 A. D.

रामचन्द्र a. of विवाहपद्धति.

रामचन्द्र अलङ्कीवार a. of राजनीतिप्रकाश.

रामचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका.

रामचन्द्रदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तरत्नमाला.

रामचन्द्रदेवगजपति (reputed) a. of दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका (really composed by भारतीभूषण वर्धमानमहापात्र).

रामचन्द्रपाठक a. of रुद्रजपसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

रामचन्द्रबुध a. of स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा com. on अघपञ्चषष्टि.

रामचन्द्रभट्ट a. of आचारार्क, प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

रामचन्द्रयज्वन् a. of समयप्रकाश.

रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनारायण ; a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

रामचरण a. of कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका, तर्पणचन्द्रिका.

रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति a. of com. on तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

रामजय तर्कालङ्कार a. of दत्तककौमुदी, दानकौमुदी.

रामजित् a. of निबन्धनवनीत or नवनीतनिबन्ध and of भागविवेक and com. मितवादिनी. He was son of श्रीनाथ, son of हरिनाथ, son of वेङ्क, son of यज्ञेश्वर. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1600 A.D. For निबन्धनवनीत vide D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 (dated संवत् 1673).

राम ज्योतिर्विद् a. of वीरसिंहमित्रोदय.

रामदत्त a. of मुहूर्तभूषणटीका, मुक्तजयोत्सवटीका.

रामदत्त m. in यजुर्वेदिवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व (p. 640) of रघुनन्दन.

रामदत्तठक्कुर a. of शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति.

रामदत्तठक्कुर a. of शूद्राचारपद्धति.

रामदत्त मन्त्रिन्, son of गणेश्वरठक्कुर and nephew of वीरेश्वर. First half of 14th century ; a. of उपनयनपद्धति or व्रतबन्धपद्धति, दानपद्धति or षोडशमहादानपद्धति, नान्दीश्राद्धपद्धति, विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिपद्धति, गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति, यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति, शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति. He seems to have written a comprehensive पद्धति for Vājasaneyins, parts of which on उपनयन, विवाह and other संस्कारs are separately noticed in the catalogues. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. Nos. 315A, 316, 317 and pp. 353-355.

रामदीक्षित a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

रामदेव, son of शम्भु ; a. of तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका.

रामदेव a. of रामप्रकाश a com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव.

रामदैवज्ञ a. of आशौचादिनिर्णय, आशौचेन्दुशेखर.

राम दैवज्ञ, son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि ; a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि (composed at Benares in 1600-1601) with com. प्रमिताक्षरा.

रामनन्दिन् a. of com. on **प्रवरनिर्णय** of **भास्कर**.

रामनवरत्न a. of **एकादशीहोमनिर्णय**.

रामनाथ a. of **संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य** (a com. on **संस्कारपद्धति** or **कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति** of **भवदेव** composed in 1622-23 A. D.) and **रामनाथपद्धति**.

रामनाथ a. of **प्रयोगसंग्रह**.

रामनाथ a. of **व्यवहारसारसंग्रह**.

रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of **दायभागविवेक** or **दायरहस्य** (com. on **दायभाग**) which is part of **स्मृतिरत्नावलि** (composed in 1657 A. D.). He quotes **अच्युत**, **चूडामणि**, **हरिनाथ**.

रामपण्डित, son of **विश्वेश्वर** of the **वत्सगोत्र**. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of **पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय**.

रामपण्डित शेष a. of com. on **धर्माधर्मानुबन्धिश्लोक** or **श्लोकचतुर्दशी** of **कृष्णशेष**.

रामपति a. of **सदाचारक्रम**.

रामप्रसाद a. of **तिथिनिर्णय**, **यज्ञसिद्धान्तसंग्रह** and **रत्नाकर**.

रामप्रसाद देवशर्मन् a. of **सारसंग्रहदीपिका**.

रामभट्ट a. of com. on **त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी**.

रामभट्ट a. of **संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार**.

रामभट्ट, surnamed **सिंह**; a. of **सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय** (called **अनुकल्पसा०**). Discusses the views of **श्रीधर** in his **सापिण्ड्यदीपिका**. (D. C. ms. No. 208 of A 1882-83).

रामभट्ट, son of **विश्वनाथ**, son of **मुद्गल**, surnamed **होसिङ्ग**. About 1675 A. D.; a. of **अनूपविवेक**, **दानरत्नाकर**, **आहिताग्नेर्दाहादिनिर्णय**, **श्राद्धप्रयोग** following **तीर्थदर्पण**, **दर्शश्राद्ध**.

रामभट्टाचार्य a. of **निर्णयसार**.

रामभद्र a. of **पुत्रक्रमदीपिका**.

रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार a. of **शुद्धिकारिका** or **शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका** (on **रघुनन्दन**'s **शुद्धितत्त्व**).

रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार, son of **रघुनाथ**; a. of **उद्वाहव्यवस्था**, **स्मृतिसंग्रह** (of which the first is a part).

रामभद्र न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य, son of **श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि**. About 1525 A. D.; a. of com. on the **दायभाग** and of **स्मृतितत्त्वनिर्णय** or **व्यवस्थार्णव**.

रामभद्रशिष्य a. of **मांसपीयूषलता**.

रामवाजपेयिन् नैमिषस्थ, son of **सूर्यदास**, son of **शिवदास**, son of **श्रीधर मालव**, of the **भारद्वाजगोत्र**; a. of **कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण** or **कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक** with com. (**कुण्डाकृति** composed in 1449-50 A. D.), of **समरसार** and of com. on **शारदातिलक** at the bidding of king **रामचन्द्र** of **रत्नपुर**.

रामविद्यावाचस्पति a. of com. on **तिथितत्त्व**.

रामशङ्कर a. of **शूद्रविवेक**.

रामशर्मन् a. of **प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप**.

रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of **रामशङ्कर**; a. of **दत्तकौचित्यव्यवस्थापनवाद**, **धर्मविवेचन**. About end of 18th century.

रामसेवक a. of **यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह**.

रामसेवक, son of **लोकमणि** or **देवराज**; a. of **तिथिप्रदीपिका** or **-प्रदीप**

रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त ; a. of मुहूर्तदीपक.

रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन् a.of युद्धचिन्तामणि.

रामसेवक त्रिवेदिन् ; a. of मुहूर्तभूषण or मञ्जीर.

रामाचार्य a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

रामाचार्य a. of com. on मध्वाचारस्मृति of श्रीमध्वाचार्य.

रामानन्द a. of रामार्चनपद्धति.

रामानन्दतीर्थ or रामानन्दयति ; a. of कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाशिका, राजभूषणी or नृपभूषणी, संध्याविधिमन्त्रसमूहटीका.

रामानन्द न्यायवागीश a. of वैष्णवचन्द्रिका.

रामानन्दयति a. of दुर्गार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका.

रामानन्द वाचस्पति. About 1750 A.D.; a. of आह्निकाचारराज.

रामानन्दशर्मन् a. of ग्रहकुलदीपिका.

रामानुज a. of रामार्चापद्धति.

रामानुजदीक्षित a. of आशौचनिर्णय com. on आशौचशतक of वेङ्कट of the हारीतगोत्र.

रामानुजयज्वन् a. of दीपिका on अघनिर्णय or आशौचशतक of वेङ्कटेश.

रामानुजाचार्य a. of सच्चरितरक्षा and com.

रामाश्रम, pupil of महादेव ; a. of संध्याभाष्य (composed in 1653 A. D.).

रामेश्वर a. of आशौचशतक.

रामेश्वर a. of गृह्यपद्धति and षोडशसंस्कारसेतु.

रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती ; a. of शिवाद्वैतनिर्णय.

रामेश्वरभट्ट a. of धर्मरत्नाकर.

रामेश्वरभट्ट. Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of पदार्थादर्श.

रामेश्वर भारती a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

रामेश्वरशास्त्रिन् a. of सुदर्शनकालप्रभा.

रामेश्वरशुक्ल a. of com. on दत्तकचन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित.

रायमुकुट. His com. on the अमरकोश was composed in 1431 A. D. ; a. of a पद्धति m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 213) and शुद्धितत्त्व (pp. 281, 283) of रघुनन्दन.

रायम्भट्ट a. of यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग.

रायसवेङ्कटाद्रि vide under वेङ्कटाद्रि ; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रावणशर्मन् of चम्पहट्टि family ; a. of वर्षकृत्य.

रिपुञ्जय a. of पूर्णचन्द्र (on प्रायश्चित्त), प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण.

रुचिक m. by सरस्वतीविलास p. 307.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on अघविवेचन.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on मनुस्मृति.

रुद्र a. of युद्धकौशल.

रुद्रकवीन्द्र a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.

रुद्रदेव a. of कौतुकचिन्तामणि.

रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण, surnamed तोरो, and pupil of अनन्त ; a. of प्रतापनारसिंह (composed in 1710-11 A. D.). Several parts of it such as आपस्तम्बाह्निक, कुण्डप्रकाश, पाकयज्ञप्रकाश, पूर्तप्रकाश, संस्कारप्रकाश are separately entered in the reports.

रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. 1360-1400 A. D.; a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका, विवादचन्द्रिका and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

रुद्रधर a. of पुष्पमाला.

रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, son of महामहोपाध्यायलक्ष्मीधर and younger brother of हलधर. Sec. 96; a. of वर्षकृत्य, व्रतपद्धति, शुद्धिविवेक, श्राद्धविवेक.

रुद्रशर्मन्, son of राघवराय; a. of पुराणसार.

रुद्रस्कन्द, son of नारायण, residing at मल्लवाट; a. of com. on द्राह्यायणगृह्य and खादिरगृह्य (called गृह्यवृत्ति).

रूपगोस्वामिन् a. of हरिभक्तिविलास.

रूपनारायण. Between 1420 and 1500 A. D.; a. of महादानपद्धति (ms. copied in 1530 A. D.).

रूपनारायण, son of भवानीदास, son of माधमल्ल; a. of व्यवहारचमत्कार (composed in 1580 A. D.).

रूपनारायण (उदयसिंह), son of शक्तिसिंह; a. of रूपनारायणीयपद्धति (of which महादानपद्धति seems to be a part); ms. No. 2393 (Baroda O. I.) is रूपनारायणीयपद्धतिरत्न, wherein लक्ष्मीधर, भोजराज, हेमाद्रि, and चण्डेश्वर are relied upon. So it is later than 1350 A. D.

रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेशसूरि, son of सोमेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र; a. of कारिकाs on पारस्करगृह्य (composed in 1266 A. D.).

रैभ्य m. in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत as a writer on politics.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधि.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son of श्रीकृष्ण. Probably 12th century A. D.; a. of कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति, शारदातिलक.

लक्ष्मण श्रीशैलवेदकोटीर a. of यतिखननादिप्रयोग.

लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1585-1630 A. D.; a. of आचाररत्न or आचारसार, गोत्रप्रवररत्न.

लक्ष्मणसेन, son of बल्लालसेन. Sec. 83; (reputed) a. of दानसागर (which was begun by his father).

लक्ष्मणोपाध्याय m. in the प्रकाश of हलायुध on the श्राद्धकृत्य of कात्यायन.

लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र a. of शैवकल्पद्रुम.

लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाल; a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली (composed in 1618 A. D.).

लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड. Sec. 111; (reputed) a. of बालम्भट्टी (com. on the मिताक्षरा) and of लक्ष्मी com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of भट्टहृदयधर; a. of कल्पतरु. Sec. 77.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of मल्लदेव and श्रीदेवी; a. of विकल्पविधिविध्वंस. Earlier than 1525 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of दैवज्ञमनोहर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट a. of कुण्डकारिका.

लक्ष्मीनाथ a. of गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लक्ष्मीनारायण a. of दायाधिकारिक्रम.

लक्ष्मीनारायण न्यायालङ्कार, son of गदाधर ; a. of व्यवस्थारत्नमाला.

लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित a. of कायस्थक्षत्रियत्वभ्रमदलनकुठार.

लक्ष्मीनृसिंह a. of अघशोधिनी com. on षडशीति.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of com. on मुहूर्तसंग्रह.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र.

लक्ष्मीपति ठक्कुर, pupil of इन्द्रपति or महीन्द्रपति ; a. of श्राद्धरत्न. Relies on श्रीदत्त and वाचस्पति ; ms. No. 401 F (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 472) is dated ल. सं. 525 (1644 A. D.). So he flourished between 1500 and 1640 A.D.

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुनारद m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

लघुपराशर m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

लघुबृहस्पति.

लघुयम m. by अपरार्क on याज्ञवल्क्य I. 238, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुविष्णु m. by अपरार्क (pp. 1031, 1080), by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुव्यास (vide Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 310–320).

लघुशङ्ख.

लघुशातातप (Ānan.Sm. pp. 128–135).

लघुशौनक.

लघुहारीत m. by कालमाधव (p. 88), अपरार्क (pp. 145, 539, 543, 547).

लघ्वाङ्गिरस्.

लघ्वत्रि.

लघ्वाश्वलायन.

लम्बोदर a. of होमपद्धति.

ललित m. by नन्दपण्डित in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका.

लल्ल a. of विधानमाला.

लालबहादुर a. of शूद्रकृत्य.

लालमणि, son of जगद्राम, son of गङ्गाराम of अलर्कपुर ; a. of मुहूर्तदर्पण.

लालमणि भट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

लिखित m. by मिता° (on याज्ञ. III. 290), by अपरार्क pp. 1183, 38, 138.

लोकनाथ a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

लोकनाथ, son of वैद्यनाथ ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका (part of सकलागमसंग्रह).

लोल्लट a. of श्राद्धप्रकरण. Between 900–1100 A. D.; m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार, श्राद्धकालिका of नारायण, in षडशीति of नन्दपण्डित, in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक.

लोहित a. of स्मृति.

लौगाक्षि Sec. 50 ; a. of काठकगृह्यसूत्र and प्रवराध्याय ; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. II. 119 and III. 1–2, 260, 289), अपरार्क (pp. 28, 30, 33, 259, 269, 418, 460, 542, 870, 942 &c.).

लौगाक्षि a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

लौगाक्षि a. of श्लोकतर्पण.

लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son of मुद्गल, son of रुद्रकवीन्द्र of लौगाक्षिकुल. Later

than 1400 A. D.; a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय.

वंशीधर a. of कुशकण्डिका

वह्निपुरेश्वर a. of वह्निपुरेश्वरकारिका.

वञ्चिय or वह्निय a. of निबन्धसार (D. C. ms. No. 123 of 1884-86 was copied in संवत् 1632 i. e. 1575 A. D.).

वज्रेश्वर, son of नरसिंह; a. of व्रतचिन्तामणि and मलमासनिर्णय.

वत्स a. of स्मृति, m. in. कालमाधव (p. 134), by मस्करिन्.

वत्सराज (It is his son अचल who composed निर्णयदीपक); a. of निर्णयदीपिका.

वनमालिदास a. of वनमाला.

वनमालिन् a. of विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश.

वनमालिन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी.

वनमालिमिश्र alias कृष्णदत्तमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि. About 1650 A. D.; a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप, ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका (सन्ध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या).

वरद, son of श्रीनिवास; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

वरदराज About 1450-1500 A. D.; a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय (of which a portion is called दायभाग). It is probably this author that is mentioned in सरस्वतीविलास.

वरदराज 18th century; a. of व्यवहारमाला.

वरदराज a. of नवविवेकदीपिका.

वरदराजभट्ट a. of संन्यासपद्धमञ्जरी.

वरदराजभट्टारक a. of com. on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

वरदाचार्य a. of सारार्थचतुष्टय.

वरदाचार्य of वात्स्यगोत्र; a. of स्मृतिचूडामणि or -मणिसंग्रह.

वरदाधीशयज्वन्, pupil of वैकुण्ठाधीश; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका or -प्रदीप.

वररुचि a. of आशौचाष्टक, of नीतिरत्न, of राजनीति.

वर्ग m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

वर्णिकुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत during the reign of संग्रामसिंह. Later than 1300 A. D.

वर्धमान a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप, धर्मप्रदीप.

वर्धमान a. of दण्डकोज्ज्वल.

वर्धमान a. of कृत्यनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 74 p. 66). Mentions लक्ष्मीधर and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

वर्धमान भारतीभूषणमहापात्र a. of दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका.

वर्धमान महामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश, of the बिल्वपञ्चक family. He was judge under भवेश and his son रामभद्र, king of मिथिला. 1450-1500 A. D. His elder brother was गण्डकमिश्र, and शङ्करमिश्र and वाचस्पति were his *gurus*; a. of गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक, दण्डविवेक, धर्मप्रदीप, द्वैतविषयविवेक, नानाशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय, परिभाषाविवेक. श्राद्धप्रदीप, स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक or स्मृतितत्त्वामृत and its सारोद्धार, स्मृतिपरिभाषा. श्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धविधिविवेक, द्वैतविवेक.

He is m. by वाचस्पति in पितृभक्ति and by रघुनन्दन in his व्यवहारतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व (generally as नव्यवर्धमान). Parts of स्मृतितत्त्वामृत and "मृतसारोद्धार are separately labelled in the catalogues, such as व्यवहारकोश and शान्तिपौष्टिक.

वल्लभ a. of सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका.

वल्लभाचार्य, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट of भारद्वाजगोत्र and तैत्तिरीयशाखा. 1478-1530 A. D. His pedigree is यज्ञनारायण-गंगाधर-गणपतिभट्ट-वल्लभभट्ट-लक्ष्मणभट्ट (wife इल्लमा)-वल्लभाचार्य; a. of संन्यासनिर्णय and com. संन्यासविवरण.

वल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of अजहल्लभा.

वल्लभाचार्य a. of भक्तिवर्धिनी.

वल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of वासुदेवेन्द्र; a. of प्रदोषपूजापद्धति, शिवपूजासंग्रह.

वसन्तराज, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज. Before 1150 A. D.; a. of शकुनार्णव (composed at request of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला).

वसिष्ठ a. of धनुर्वेदसंहिता.

वसिष्ठ reputed a. of नवग्रहमख.

वसिष्ठ a. of धर्मसूत्र. Sec. 9.

वागीश्वरीदत्त a. of com. on पारस्करसूत्र.

वाचस्पति a. of तीर्थकल्पलता (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 166 p. 181), of कृत्यकल्पलता.

वाचस्पति a. of जन्ममरणविवेक or जननमरणविवेक (vide ms. No. 12774 of Baroda O. I.).

वाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिप्रभा.

वाचस्पति a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वाचस्पति a. of कुण्डमण्डप.

वाचस्पति (गौड) m. in श्राद्धसागर by कुल्लूक.

वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Sec. 98; a. of आचारचिन्तामणि, आह्निकचिन्तामणि, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, तीर्थचि°, द्वैतचि°, नीतिचि°, विवादचि°, व्यवहारचि°, शुद्धिचि°, शूद्राचारचि°, श्राद्धचि°; a. of तिथिनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णय, महादाननिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय; a. of कृत्यमहार्णव गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी (extracted from तीर्थचि°), गयाश्राद्धपद्धति, चन्दनधेनुप्रमाण, दत्तकविधि, पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी; a. of कृत्यप्रदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 67 No. 75).

वाञ्छेश्वर son of नरसिंह, son of माधव; a. of दमाचिन्तामणि, मलमासनिर्णय.

वाद(दि)भयङ्कर, a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर; 1080-1130 A. D.; m. in कल्पतरु, वीरमित्रोदय (p. 350).

वाधूल a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति.

वामदेव m. by हेमाद्रि as a निबन्धकार in चतुर्वर्ग° III. I. 159.

वामदेव a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप (composed for लालाठक्कुर).

वामदेव a. of मुनिमतमणिमाला.

वामदेव उपाध्याय a. of गूढार्थदीपिका or स्मृतिदीपिका. (B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 111 p. 104).

वामदेवभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वामदेव महामहोपाध्याय a. of भावदीपिका com. on श्राद्धचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.

वामन a. of सावित्र्यग्न्याकारिका.

वामन a. of a पद्धति m. in श्राद्धसौख्य (टोडरानन्द).

वामनभट्ट a. of बृहद्रत्नाकर.

वामन, भाष्य of, m. in कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका of कृष्ण.

वार्ष्यायणि m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 2.

वाल्मीकि a writer on politics; m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

वासुदेव a. of मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार.

वासुदेव a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र m. in. टोडरानन्द.

वासुदेव a. of दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक.

वासुदेव a. of परीक्षापद्धति.

वासुदेव, son of ईजट; a. of शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंग्रह. As ms. is dated संवत् 1428 (1371-2 A. D.), he is probably identical with the commentator of the पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

वासुदेव a. of वास्तुप्रदीप.

वासुदेव, son of शिवसूरि, son of त्र्यम्बक surnamed महाजन; a. of com. on कृष्णद्दत्तमञ्जरी. Between 1680-1760 A. D.

वासुदेव, son of आपदेव, of the चित्पावन caste; a. of प्रयोगरत्नमाला or वासुदेवी.

वासुदेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of आथर्वणप्रमिताक्षरा. Vide ms. No. 7603 (Baroda O. I.); mentions हेमाद्रि, वैधिकमीपद्धति.

वासुदेवदीक्षित Earlier than 1250 A. D.; a. of com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र and of a पद्धति thereon. He is m. by हरिहर and रघुनन्दन.

वासुदेवदीक्षित a. of गृह्यपद्धति.

वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रघुनाथ; a. of आह्निकामृत (for वैखानस school of वैष्णवs).

वासुदेव रथ a. of स्मृतिप्रकाश.

वासुदेवाश्रम a. of और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय, पतिधर्मप्रकाश.

वासुदेवेन्द्र a. of आचारपद्धति.

वाहिनीपति a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or प्रदीपिका.

विक्रमभट्ट a. of शब्दार्थसार com. on शारदातिलक.

विखनस् (supposed to be) a. of वैखानसकल्प (including गृह्य and धर्म प्रश्नs).

विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a. of पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका.

विज्ञानेश्वर. See. 70; a. of मिताक्षरा (com. on याज्ञ०), आशौचदशक or दशश्लोकी.

विट्ठल, son of नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका of रामचन्द्र.

विट्ठल, son of केशव; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

विट्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed वैष्णव and resident of श्रीपुर; a. of com. on मूल्याध्याय.

विट्ठल, son of बुधशर्मन्, of the कृष्णात्रिगोत्र; a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or कुण्डसिद्धि (composed in 1619-20 A. D.) and com. there-

on and of मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1628 A. D.) and com. मञ्जरी thereon.

विठ्ठल a. of तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग. Probably the same as above.

विठ्ठल, son of महादेव ; a. of प्रयोगलाघव.

विठ्ठलदीक्षित a. of षट्पदी.

विठ्ठलदीक्षित a. of समयप्रदीप.

विठ्ठलाचार्य a. of आह्निक.

विठ्ठलेश्वर or विठ्ठलदीक्षित, son of वल्लभाचार्य ; born in 1515 A. D. Said to have been a. of आह्निकपद्धति, आग्रयणपद्धति, जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, com. on the संन्यासनिर्णय of वल्लभाचार्य, समयप्रदीप, यजुर्वल्लभा (of which आह्निकपद्धति seems to be a part) or कर्मसरणि, भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा, भक्तिहंस, भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय.

विदुर a. of नीति (which is taken from the उद्योगपर्व of the महाभारत chap. 33-40 of the Bombay edition).

विद्याकर वाजपेयिन्, son of शम्भुकर. Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; a. of आचारपद्धति, नित्याचारपद्धति, आह्निककृत्य ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. pp. 68, 75), देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (vol. II. p. 505), आह्निकतत्त्व (vol. I p. 355), मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I p. 744 speaks of विद्याकराह्निकतत्त्व), शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II. p. 312).

विद्याधर a. of दायनिर्णय and हेमाद्रिप्रयोग.

विद्याधर m. in. रूपनारायणीयनिबन्ध.

विद्याधीशमुनि a. of दिनत्रयनिर्णय.

विद्याधीशस्वामिन् m. in. स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

विद्यानन्दनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

विद्यानिधि a. of ज्योतिःसागरसार.

विद्यानिधि a. of सम्बन्धदीपिका.

विद्यानिवास a. of दोलारोहणपद्धति, द्वादशयात्राप्रयोग.

विद्यापति, son of गणपति, son of जयदत्त. Between 1375-1450 A. D. A voluminous and versatile writer ; wrote in Maithilī also and on moral tales (as in पुरुषपरीक्षा, भूपरिक्रमण) ; a. of गङ्गावाक्यावली (under the patronge of महादेवी विश्वासदेवी queen of पद्मसिंह, son of शिवसिंह), गयापत्तलक, दानवाक्यावली (under patronage of महादेवी धीरमती, queen of नरसिंहदेव दर्पनारायण), दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी (probably his last work), वर्षकृत्य, विभागसार (under orders of दर्पनारायण, son of हरिसिंह son of भवेश), शैवसर्वस्वसार (composed at the bidding of queen विश्वासदेवी). Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV p. 182 and vol. XXVIII. p. 57. His वर्षकृत्य is m. in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I, p. 823). He is m. in श्रीनाथ's कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव and by गोविन्दानन्द. His पुरुषपरीक्षा (N. vol. V. 245) distinctly says that पद्मसिंह was the *son* of शिवसिंह (and not brother as some suppose on account of the words in the शैवसर्वस्वसार, N. vol. V. p. I). Vide Journal of

the Department of Letters, Calcutta Universety, for 1927 vol. XVI. where there is an informing paper on विद्यापति.

विद्यापतिभट्ट a. of बौधायनाह्निक.

विद्यापतिस्वामिन् m. in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

विद्यामाधव a. of मुहूर्तदर्पण.

विद्यारत्न स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिसार-व्यवस्था.

विद्यार्णव a. of जातरिष्ट्यादिनिर्णय (which seems to be purely astrological); vide N. (new series) vol. II. No. 69.

विनतानन्दन a. of द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्र-प्रयोग.

विनायकपण्डित vide under नन्दपण्डित.

विबुधेन्द्राश्रम a. of पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका.

विभाकर a. of आचारद्वैतनिर्णय or-विवेक composed by order of king रामभद्रदेव रूपनारायण son of भैरव (vide B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 24, p. 21). About 1500 A. D.

विराज् m. in अपरार्क (p. 112).

विर्मिटीक m. as a. writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

विलम्ब m. in. हरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार.

विवस्वत् a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृति-चन्द्रिका and in आचारमयूख.

विशारद earlier than 1500 A. D.; m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and by रघुनन्दन in छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्ग-तत्त्व (vol. II. p. 275) and शुद्धितत्त्व.

विशालाक्ष a writer on politics; m. in the कौटिलीय, महाभारत, by विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. p. 190 (Tri. S. series).

विश्वकर्मन्, son of दामोदर and हीरा and grandson of भीम; a. of धर्म-विवेक. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

विश्वकर्मन् a. of यतिवल्लभा or संन्यास-पद्धति.

विश्वकर्मन् m. in com. on नीतिवाक्या-मृत as propounder of वास्तुशास्त्र; m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 825).

विश्वकर्मन् a. of विधानमाला.

विश्वदास a. of मुहूर्तराज.

विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल; a. of अन्त्येष्टि-पद्धति, अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग, com. on त्रि-शच्छ्लोकी, और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली and और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति.

विश्वनाथ a. of क्रियापद्धति (probably the same as विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल). It deals with the rites from death to सपिण्डीकरण in the case of the माध्यन्दिनशाखा.

विश्वनाथ earlier than 1660 A. D.; a. of वृत्तिप्रताप.

विश्वनाथ son of श्रीपति, surnamed द्विवेदिन. Between 1450-1615 A. D.; a. of कुण्डरत्नाकर.

विश्वनाथ a. of अशौचनिर्णय.

विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर; a. of सिद्धा-न्तशेखर.

विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव; a. of रुद्र-पद्धति; probably the same as विश्व-नाथ, son of शम्भुनाथ below.

विश्वनाथ, son of कृष्ण a Gurjara ब्राह्मण of मैत्रायणगोत्र ; a. of द्व्यामुष्यायणनिर्णय (ms. No. 12708 of Baroda O. I.); mentions नागोजीभट्ट, दिनकरोद्योत, and कौस्तुभ, so later than 1680 A. D.

विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल ; a. of व्रतराज or व्रतप्रकाश (compiled at Benares in 1736 A. D.).

विश्वनाथ a. of शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंस्कारपद्धति.

विश्वनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह, son of आशाधर ; a. of गृह्यसूत्रप्रकाशिका on पारस्करगृह्य. About 1550 A. D.

विश्वनाथ, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम ; a. of विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति (आपस्तम्बीय) composed in 1544 A. D.

विश्वनाथ a. of तिथिचक्र or तिथिनिर्णयचक्र.

विश्वनाथ a. of तिथिनिर्णयसार (probably the same as विश्वेश्वर.)

विश्वनाथ, son of हरि ; a. of com. on विधानमाला.

विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुनाथ, son of मुकुन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम. He was the younger brother of रामदेव ; a. of कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी, कुण्डविधान, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (composed in 1584 A. D.) or रामदेवप्रसाद.

विश्वनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयवाक्सुधार्णव or -वाक्यसुधार्णव. Same as above; ms. No. 9375 (Baroda O. I.).

विश्वनाथ a. of जातिविवेकसंग्रह.

विश्वनाथ आचार्य a. of काशीमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमृतिमोक्ष.

विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय a. of दत्तकानिर्णय.

विश्वनाथकवि a. of प्रवराध्याय.

विश्वनाथदीक्षित a. of उपनयनपद्धति.

विश्वनाथ दैवज्ञ, son of दिवाकर ; between 1612-1632 A. D. ; a. of मुहूर्तमणि.

विश्वनाथ न्यायपञ्चानन About 1630 A. D. ; a. of मासतत्त्वविवेक or -विचार.

विश्वनाथभट्ट a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

विश्वपतिभट्ट a. of आह्निक (बौधायनीय).

विश्वम्भरत्रिवेदिन् a. of चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध or स्मृतिसारोद्धार. About 1600-1650 A. D.

विश्वम्भरदीक्षित, son of मयूरेश्वरभट्ट, surnamed घिटे, a resident of वैराज (modern Wai); a. of आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला. Mentions भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Later than 1650 A. D.

विश्वम्भरशास्त्रिन् m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

विश्वरूप. Sec. 60 ; a. of बालक्रीडा (com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति).

विश्वरूप a. of विश्वरूपनिबन्ध and विश्वरूपसमुच्चय.

विश्वरूपाचार्य a. of श्राद्धकलिकाविवरण.

विश्वस्वामिन् m. by पुरुषोत्तम in गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी.

विश्वामित्र. Sec. 51 ; a. of स्मृति.

विश्वासदेवी (reputed) a. of गङ्गावाक्यावली (really composed by विद्यापति).

विश्वेश a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

विश्वेश्वर a. of पद्धति on संन्यास (probably the same as the next).

विश्वेश्वर a. of गृहपतिधर्म.

विश्वेश्वर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of निर्णयकौस्तुभ.

विश्वेश्वर a. of स्मृतिसमुच्चय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 445 p. 521).

विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Later than 1650 A. D.; a. of com. on आशौचीयदशश्लोकी.

विश्वेश्वर, son of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाराम, of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, surnamed महाशब्द; a. of प्रतापार्क (by order of king प्रताप, grandson of जयसिंह). About 1750.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of अघवाहव or दानसार.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण. About 1620–1685 A. D.; a. of आपस्तम्बपद्धति, आशौचदीपिका, कायस्थधर्मदीप or प्रकाश or कायस्थपद्धति, तुलादानप्रयोग, दिनकरोद्योत (on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, पूर्त, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, शुद्धि, श्राद्ध and संस्कार), पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग, प्रयोगसार, सुज्ञानदुर्गोदय, समयनय, सापिण्ड्यविचार. Besides he composed on पूर्वमीमांसा the मीमांसाकुसुमाञ्जलि, शिवार्कोदय and भाट्टचिन्तामणि and (on अलङ्कारशास्त्र) राकागम (a com. on the चन्द्रालोक). He officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D. Ms. No. 9670 (Baroda O. I.) shows that the कायस्थधर्मदीप was compiled in शके 1599 (1677 A. D.).

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of पेद्दिभट्ट, patronised by मदनपाल. Sec. 93; a. of सुबोधिनी (com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर), मदनपारिजात, महार्णवकर्मविपाक, स्मृतिकौमुदी, महादानपद्धति and (probably) तिथिनिर्णयसार.

विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञविश्वेश; a. of कलियुगधर्मसार or कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह, परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मसंग्रह or यतिधर्मसंग्रह or यतिधर्मप्रकाश or यतिधर्मसमुच्चय, यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग (from यत्याचारसंग्रह); earlier than 1600 A. D.

विष्णु a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगवृत्ति.

विष्णु a. of कुण्डमरीचिमाला.

विष्णु a. of आह्निकपद्धति, composed in 1559 (शके ?) मार्गशीर्षसित ११ गुरौ (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 35 p. 34).

विष्णु (गृहस्वामिन); a. of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य.

विष्णुतीर्थ a. of संन्यासविधि.

विष्णुदत्त a. of आज्ञाधिकार.

विष्णुदत्त a. of शुद्धिदीपिकाप्रकाश.

विष्णुपण्डित a. of गोत्रप्रवरदीप.

विष्णुपुरी a. of भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली and com. कान्तिमाला (composed in 1634 A. D.), हरिभक्तिकल्पलता.

विष्णुभट्ट (अग्निहोत्रिन) ; a. of गोभिल-गृह्यपद्धति and विवाहकर्मन.

विष्णुभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण, surnamed आठवले. Earlier than 1780 A. D. ; a. of पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि.

विष्णुभट्ट. Same as above ; a. of प्रबोधनिर्णय (from पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि).

विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट, of विदुरनगर ; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेव विद्यावागीश ; a. of प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वादर्श (com. on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु० and श्राद्धतत्त्वादर्श (com. on श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०).

विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित a. of संस्कारप्रदीपिका.

विष्णुशर्मन m. as a writer on politics in the com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

विष्णुशर्मन, a. of कीर्तिप्रकाश (for king कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह) parts of which are समयप्रकाश etc.

विष्णुशर्मन a. of निर्णयचिन्तामणि (composed at the instance of श्रीराजजालभदास, son of विदुर, a वैश्य).

विष्णुशर्मन, son of यज्ञदत्त ; a. of श्राद्धरत्नमहोदधि, श्राद्धाङ्गभास्कर.

विष्णुशर्मन, son of देवदत्त ; a. of लघुकारिका (for माध्यन्दिनशाखा). Earlier than 1450 A. D. He was माध्यन्दिनीय and yet dwelt in Gauḍa. He bows to श्रीधराचार्य and वसिष्ठ and relies on पारस्कर and याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. Later than 1200 A. D.

विष्णुशर्मन a. of स्मृतिसरोजकलिका.

विष्णुशर्ममिश्र a. of कर्मकौमुदी and महारुद्रपद्धति.

वीथि (थि) नाथ of the कौशिकगोत्र ; a. of अघपञ्चषष्टि.

वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र; a. of अघनिर्णय.

वीरराघव a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, प्रयोगदर्पण, प्रयोगतिलक, प्रयोगमुक्तावलि.

वीरराघव of नैध्रुवगोत्र ; a. of सच्चरित्रसुधानिधि.

वीरराघव of वाधूलगोत्र ; a. of सच्चरित्रपरित्राण.

वीरसिंह, son of देववर्मन, son of कमलसिंह of the तोमर race ; (reputed) a. of वीरसिंहावलोक (composed in 1383 A. D.). Aufrecht (I. p. 595) is wrong in ascribing दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी to this वीरसिंह. That वीरसिंह was नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला of the कामेश्वर dynasty. D. C. ms. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवत 1572 (1515 A. D.).

वीरेश्वर m. in छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व (vol. II. p, 542), संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I. pp. 867, 900) of रघुनन्दन.

वीरेश्वर, son of देवादित्य ; a. of सामवेदीयदशकर्मपद्धति. About 1300 A. D.

वीरेश्वर, son of हरिपण्डित at पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern Puntāmbe) on the गोदावरी; a. of आह्निकमञ्जरीटीका (composed in 1598 A. D.).

वीरेश्वर a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

वीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले; a. of लघुचिन्तामणि.

वृद्धकात्यायन m. in दायभाग, सरस्वतीविलास (p. 320).

वृद्धगर्ग m. in अद्भुतसागर, हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड), श्राद्धमयूख.

वृद्धगर्ग (reputed) a. of उत्पातशान्ति.

वृद्धगार्ग्य m. by विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 195, in अपरार्क, (p. 880), कालमाधव (p. 326), संस्कारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख.

वृद्धगौतम m. by अपरार्क (p. 550) हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड), समयमयूख.

वृद्धचाणक्य.

वृद्धनारदीय m. in प्रतापनारसिंह.

वृद्धपराशर m. by अपरार्क (p. 1235), पराशरमाधवीय (vol. I. part I, pp. 230), आचारमयूख.

वृद्धप्रचेतस् m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 265), अपरार्क (pp. 888, 897, 1090).

वृद्धबृहस्पति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 261), अपरार्क (pp. 602-603).

वृद्धबौधायन m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 440).

वृद्धमनु m. in मिताक्षरा and विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 60).

वृद्धयम.

वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य m. by विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 4-5), मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क (p. 33).

वृद्धवसिष्ठ m. in विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 19), हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. (23. 20), हेमाद्रि, सरस्वतीविलास p. 467, अपरार्क (pp. 198, 420, 446).

वृद्धविष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 267).

वृद्धव्यास m. by रघुनन्दन, अपरार्क p. 751.

वृद्धशङ्ख m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि.

वृद्धशातातप m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 221), दायभाग, व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड); pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

वृद्धशौनक.

वृद्धहारीत m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 254), अपरार्क (pp. 1072, 1107).

वृद्धाङ्गिरस्.

वृद्धात्रि m. by हरदत्त.

वृद्धापस्तम्ब m. in the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध.

वृन्दावन a. of वृन्दावनपद्धति.

वृन्दावन a. of नृसिंहपूजापद्धति.

वृन्दावनशुक्ल a. of तीर्थसेतु, of com. on दत्तकमीमांसा, of com. on दायतत्त्व, प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता, of com. on मलमासतत्त्व.

वेमराज a. of वेमराजसंहिता (composed in 1503 A. D.).

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सच्चरित्ररक्षा.

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of वर्ज्याहारविवेक.

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सच्चरितरक्षा.

वेङ्कटयज्वन् a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटयज्वन् a. of कालामृत and com. उज्ज्वला.

वेङ्कटयोगिन्, son of कोण्डपाचार्य; a. of वैखानससूत्रानुक्रमदीपिका.

वेङ्कटराय a. of सर्वपुराणार्थसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटविजयिन् a. of कर्मप्रायश्चित्त.

वेङ्कटाचार्य, son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य; a. of आचार्यगुणादर्श.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of संध्याभाष्य.

वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रघुनाथ of the हारीतगोत्र. Later than 1200 A. D.; a. of com. on आशौचदशक, of आशौचशतक or अघनिर्णय and com. thereon, of स्मृतिरत्नाकर, दशनिर्णय, दर्शनिर्णय and गृह्यरत्न and its com. विबुधकण्ठभूषण, of पितृमेधसार and its com.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटाद्रि a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

वेङ्कटाद्रि रायस a. of आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिकौस्तुभ or स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व.

वेङ्कटेश a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व or आशौचनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह; possibly the same as above.

वेङ्कटेशभट्ट a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि.

वेङ्कटेश वाजपेयिन् of वत्सगोत्र. Earlier than 1580 A. D.; a. of com. on प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

वेचुराम a. of स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

वेणीदत्त a. of औदीच्यप्रकाश.

वेणीदत्त a. of com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावली of नन्दपण्डित.

वेणीराम शाकद्वीपिन् a. of जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद, मांसभक्षणदीपिका.

वेतालभट्ट (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रदीप.

वेदचूडालक्ष्मण a. of वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

वेदमिश्र, son of विश्वरूपदीक्षित. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of com. प्रकाश on पारस्करगृह्य and of वासिष्ठी (a. com. on astrological वासिष्ठस्मृति), which is also called शान्तिभाष्य.

वेदाङ्गराय (formerly called मालजित्) son of तिगलाभट्ट or त्यगलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat. About 1643 A. D.; a. of आशौचचन्द्रिका, महारुद्रपद्धति or रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी, श्राद्धदीपिका.

वेदाचार्य (between 1250-1500 A. D.); a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर (written under the patronage of the king of कामरूप).

वेदान्तदास (वात्स्य) a. of वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका.

वेदान्तदेशिक a. of हरिदिनतिलक. Later than 1400 A. D.

वेदान्तरामानुज तातदास a. of संन्यासिसापिण्ड्यविधि and आशौचनिर्णय.

वेदान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of हरितोषण.

वेङ्कटनाथाचार्य a. of गृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

वैखानस (reputed) a. of गृह्यसूत्र and धर्मप्रश्न.

वैदिकसार्वभौम the same as वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रघुनाथ.

वैदिकसार्वभौम an epithet applied to several scholars e. g. सुधीविलोलोचन is ascribed to a वैदिकसार्वभौम, so also प्रयोगदर्पण, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वैद्यनाथ a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि (of which तिथिनिर्णय is a part). D. C. ms. No. 112 of 1895-1902 was copied in संवत 1719 (1662-63 A. D.).

वैद्यनाथ a. of व्रतविधि.

वैद्यनाथ, son of दिवाकर, son of महादेव. About 1675 A. D.; a. of अनुक्रमणीs to several works of his father, such as आचारार्क, तिथ्यर्क, दानहीरावलि, प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका (all parts of दिवाकर's धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि).

वैद्यनाथ a. of कालनिरूपण, विवाहनिरूपण.

वैद्यनाथ a. of उपाकर्मपद्धति (कात्यायनीय).

वैद्यनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वैद्यनाथ, son of महादेव पायगुण्ड and वेणी and pupil of नागोजिभट्ट and father of बालम्भट्ट Sec. 111. Aufrect (I. p. 612) is wrong in identifying वैद्यनाथ with बालम्भट्ट (who was really वैद्यनाथ's son); a. of com. on पराशरस्मृति.

वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र तत्सत्, son of विठ्ठल ; a. of अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थचन्द्रिका and of com. on कालमाधवकारिका. He composed his उद्वाहरत्नचन्द्रिका in 1683 A. D.

वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव ; a. of संस्कारपद्धति.

वैद्यनाथ a. of मार्गचन्द्रिका.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित About 1600 A. D.; a. of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (parts of which are आह्निक, दायभाग, संस्कार etc.), दशाहविवाह.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of प्रक्रियाञ्जनटीका.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of वर्णसारमणि, वर्णाश्रमधर्म (both are probably identical).

वैयाघ्रपाद or वैयाघ्रपद a. of a स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 17), अपरार्क p. 41.

वैशम्पायन (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रकाशिका.

वैशम्पायन a. of a स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 326).

वोपदेव, son of केशव, and pupil of धनेश and protegee of हेमाद्रि ; vide under बोपदेव.

वोपदेव a. of आशौचसंग्रह or त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

व्यङ्कटेश a. of हरिवासरनिर्णय.

व्याघ्र see under वैयाघ्रपाद ; m. by मिता०, अपरार्क (pp. 132, 133, 145, 521, 524, 1144, 1202), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. (23. 11). D. C. mss. No. 163 of 1884-86 contains a व्याघ्र-

स्मृति in 388 verses on daily duties such as स्नान, तिलक, आचमन, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, तर्पण, अतिथिपूजा, संध्यावन्दन and श्राद्ध &c. A ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection has an incomplete text in 260 verses.

व्याघ्रकण्ठ m. as स्मृतिकार (distinct from व्याघ्रपाद) in नित्याचारप्रदीप (p. 20).

व्याघ्रपाद or -पाद्. Probably same as व्याघ्र ; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 30), अपरार्क (pp. 112, 467, 892).

व्यास a. of स्मृति Sec. 52.

व्यास a. of बृहत्संहिता.

व्यास a. of तीर्थपरिभाषा.

व्यास, pupil of नृसिंह ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य.

व्यासदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णयविवेक or -निर्णय.

व्रजनाथ विद्यारत्न a. of दत्तदायप्रकाश.

व्रजराज a. of आह्निक (पुष्टिमार्गीय for followers of वल्लभाचार्य).

व्रजराज a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकल्पलता, संवत्सरकल्पलता. He was a devotee of विठ्ठलेश son of वल्लभाचार्य ; probably same as the preceding.

व्रजराजशुक्ल a. of दानमञ्जरी, नीतिविलास.

शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळ, surnamed घारे of the चित्पावन subcaste ; a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरण, तीर्थकौमुदी, तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी and व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी (composed in 1753 A. D.), देवस्थापनकौमुदी, कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति (refered to in व्रतो०).

शङ्कर a. of सदाचारविवरण.

शङ्कर a. of वास्तुशिरोमणि (at the bidding of श्यामसाह, son of माननरेन्द्र).

शङ्कर a. of कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर.

शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

शङ्कर a. of प्रतिष्ठाकौमुदी and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

शङ्कर तान्त्रिक a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी ; probably same as the preceding. Vide ms. No. 7659 (Baroda O. I.). Mentions ज्योतिर्निबन्ध and प्रवरदीपिका.

शङ्कर दैवज्ञ, son of शिव ; a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार.

शङ्कर दैवज्ञ a. of शालग्रामपरीक्षा.

शङ्करपण्डित a. of मतोद्धार.

शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट ; flourished between 1540-1600 A. D.; a. of द्वैतनिर्णय or धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय, निर्णयचन्द्रिका, धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश, श्राद्धकल्पसार and its com. (Stein's cat. p. 316).

शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Flourished between 1620-1680 A. D. ; a. of कर्मविपाक, कुण्डार्क, कुण्डभास्कर or कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन (composed in 1671 A. D.), व्रतार्क, संस्कारमयूख (of his father was revised by him), सदाचारसंग्रह (of which एकादशीनिर्णय is a part).

शङ्करमिश्र a. of स्मृतिसुधाकर. Vide शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर below.

शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथ. He was probably the शङ्करमिश्र, who was a *guru* of वर्धमान. If so he flourished about 1450-1475 A. D.; a. of छन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, श्राद्धप्रदीप. Aufrecht (I. 625) assigns श्राद्धपद्धति to him, but it is a work of दयाशङ्कर.

शङ्करशर्मन् a. of मुमूर्षुमृतकृत्यादिपद्धति.

शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर, son of सुधाकर, son of शुचिकर; a. of ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुङ्कुम, स्मृतिसुधाकर, of वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध (composed in गतकलि 4678).

शङ्कराचार्य a. of संन्यासकर्मन्, संन्यासपद्धति and समस्ताम्नायिक, पञ्चमाश्रमविधि, परमहंससन्ध्योपासन, सदाचारप्रकरण.

शङ्करानन्द a. of यत्यनुष्ठानपद्धति.

शङ्करानन्द a. of सर्वपुराणसार.

शङ्करार्य a. of पञ्जिका जयमङ्गला on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

शङ्ख Vide sec. 12.

शङ्ख a. of a स्मृति. Vide N. vol. I. p. 34 for a ms. of श. स्मृति (in 6 अध्यायs).

शङ्खधर. Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 139, 306), by हारलता (p. 117), by हेमाद्रि (III. 1 p. 412 and III. 2. 479, 594, 610), by श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि, in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (p. 498).

शङ्खलिखित Vide sec. 12.

शठकोपदास a. of com. on आशौचनिर्णय of वैदिकसार्वभौम.

शतक्रतु a. of स्मृति; m. in मदनपारिजात.

शतानन्द a. of रत्नमाला (m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व vol. I. p. 596) and a शतानन्दसंग्रह (m. in the कालसार of गदाधर).

शत्रुघ्न a. of संध्याभाष्य.

शम्बराचार्य m. by निर्णयसिन्धु (on आशौच).

शम्भु Between 900 and 1100 A. D. m. in the स्मृत्यर्थसार, in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका as a स्मृतिसमुच्चयकार along with श्रीकर and देवस्वामिन् and by हेमाद्रि as refuting मेधातिथि (III. 1. p. 1148). Aufrecht ascribes the कामधेनु to him. But this is wrong. Vide p. 295 above.

शम्भुदास a. of सारसंग्रह.

शम्भुनाथमिश्र a. of कालभास्कर.

शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश pandit at the court of कामरूप prince; a. of अकालभास्कर (composed in 1715 A. D.), दिनभास्कर, दुर्गोत्सवकृत्यकौमुदी, देवीपूजनभास्कर, वर्षभास्कर (composed by order of king धर्मदेव), सङ्केतकौमुदी.

शम्भुनाथाचार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी. Probably the same as the preceding.

शम्भुभट्ट कविमण्डन or सदाशिव, son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of खण्डदेव; (he wrote his com. on भाट्टदीपिका in 1708 A. D.); a. of

कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी-विवरणसारोद्धार, पाकयज्ञप्रयोग. In his com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी he mentions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (vide No. 12589 of Baroda O. I.).

शम्भुराज (He was Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, the great Maratha king and ruled from 1680-1689); (reputed) a. of बुधभूषण.

शम्भुराज (a Tanjore prince); a. of नीतिमञ्जरी (of which दण्डनीतिप्रकरण is a part).

शरभोजी (king of Tanjore, 1798-1833 A. D.); a. of व्यवहारप्रकाश, व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय (probably same as preceding).

शाकटायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, निर्णयसिन्धु, श्राद्धमयूख.

शाकल m. in व्यवहारमयूख, दत्तकमीमांसा.

शाकलाचार्य a. of बह्वृचगृह्यकारिका or बह्वृचकर्मप्रयोगकारिका.

शाङ्खायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र.

शाट्यायन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 303), हेमाद्रि, आचारमयूख.

शाट्यायनि (probably same as above) m. in अपरार्क (pp. 423, 424, 462, 540), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधवाचार्य, मदनपारिजात.

शाण्डिल्य a. of गृह्य (m. by रुद्रदत्त on आप. श्रौ. सू. 9. 11. 21) and of स्मृति m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 19, by मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 280, by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच p. 190).

शातातप Sec. 28

शामजित् त्रिपाठिन् a. of नित्यदानादिपद्धति.

शार्ङ्गधर a. of विवाहपटल m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

शार्ङ्गधर a. of धनुर्वेदसंग्रह or वीरचिन्तामणि.

शालङ्कायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच p. 190), m. in श्राद्धमयूख.

शाश्वतेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of परमहंसधर्मनिरूपण.

शिङ्गय, son of मल्लनाचार्य; a. of संस्कारपद्धति.

शिङ्गाभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति.

शिरोमणिभट्ट (a दाक्षिणात्य); a. of आह्निकरत्न, ऋग्वेदाह्निक and मुहूर्तरत्न.

शिव, son of विश्वकर्मन्; a. of राज्याभिषेकपद्धति.

शिव, son of गोविन्द, of the चतुर्धर family, originally from कूर्परग्राम (modern Kopargaon) on the Godāvari; a. of धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश (composed at Benares in 1776 A. D.).

शिव a. of संस्कृतकौमुदी.

शिवदत्त, son of सूर्यदास; a. of com. on समरसार.

शिवदत्त m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. p. 594) and by रघुनन्दन.

शिवदत्त, son of उमापत्ति of the सौ-आलवंश ; a. of स्मृतितत्त्वसार.

शिवदत्तशर्मन् a. of गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय.

शिवदास a. of com. on आशौचतत्त्व of महादेव.

शिवदास, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of com. on समरसार.

शिव दैवज्ञ, son of श्रीकृष्ण दैवज्ञ of the भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of मुहूर्तचूडामणि.

शिवनन्दन a. of सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय or तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व.

शिवनन्दननाग a. of तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व (probably same as the preceding).

शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ a. of पञ्चक्रोशयात्रा.

शिवप्रसाद a. of प्रयोगप्रदीप or प्रयोगसार.

शिवप्रसाद, son of श्रीनिवास of पुष्करपुर; a. of स्मार्तोल्लास. Ms. No. 11958 (Baroda O. I.) was copied in 1610 (खगोत्रुपमिते शाके) and the work mentions मदनरत्न and टोडरानन्द and so was composed between 1585-1685 A. D.

शिवभट्ट a. of श्राद्धनिर्णय.

शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दसूरि (possibly same as above). Later than 1650 A. D. ; a. of षण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय.

शिवराम, son of विश्राम of the Modha caste ; a. of सुबोधिनीपद्धति and कारिकार्थबोधिनी com. on the गोभिलगृह्यसूत्र, नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति, of com. on कर्मप्रदीप, छन्दोगाह्निक, शान्तिचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन and com. प्रकाशिका.

शिवराम a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरण.

शिवराम a. of दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग.

शिवराम a. of मन्त्रसारसंग्रह.

शिवराम a. of आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति, आह्निकपद्धति and आह्निकसंक्षेप, कृत्यार्णवचन्द्रिका.

शिवरामशुक्ल, son of विश्राम; a. of कृत्यचिन्तामणि composed in 1578 A. D. He is probably the same as above. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 72 pp. 64-65 gives 1562 शाके (कक्षर्तुशरचन्द्रैश्च मिते शाके तु वत्सरे मुन्यङ्कसंमिते etc.) as date of copying.

शिवलाल शुकुल (शुक्ल ?) ; a. of जातिमार्तण्ड.

शिवशङ्कर a. of विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका.

शिवस्वामिन् Earlier than 1150 A. D.; m. in मद. पा. (p. 619), in कालादर्श, स्मृतिच० (on आशौच p. 175), परा. मा. (I. part 2 p. 448).

शिवसूरि महाजन, son of त्र्यम्बक ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी and com. कुण्डालोक. Later than 1680 A. D.

शिवानन्द a. of उपनयनचिन्तामणि.

शिवानन्द, son of तारापति ठक्कुर ; a. of निर्णयदर्पण.

शिवानन्दगोस्वामिन् a. of लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाकौमुदी

शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामिन् a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

शिवोपाध्याय a. of शिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शीतलदीक्षित a. of मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड.

शुकदेव a. of विष्णुपूजाविधि. About 1635 A. D.

शङ्करमिश्र, son of विट्ठलमिश्र ; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

शुक्राचार्य a. of नीतिसार.

शुक्लेश्वरनाथ (probably ईश्वरनाथशुक्ल); a. of स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम and com.

शुनःपुच्छ a. of स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 16), अपरार्क pp. 887, 902.

शुनःशेप m. in हेमाद्रि and प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

शुभङ्कर a of तिथिनिर्णय (one ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 153D p. 163 is dated शके 1679).

शुभाकर m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

शूलपाणि Sec. 95 ; a. of दीपकलिका (com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति),of परिशिष्टदीपकलिका, स्मृतिविवेक (a digest of which at least 14 parts are known, vide p. 394). Aufrecht (I. 660) ascribes the समयप्रदीप to him, but this is not correct. Ms. No. 10849 प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (Baroda O. I.) was copied in संवत् 1501 माघ (Feb. 1445 A. D.).

शेषाचार्य a. of अपुत्रकलारीय.

शौनक (numerous works are attributed to him ; the same शौनक cannot be the author of all) ; a. of अर्कविवाहपद्धति, अश्वत्थोपापनपद्धति, अधोमुखजननशान्ति, एकदण्डिसंन्यासविधि, अद्भुतोत्पत्तिशान्ति, अनावृष्टिशान्ति, अपमृत्युञ्जयशान्ति, जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग, कारिकावली, of गृह्य and गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, of a धर्मशास्त्र work (in which प्रयोगपारिजात is mentioned), of वृद्धकारिकाs, of a स्मृति, of गर्भाधानादिषोडशकर्मपद्धति, नागबलि, पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग, प्रणवकल्प, मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग, संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति.

शौरिदत्त, son of रामभद्र; a. of बाग्मती-तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.

श्यामसुन्दर, son of गङ्गाधर ; a. of देवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग, समावर्तनप्रयोग.

श्यामसुन्दरभट्टाचार्य a.of आशौचदीपिका.

श्रीकण्ठ a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

श्रीकण्ठ Earlier than 1150 A. D. ; m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार of श्रीधर, द्रोणक's श्राद्धविधि and by रघुनन्दन.

श्रीकण्ठ a. of प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता.

श्रीकण्ठतीर्थ, pupil of महादेवतीर्थ ; a. of भिक्षुतत्त्व.

श्रीकण्ठशर्मन् a. of शुद्धिसार.

श्रीकण्ठायन a. of चातुराश्रम्यधर्म.

श्रीकर Sec. 62.

श्रीकराचार्य, father of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. About 1475-1500 A.D.; a. of दायनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय (of which दायनिर्णय seems to be part). Seems to have been connected with श्राद्धविवेकटीका also.

श्रीकृष्ण a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

श्रीकृष्ण a. of स्मृतिसार.

श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार a. of दायक्रमसंग्रह, and of com. on दायभाग. About the middle of the 18th century.

श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, son of नारायणवन्द्यघटीय; a. of संवत्सरप्रयोगसार.

श्रीकृष्णविद्यावागीश a. of शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप or कृत्यापल्लवदीपिका.

श्रीगर्भ a. of शूद्राह्निकाचार. Earlier than 1540 A. D.

श्रीदत्त Sec. 89. Between 1275-1310 A. D.; a. of आचारादर्श, छन्दोगाह्निक, पितृभक्ति (for students of यजुर्वेद), शुद्धिनिर्णय, श्राद्धकल्प (for students of सामवेद), समयप्रदीप, व्रतसार. Vide N. vol. III p. 34 and vol. II p. 363 for श्राद्धकल्प and N. vol. V p. 250 for पितृभक्ति. Aufrecht (I p. 668) is wrong in regarding पितृभक्ति as another name of श्राद्धकल्प; vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 351 for व्रतसार.

श्रीदत्त, son of नागेश्वरमिश्र. Before 1418 A. D.; a. of एकाग्निदानपद्धति, पुरश्चरणपद्धति, (m. in the एकाग्निदानपद्धति), आवसथ्याधानपद्धति (probably of this author and not of the preceding).

श्रीदेव a. of स्मृतितत्त्वप्रकाश.

श्रीधर, son of नागभर्तृ विष्णुभट्ट, of विश्वामित्रगोत्र. Sec. 81.; a. of स्मृत्यर्थसार and श्रीधरीय.

श्रीधर a. of आशौचदशकटीका.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधान.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधानपद्धति. Probably the same as above.

श्रीधर son of बालचन्द्र, son of हौल who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. About 1500 A. D.; a. of अटमल्लविलास.

श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनायक; a. of नित्यकर्मपद्धति. He was a follower of the माध्यन्दिन recension of शुक्लयजुर्वेद and based his work on कात्यायन; mentions रत्नकरण्डिका. Ms. No. 603 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत् 1547 भाद्रपद (1490 A. D.). He wrote also भाष्य on विनायकशान्तिपद्धति. Vide Ms. No. 5491 (Baroda O. I.). He mentions विज्ञानेश्वर therein. The ms. was copied in संवत् 1607 माघ शुद्ध १२ (1551 A. D.). D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-86 of the नित्यकर्मपद्धति is dated संवत् 1434 चैत्र वद १४ शनिवासर (i. e. 1378 A. D).

श्रीधर a. of विश्वामित्रसंहिता.

श्रीधर a. of शूद्रवैष्णवखण्डन.

श्रीधर, son of रामेश्वर and younger brother of नारायणभट्ट. About 1520-1590 A. D.; a. of सापिण्ड्यदीपिका or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

श्रीधर (अग्निहोत्रिन्), son of श्रीसूर्य, son of नागेश; a. of कृत्यार्णव.

श्रीधरपति a. of दानचन्द्रिकावली.

श्रीधरभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदशश्लोकी or दायदशक.

श्रीधरमिश्र a. of ज्ञानपरीक्षा.

श्रीधरसूरि a. of आचारपद्धति.

श्रीधरस्वामिन् m. by रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II p. 25), in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 820, as the author of a समुच्चय).

श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर; a. of कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव or कृत्यकालविनिर्णय, विवेकार्णव and शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव, आचारचन्द्रिका, दानचन्द्रिका, and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका, श्राद्धदीपिका and छन्दोगश्राद्धदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, शुद्धिविवेक and of तात्पर्यदीपिका (com on तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि), दायभागटिप्पनी (com. on दायभाग), श्राद्धविवेकव्याख्या (com. on शूलपाणि's श्राद्धविवेक), सारमञ्जरी (com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of नारायण). Between 1470-1540 A. D. as he quotes कुल्लूक, मदनपारिजात and शुद्धिचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति and as his शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव is quoted in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and as रघुनन्दन speaks of him as his *guru* and mentions his श्राद्धचन्द्रिका in the यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 393).

श्रीनाथभट्ट a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवास a. of लक्ष्मीसपर्यासार.

श्रीनिवास a. of सुबोधिनी com. on जैमिनिसूत्र and of सुबोधिनी on द्राह्यायणसूत्र.

श्रीनिवास a. of भक्तिविवेक.

श्रीनिवास a. of शुद्धिदीपिका (composed in 1159-60 A. D.).

श्रीनिवास a. of सदाचारस्मृति. Probly same as above.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of यादवाचार्य; a. of आह्निककौस्तुभ a com. on सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ.

H. D. 95.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of कृष्ण ; a. of स्मृतिसिन्धु.

श्रीनिवासतर्कवागीश a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवासतीर्थ a. of सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

श्रीनिवासदीक्षित a. of ब्रह्मौदनप्रायश्चित्त.

श्रीनिवासपण्डित a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन ; a. of शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका and भैरवार्चापारिजात.

श्रीनिवासमखिन a. of प्रायश्चित्तसुबोधिनी.

श्रीनिवासशिष्य, brother of सीताराम ; a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य a. of वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

श्रीनिवासार्य, son of गोविन्दार्य of the कौशिकगोत्र ; a. of तिथिनिर्णयकारिका and of श्रीनिवासदीक्षितीय (on वैखानससूत्र).

श्रीपति a. of अद्भुतसागरसार.

श्रीपति or नीलकण्ठ a. of दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

श्रीपति a. of मुहूर्तरत्नमाला m. by रघुनन्दन.

श्रीपति a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय m. by रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 39) and in मलमासतत्त्व.

श्रीपति a. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 928)

श्रीभीम vide under भीम.

श्रीवल्लभाचार्य of the मारवाडवंश, same as वल्लभाचार्य ; a. of अणुभाष्य.

श्रीशैलताताचार्य, son of कुम्भार्य ; a. of वचनसारसंग्रह.

श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौमुदी com. on शारदातिलक.

श्लोककात्यायन m. by अपरार्क p. 485.

श्लोकगोभिल m. by हेमाद्रि.

श्लोकगौतम m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, अपरार्क (p. 483), कालमाधव (p. 153).

श्लोकव्यास m. in मद. पा.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमयूख.

श्वेतकेतु m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 19.

संकर्षणशरण a. of वैष्णवधर्मसुरद्रुममञ्जरी.

सचलामिश्र a. of स्मृतिसार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 447 p. 524).

सच्चिदानन्द a. of वैदिकाचारनिर्णय.

सच्चिदानन्दनाथ a. of ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

सच्चिदानन्दसरस्वती a. of यतिसिद्धान्तनिर्णय.

सत्य (probably a purely astronomical writer) m. in कालविवेक (p. 191) of जीमूतवाहन, अपरार्क (p. 550). A सत्याचार्य is mentioned by वराहमिहिर (6th century) in his बृहज्जातक.

सत्यतपस् a. of a स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, in कालमाधव (p. 88), in नि. सि.

सत्यनाथतीर्थ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका (com. on जयतीर्थ's टीका on कर्मनिर्णय of आनन्दतीर्थ).

सत्यव्रत a. of स्मृति; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत° (p. 141), श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक, स्मृतिच°, अपरार्क (pp. 134, 527, 548).

सत्याधीशशिष्य a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

सदानन्द a. of com. on विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका.

सदानन्द a. of छन्दोगाह्निक.

सदानन्द a. of त्रिस्थलीसंग्रह.

सदानन्दस्वामिन् a. of शैवसुधाकर (B. O. mss. cat vol. I No. 387 p. 454)

सदाराम son of देवेश्वर; a. of प्रायश्चित्तसदोद्य.

सदाराम a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय.

सदाराम a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

सदाशङ्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसेतु.

सदाशिव, son of नवाधर of the दशपुत्र family. First quarter of 18th century A.D.; a. of आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका, आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका (composed for king जयसिंह of जयनगर), शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका.

सदाशिव a. of चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रकाश.

सदाशिव, son of त्रिपाठि परमानन्द; a. of दानमनोहर (composed in 1678-79 A. D. at the bidding of गौडेश मनोहरदास).

सदाशिव a. of दायभागटीका.

सदाशिव (same as आपदेव q. v.); a. of सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका.

सदाशिवदीक्षित a. of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका.

सदाशिवद्विवेदिन् a. of श्राद्धप्रयोग.

सनत्कुमार m. in नि. सि., निर्णयामृत, त्रिस्थलीसेतु.

सनातनगोस्वामिन्, son of कुमार and pupil of चैतन्य and brother of रूप and वल्लभ. About 1500-1550 A. D.; a. of भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु and हरिभक्तिविलासटीका.

सप्तर्षि- a स्मृति is ascribed to them. Vide under सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति.

समुद्रकर a. of भाष्य on श्राद्धसूत्र (कात्यायनीय); m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I pp. 194, 220), आह्निकतत्त्व (vol. I pp. 336, 388), तिथितत्त्व (vol. I p. 174), शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 311).

संभ्रमभट्ट About 1000 A. D.; m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत० (pp. 240, 255).

सरस्वतीतीर्थ or **नरहरि** a. of स्मृतिदर्पण. About 1300 A. D.

सर्वज्ञनारायण vide under नारायण सर्वज्ञ.

सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वर, son of भूतेश्वर; a. of व्यवहारसर्वस्व.

सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर; a. of संख्याकारिका.

सर्वोरु त्रिवेदिन् a. of विवादसारार्णव (compiled for Sir William Jones in 1789).

सहस्रस्वामिन् m. in com. on आशौचाष्टक of वररुचि.

सांख्यायन vide under शाङ्खायन.

सामराज a. of व्रतरत्नाकर.

साम्बभट्ट a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग.

साम्बाजी or **साबाजी प्रतापराज**, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र. He was a protegee of निजामशाह; a. of परशुरामप्रताप and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका (vide ms. No. 5887 Baroda O. I. for राजवल्लभकाण्ड of the परशुरामप्रताप and दानकाण्डपर्व is a part of it).

सायण, brother of माधवाचार्य and son of मायण. Vide sec. 92. Several works are attributed to him, but one cannot be certain of their authenticity; a. of गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य, जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न, पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि, संध्याभाष्य, प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि, यमतत्त्वप्रकाश, स्मृतिसंग्रह.

सारङ्गपाणि, son of मुकुन्द; a. of विवाहपटल.

सार्वभौम (this is a mere title); a. of स्मृतिग्रन्थराज, दायभागव्यवस्था.

साहेबराम a. of तीर्थसंग्रह.

सिद्धनाथ a. of तुलादानप्रकरण.

सिद्धलक्ष्मण a. of तिथिनिर्णय (composed by order of king प्रतापदेव of Kalpi).

सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन a. of वाक्यतत्त्व (part of द्वैततत्त्व).

सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of श्रीहर्षाचार्य; a. of शुद्ध्यालोक com. on मिताक्षरा B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 383 p. 448).

सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. Not later than 1610 A. D. a. of तीर्थकौमुदी, कृत्यकौमुदी, व्यवहारकौमुदी, शुद्धिकौमुदी, संक्रान्तिकौमुदी.

सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिमकरन्द.

सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1630-1670 A.D.; a. of संस्कारभास्कर or संस्कारमयूख, संस्कारामृत.

सीताराम, son of नञ्जुण्ड of कौण्डिन्य-गोत्र; a. of तत्त्वविवृति com. on नीतिप्रकाश of वैशम्पायन.

सीतारामचन्द्र, son of श्रीधर्माभट्ट and कामक्का and grandson of नृसिंह, of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र; a. of कालनिर्णय-चन्द्रिका.

सीतारामशास्त्रिन a. of वृषरत्नार्पण.

सुदर्शनाचार्य, son of वाग्विजय. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of तात्पर्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बगृह्य (pr. in Kashi S. series); आह्निकसार, तिथिनिर्णय, श्राद्धनिर्णय; m. in भट्टोजि's com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत and in विधानपारिजात, by नारायणभट्ट in his प्रयोगरत्न, in the द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट. He mentions कपर्दिभाष्य in the तात्पर्य-दर्शन.

सुन्दर, son of राघव; a. of वाराणसी-दर्पण.

सुन्दरसेन m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

सुब्रह्मण्य, son of वेङ्कटेश. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. अभिनवषडशीति with com. धर्मप्रदीपिका.

सुमन्तु Sec. 29.

सुरेश्वर a. of यतिसंध्यावार्तिक.

सुरेश्वर a. of तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथि-स्वरूप.

सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of व्यवहारोच्चय.

सुरेश्वरस्वामिन, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ; a. of उपचारषोडशरत्नमाला and महादेवपरिचर्याप्रयोग.

सुरेश्वराचार्य a. of काशीमृतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय.

सुशत्नमाचार्य a. of विष्णुतीर्थीयव्याख्यान.

सूरमिश्र a. of जगन्नाथप्रकाश (compiled under orders of जगन्नाथ, king of काम्बोज).

सूरभट्टलक्ष्मीनरसिंह a. of कालामृत.

सूर्यपण्डित. Later than 1500 A. D.; a. of com. on कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य.

सूर्यकरशर्मन a. of दानपत्री (compiled at the bidding of नवराज).

सूर्यनारायण (इन्द्रगण्टि) a. of आह्निक-भास्कर.

सूर्यराम a. of कर्मविपाकसार.

सूर्यसेन (reputed) a. of निर्णयामृत.

सोढदेव, son of गौतमदेवनाथ, son of कृष्णदेव who was treasurer (कोशाधिकारी) to a गौड prince; a. of शौचामृत (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 389 p. 456).

सोमकीर्ति आचार्य a. of सप्तव्यसनकथा-समुच्चय.

सोमदत्त m. in हेमाद्रि (कालखण्ड p. 79).

सोमदेव a. of नीतिवाक्यामृत. He wrote his यशस्तिलक in śake 881 (969-70 A. D.).

सोमनाथ a. of भक्तिरहस्य.

सोमनाथ, son of मुद्गल and ज्ञापाम्बिका and surnamed सकलकल and a resident of जलग्राम; a. of जातिमाला (D. C. No. 302 of 1884-1886 is a work in about 160 verses in various metres on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति, but not on धर्मशास्त्र or castes).

सोमनाथभट्ट, son of सूरभट्ट of the निनल family; a. of सोमनाथीय.

सोममिश्र m. in अपिपाल's शूद्रपद्धति.

सोमव्यास a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

सोमशम्भु, pupil of सचिव, pupil of ईशान; a. of कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (composed in 1073 A. D.). HP. cat. p. XI.

सोमसुन्दरशिष्य a. of विवाहपटलस्तबक.

सोमेश्वर भूलोकमल्ल Cālukya king, son of विक्रमादित्य. Reigned 1127-1138 A. D.; a. of अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि or मानसोल्लास (composed in śake 1051 i. e. 1129 A. D.).

सौम्य m. in स्मृतिच०.

स्थूलशीर्ष m. in नि. सि.

स्मार्त i. e. रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य m. in the व्य. म.

स्वल्पयोग्लोक m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन; vide p. 286 n. 631.

स्वल्पसंवर्त m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हरजीभट्ट About 1610 A. D.; a. of मुहूर्तचन्द्रकला.

हरदत्त Sec. 86; a. of अनाकुला (com. on आप. गृ. सू.), अनाविला (com. on आश्व. गृ. सू.), उज्ज्वला (com. on आप. ध. सू.), com. on आपस्तम्बीय मन्त्रप्रश्न or मन्त्रपाठ (or एकाग्निकाण्डमन्त्र), मिताक्षरा (com. on गौ. ध. सू.), com. on आपस्तम्बपरिभाषासूत्र.

हरदत्त a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

हरि a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

हरि a. of सहृदय.

हरि, son of नरसिंह of the अष्टपुत्र family; a. of एकादशीनिर्णय (composed at विराट्नगर, modern Wai, on the Kṛṣṇā river).

हरि a. of शिवाराधनदीपिका.

हरिकृष्ण सिद्धान्त a. of मकरन्दप्रकाश. (ms. dated 1668 A. D.)

हरिगण a. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय.

हरिगिरि a. of कुरुक्षेत्रानुक्रमणिका.

हरिजीवनमिश्र a. of स्नानसूत्रपद्धति.

हरिदत्त son of श्रीधर; a. of कर्मदीपिका (ms. No. 6892, Baroda O. I.).

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of तिथिचन्द्रिका.

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of व्यवहारपरिभाषा.

हरिदास, son of पुरुषोत्तम; a. of प्रस्तावरत्नाकर (composed in संवत् 1614 i. e. 1557-58 A. D.).

हरिदास, son of वत्सराज; a. of लेखमुक्तामणि. Earlier than 1625 A. D.

हरिदासतर्काचार्य m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 243)

हरिदीक्षित a. of com. on दायभाग.

हरिदेवभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट.

हरिदेवसूरि a. of विवाहपटल.

हरिनन्दन a. of मुहूर्तरत्नाकर.

हरिनन्दन a. of गङ्गाभक्तिप्रकाश (composed in 1795-96 A. D.).

हरिनाथ Sec. 91 ; a. of स्मृतिसार or -सारसमुच्चय.

हरिनाथमिश्र a. of दृत्तकतत्त्वनिर्णय or -विनिर्णय.

हरिनाथाचार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी, सन्ध्यानदीपिका.

हरिनारायण a. of मुहूर्तमञ्जरी.

हरिनारायण a. of धर्मकृत्य.

हरिनारायण a. of शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका (based on रघुनन्दन's work).

हरिनारायण (a title of भैरवसिंह king of मिथिला) a. of महार्णव divided into seven तरङ्गs on कृत्य, आचार, विवाह, व्यवहार, दान, शुद्धि and श्राद्ध. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 76 p. 69 contains the first viz. on कृत्य.

हरिप्रसाद, son of मकरन्द; a. of आचारतत्त्व.

हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश or गङ्गेश्वर of मथुरा ; a. of सद्धर्मतत्त्वाह्निक in 62 verses.

हरिप्रसादशर्मन a. of प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश.

हरिभट्ट a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

हरिभट्ट a. of विवाहरत्न.

हरिभट्टदीक्षित a. of अन्त्यकर्मदीपिका.

हरिभानु शुक्ल a. of शास्त्रसारावली.

हरिभास्करशर्मन, son of आपाजिभट्ट or आयाजिभट्ट. Vide under भास्करशर्मन.

हरिमिश्र a. of विधवाविवाहविचार.

हरिराम Later than 1600 A. D.; a. of com. on अङ्गिरस्मृति, of आह्निकसार, of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of नारायण, of प्रायश्चित्तसार, of com. on बुधस्मृति, of com. on मलमासतत्त्व, of व्यवहारप्रकाश, श्राद्धवर्णन, षट्कर्मविवेक.

हरिराय a. of शिवपूजनपद्धति.

हरिराय गोस्वामिन a. of तप्तमुद्राविवेक.

हरिलाल a. of दीपिका (com. on आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त).

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हरिशर्मन Earlier than 1500 A. D.; m. in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु॰ (vol. I p. 531) as भाष्यकार of पारस्करगृह्य, in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II. p. 305), उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 143) etc. ; in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 488) हरिहर and हरिशर्म are separately mentioned in the same sentence on a passage of the कातीयगृह्य.

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